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THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.



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PUBLISHED IN

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3. *New Worlds for Old.* By H. G. Wells. London: Constable, 1908.
4. *Varuna.* Von Willibald Hentschel. Leipzig: Fritsch, 1907.

And other works.

UTOPIAN literature, as it may be called, is a stock department in libraries, and has of late flourished with an abundance which may remind us of the pamphleteering that went on before the French Revolution. At least one hundred works in this kind have been circulated since Bellamy's 'Looking Backward' gave to its pages a Socialist colouring. But these are mainly fiction; and fiction, however effective as propaganda, will not satisfy the demand, thanks to which speculation concerning the future of civilised mankind is now rife. Hence a more scientific and serious method has given rise to publications which, whether founded or not on statistics, aim at reaching first principles, and if they end in prophecy, start with induction from present facts.

Such a forecast was Mr Kidd's 'Social Evolution' translated into many languages. Quite unlike that eminently British estimate of the world's chances, and perhaps the finest achievement in German prose for the last half-century, is 'Zarathustra,' by Friedrich Nietzsche, to whom we stand indebted for the 'Superman' with all his vagaries, theatrical and other, which have transformed

the grandiose apparition to a sort of Merry Andrew. But Nietzsche's newest of New Testaments will long be the standard for those who believe in a revolt of the strong against the weak; of the select against the democracy, whether 'Christian' or merely 'Social'; and of the Aryan against the Semite. Moreover, 'Zarathustra' is a work of art, and as such may lay claim to immortality. It holds the quintessence of a Gospel enunciated by Goethe, denied or despised when Bentham and the average man conquered the nations, but quickened into more strenuous life as the signs of disease have multiplied at the heart of our Liberal institutions; and now that Gospel is gathering force while Parliaments, Congresses, and the voting-machine, are falling into contempt. Here, perhaps with a smile, we might quote Shelley in a novel application, 'The One remains, the many change and pass.' No literary work glorifying the reign of the multitude has caught a more musical rhythm than this half-satire, half-elegy, of the wild anti-Teuton prophet who hated his own people. It pleads for the lonely great man with his scorn of the crowd—of its laws, customs, beliefs, cruelties, and enthusiasms; for 'wherever the rabble drinks, all wells are poisoned.'

Nietzsche laughed at physics and professors in a healthy human way. So far he would have agreed with Joseph de Maistre, 'If anything is certain, it is this, that the guidance of mankind does not belong to science. Nothing that is indispensable has been committed to it. The Royal Society will never be a Church Catholic. But in a mechanical age, where the conditions of daily life are undergoing changes to which the past affords no parallel, men with a modern turn, such as Mr H. G. Wells, come near to believing that antiquity can teach us little, that the Greek and Latin classics have had their day, and that our Lady Electra has vanquished not only Athena but the Madonna. To which let us answer, 'Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy!' Out of Aristophanes we will convict any 'new Republican,' even if he boasted of an aerial fleet at his command, that the difficulties attaching to his Utopia were known, essentially at least, on the Attic stage, two thousand three hundred years ago. And from Aristotle, that great old schoolmaster, we will refute Communistic dreams. But Mr Wells may repre-

sent the prophet of science in his 'Anticipations' and 'New Worlds for Old'; just as Nietzsche continues the literary strain of which Goethe's 'Wilhelm Meister,' deriving from 'Émile' and leading on to 'Sartor Resartus,' furnished an illustration, as copious as it was characteristic of the century in which it appeared.

For thoughtful observers, though science can never be overlooked, and fiction has the advantage of bringing out in sharp contours the truth of a given situation, it must be clear that history, past and present, yields the only sure grounds on which to forecast the future. That which man is and has been determines what he will be. Speculation from this conning-tower is a duty; we cannot escape it. Our laws are governed by prevision as certainly as our annual budgets. Our alliances with foreign peoples depend on their imagined interests, their ambitions and ideas about the part they have played and mean to play in the world, not less than upon their numbers or their geographical position. We shape our conduct when we have reckoned with to-morrow; and our log-book of yesterday is a sure guide to the point at which we find ourselves. Accordingly, 'Janus in Modern Life,' who looks both ways at once, becomes to a keen student like Dr Flinders Petrie the oracle of wisdom, equal to the future because he has contemplated the past. But, as might be expected, here some German is sure to strike in by virtue of his omnivorous reading; and with a big voice he thunders forth his 'Varuna,' signifying the right order in Heaven, to be imitated on earth wherever Aryans rule. For 'Deutschland über Alles' now must include a social and humane programme. This loud trumpeter, Willibald Hentschel, is a follower of 'Zarathustra'; but he would have us believe that the Superman always existed as a type, concrete in deed and word, since the neolithic period, distinctly visible and lifted high above the yellow, the black, and the inferior mixed races, who are striving to pull him down. It is Nietzsche's doctrine of the 'blond beast,' reinforced by an appeal to chronicles, to archæology, and to the Count de Gobineau, most learned if sometimes most fanciful of those who have insisted on racial kinds. Thus our survey, beginning as near creation as it might venture, would embrace all ages and nations (a feat which the

German is ever ready to perform) did we not bear in mind that something must be taken for granted. It will be safe to make a start with Dr Flinders Petrie, after which we will allow Mr H. G. Wells to bring out his flying-machine; and 'Varuna' shall pass judgment on his 'New Republic,' where the Aryan is to suffer a blending with negro and Chinese, under the patronage of the engineering department of Public Works.

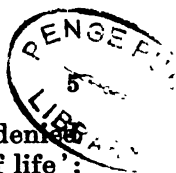
Dr Petrie, whose knowledge of the ancient world is hardly to be surpassed, would by no means have us neglect the laws of natural development that govern living forces, however they may be manipulated by free will. 'Schicksal und eigene Schuld,' our destiny and our self-determination, work together towards a fifth act, in which we triumph or go to the ground. What are the lines of evolution, then? Suppose we accept the general system favoured by Darwin, it appears that certain variations, giving an advantage to one individual or group over another, tend to be maintained in successive generations. That artificial conditions encourage greater changes; that these accompany or facilitate unusual developments; that growth depends on use and atrophy is the consequence of disuse; and that variation will cease when competition dies out—these would be axioms founded on observation at large. But, as regards man, there is a further principle, almost peculiar to himself, and of vital importance. Alone among animals he can by reason so modify his environment as completely to reverse its qualities in his own favour. It is the mind that rules, acting consciously or unconsciously, but shaping character, dominating circumstances, and realising its creative ideas. According to the scale of values which our judgment sets up, we shall strive to evoke a world around us, the image of our deepest thought. Between reason and personality there is a connexion as close as between cause and effect. Now personality issues in character; and on character all at length turns, whether in the single units that make up society or in the State as a whole. Our Darwinian biology thus leads on to the ethical, nay, the religious outlook, whence we view mankind as engaged in a struggle, not for bread alone, but for morality, for perfection. 'Et quasi cur-

## FORECASTS OF TO-MORROW

sores, *vitali lampada tradunt*,' sings the poet who denies immortality. He confessed that there is a 'lamp of life'; we hold that unless it be taken to light our ways the end cannot show us our ideals realised.

To these views Mr Wells, the moderate Socialist, and Herr Hentschel, champion of the Aryans, assent. Mental differences, as we all feel, and as Galton proved, are inheritable. Whether we term the fixed qualities thus acquired racial or not, they certainly exist. They have played a decisive part in the story of the nations. Who will refute Dr Petrie's argument drawn from the expulsion of Moors and Jews out of Spain, of the Huguenots out of France, with consequent loss, never since repaired, of the intellectual riches carried oversea by these exiles? Is it not equally evident that since the Revolution of 1789 those rare French characteristics which we associate with the old *noblesse* have given place to their opposite, so that instead of chivalry, vowed to the tradition of honour, we see democracy governed by self-interest, suspicious of dissent from its everyday creed, and sinking to a dead level where the stereotype of school, newspaper, and department prevails? In England, which has never driven out its old families, public service commands an ability, and on the whole is conducted with an integrity, due to the feeling of a class long trained in genuine patriotism, such as no other country perhaps can boast of. The English gentleman has race and character, though seldom learning. He is the outcome of favourable variations inherited during nine hundred or a thousand years; and his development (by which we do not mean acquaintance with books) may continue, as is constantly witnessed, till extreme old age. The Oriental ceases to think almost at adolescence; but there is no definite limit to the mind's growth in a well-bred European.

Hence the incessant changes which have gradually brought our politics, philosophies, literatures, and forms of belief to their present stage. Europe goes forward under a law of dynamics, the motive-power of which is mind; whereas until lately the rest of the world lay supine, obedient to customs which it accepted without criticising them. And the rate of change is now so quickened that variations increase rapidly among us in both directions,



towards the heights and the depths. Great as may be the differences between individuals in modern life, they will continue to increase, says Dr Petrie, and cannot be lessened. The select and the residuum will be divided, as time goes on, by a gulf which is ever enlarging. Extremes of poverty and wealth, of culture and character, must be looked for in a society becoming always more unstable as it lies more open to diverse influences. Competition presses upon every side with an unexampled force; the weaker yield to it more speedily than at any previous era. Time has declared itself their enemy by its constant acceleration, which cuts off opportunities of retreat and leisure for recovery. Why, then, do they not all tumble into the abyss, leaving the comparatively strong to fight among themselves? Nature has given these lower types, it would seem, an instinct of reckless multiplication which comes to their help. The unfit can still survive in their descendants amid surroundings in which the nobler kinds would die. This point is admirably illustrated in 'New Worlds for Old.' We must ask, therefore, what sort of character our social circumstances foster, and who are the 'fit' in modern life. Do these quick changes make for higher states or tend to bring us down? What is our position as measured by the highest human standard?

In Dr Petrie's view England has lost by emigration elements which leave the nation poorer, while not acquiring much from foreign sources to make up for what is wanting. Saxon and Celt have gone out; Teuton and Jew are coming in. The more select of these add to our mental wealth; but the thousands take from it and degrade public morals, hygiene, and culture. The individual emerging under new conditions, he would say, is lacking in self-reliance, adaptability, courage, hopefulness. This latter-day Briton appears to be slack and gregarious, dull of intellect, greedy for amusement, trivial in his thoughts, and at the mercy of impulse. By Trade Unions, workhouses, doles, free schooling, charities which demand no effort on the part of those aided, there has been set up a 'compulsory glorification of sloth' more deadly than all the wars of Napoleon. The mind which these laws and benevolences tend to propagate is as vacant as it is imbecile. In its pleasures the multitude shirks discipline;

for steady industry it substitutes betting wherever possible; its newspapers print the details of sport, crime, and immorality as means to secure a large circulation. The number of parasites on our social system is amazing, and seems likely to be increased by those political leaders who regard taxation as inexhaustible, with no corresponding obligation to render a service where a benefit has been given. Distaste for work, craving for excitement—features of a decaying civilisation, as shown on the later frescoes at Mycenæ and notorious in Imperial Rome—have been remarked in every class of Englishmen as on the mounting hand. Smart society, its follies, and its sins, may call forth the denunciations of a popular preacher; but more significance attaches to the quietly accepted Epicurean standpoint, from which our great middle class judges of the life that now is as a thing, to be enjoyed, because there is probably no other. This tacit agreement in Hedonism, to which some pioneers of thought are now adapting their Christianity, would have appalled the Puritan no less than the Catholic of past generations. Considered as moulding the character and determining action, it is the root-motive out of which our future England may grow, unless reaction towards a more manly temper sets in. What tokens do we perceive of that wholesome severity in press, pulpit, conversation or conviction? Fewer, surely, than of the frank Paganism which worships money as the means and pleasure as the end that all who are not hopeless dreamers should keep in view.

One token there is, which seems like the beginning of a new ethics, long secretly admired, now advocated by grave reformers, by an Amazon host of story-tellers, and by large sections in society—we mean the declining birthrate. On this subject Dr Petrie holds opinions which will not commend themselves to orthodox Christians. But whatever we may think of 'race-suicide,' it is especially a danger to the ruling and professional classes. If it prevented the multiplication of the 'Children of the Abyss'—to quote Mr Wells—we might reckon such losses a gain to civilisation; but the families which tend to disappear are those with an honourable record, the reserve forces of manliness, ability, and old English courage. In the lowest deeps children abound; as we go

up the social ladder they become less numerous. Some have alleged a natural 'law of parsimony' to account for this. At all events, enforced celibacy is the lot of thousands under the prevailing economic laws, which themselves, as we are accurately taught in Mr Wells' new volume, do but express a certain general mind with its table of values. To say that such laws favour the more fit in high human qualities would be absurd. They favour the reckless and the vicious, who are content that public or private philanthropy should open rescue homes, support hospitals, look after deserted wives, give first offenders an education and a trade denied to the offspring of honest parents, and condone every crime except that of thrift and industry, upon which the tax-gatherer pounces wherever he sees it. Is the race dying at the top? Between the higher cost of living and the drain upon capital by Acts of Parliament, our middle class finds that children are a luxury it cannot afford. Late and sterile marriages, dictated by prudence or necessity, therefore abound, breaking the strength of that proud order whose achievements made England free and gave it an empire in every Continent.

It is not, says Dr Petrie, that essential changes in man's nature are to be expected within a calculable period. He will desire and admire the same things, be moved by the same impulses, as his forefathers of six thousand years ago. But there is room inside these bounds for fluctuations, which, to the tribe as to the individual, may bring life or death. If we look to the community for guidance when we should be exercising our own judgment, or for help when we should put our shoulder to the wheel, we are choking the springs of action and giving up so much of our personality. To Nietzsche the State was 'the new idol'; our English Janus discovers in its exaggerated power a tribute to fatalism, the lowering of character, and a bureaucratic tyranny as inquisitorial as inefficient. From the State no reasonable man demands the initiative or the energy that mark off genius. It is the least common multiple of individual minds, where it does not happen to be a party-machine or the instrument with which Cæsar, Frederick the Great, or Bonaparte, works his will. The State is never what untutored minds take it to be, viz.

the sum of social forces; it may lessen them by its meddling, but how is a contrivance, mainly political, to serve equally well as a teacher, an economist, a prophet, a patron of the fine arts, a policeman, a magistrate, and a censor of morals? Some of these things it is compelled to do; but the most precious to humanity lie beyond its jurisdiction. Thought and conscience make character. Do we go to ordinary politicians for choice instances of either? Now Socialism relies upon the average man, to whom it sacrifices the exception. And, if we are told by its advocates that we ought not to confound society with government; that when they name the State they imply the whole public order; Dr Petrie would retort, 'Precisely so; but your State, as every measure proves that you bring into Parliament, would be a hierarchy of omniscient, infallible deputies, with a voting multitude under their feet. Church, Home, University, workshop, market, playground—wherever two or three were gathered together, there would your official be in the midst of them. You could not tolerate Dissenters; and in one brief generation all your citizens would be stamped from the same die like so many coins.' Mr Wells perceives the danger, and, at the expense of logic, falls back on Liberalism. But he can devise no guarantees for freedom in his Utopia.

Combination will bring every kind of advantage when it is voluntary. Enforced all round, it would require on the part of Government a sense of justice and of the true nature of things such as none, whether King or Parliament, has ever displayed. So Dr Petrie argues with instances, old and new, to warrant his conclusion. The plain truth is that no power, acting on men from outside, will make up for the vigour and resource of an inventive spirit. We may always pit the individual against a system. Genius will conquer routine if it is given elbow-room; and, though general stupidity has often prevailed to suppress talent, no institution can, by mere inertia, defend itself in the long run from defeat at the hands of free antagonists. In the extraordinary revolution of parts which has brought Germany, Japan, and the United States to compete with England for a greater share in the world's commerce, who can suppose that this country will hold its own by marking time?

If it does not advance, it must fall back. Are we, then, wasting our reserve of capital by neglecting thrift, our stores of manhood by Trade Union indolence, by refusal to train youth in defence of hearth and home, by short hours of business and ever-lengthening holidays, by absurd methods of education, by taxing enterprise and leaving luxuries free? These are questions for the times; but when intellect is declining upon lower levels, the crowd which considers football its supreme interest will neither ask nor answer them. And when Dr Max Nordau hints the word 'Degeneration,' he is told that he knows nothing of England.

Revolution need not come about, our author warns us, by conspicuous or violent changes. Death duties, which break up old estates, will perhaps put an end to British colonising. A tax on unearned increments will drive great industries abroad. Free meals to school-children, unless carefully guarded, may destroy what is left of the working man's home. A Socialism that none but the smallest of minorities would have deliberately set up, is even now coming in upon us by little and little, with its natural accompaniment, secularised education. We are proud of Oxford and Cambridge, medieval institutions emphatically free, the nursing mothers of men, not of pedants or doctrinaires. Yet they stand more and more isolated in their kind; while a department at Whitehall inflicts on the country its one type of mental training, examines on the most unreal of systems, and stultifies with its miscellaneous forcing process the growing intellect from early childhood. M. Taine was never weary of telling French Jacobins that our public schools had created or encouraged a spirit of self-reliance, in marked contrast with the mere literary culture, too often degenerating into Anarchism, which the University of Paris had made its chief object and set up as the pattern of education all over France. Yet on such a pattern our elementary teaching is moulded. Its results we may trace in the undisciplined, illiterate crowds which throng to public sports by the hundred thousand, but are less and less capable of serious thought or sustained reading. Some forty years of compulsory schooling divorced from life reveal it as indeed a social force which, says Dr Petrie, 'owing to the herding together of large masses

of children, and so destroying family types,' is 'mainly deleterious.' For curiosity in a noble sense finds little encouragement from 'My Lords'; things are taught which do not signify; but a knowledge of the laws and practices which foster health of body or strength of character is only beginning to make its way into the curriculum. Unhappily, the public schools themselves are not much more than playgrounds, a system, observes Dr Petrie with vehemence, 'which lies at the base of the unintellectual character of the average educated Englishman, who takes no useful interest in anything.' If this be so, our 'young Barbarians,' admonished in vain by Matthew Arnold that culture was the chief defence against anarchy, may wake up to see the Germans marching over their playing-fields, in which a mightier battle than Waterloo has been lost.

So much for an education running to sport on one side, to pedantry on the other. Meanwhile, philanthropy aims at saving the unfit from the consequences of their misdoings. 'Benevolent persons,' said Ruskin, 'are always, by preference, busy on the essentially bad, and exhaust themselves in efforts to get maximum intellect from cretins and maximum virtue from criminals.' Dr Petrie, believing in diversity of genius, in competition as favourable to it, and in the sacrifice of lower to higher forms, would not be so kind to the degenerate, or even protect a middle class that has neither stored up capital in its years of plenty nor resisted the temptation to sloth and ostentation by which it is decaying. We are drifting, he declares, into State Communism, where ability will be held back, and equal wages for unequal powers will destroy the stronger breeds to encourage feeble mediocrities. Which are the countries that have promoted the advance of ideas, inventions, new types of thought? Are they not England, America, Germany, with institutions not hitherto moulded on Social Democracy, rather than those in which public opinion has compelled every man to keep step with his neighbour? Communities, as such, never strike out fresh ways of acting, because they wait to receive their impulse from the single mind, often in spite of themselves. They follow the line of least resistance, which is custom, until disaster overtakes them. And so they perish.

On these principles Government would be limited, as

was held by the disciples of Locke and Bentham, to its duties as policeman, magistrate, and tax-gatherer for purposes which we may style those of protection and public justice. It would eliminate waste by condemning the tramp, the deserter of his family, the criminal whose life had been spared, to work under supervision, instead of being a charge upon the community. The normal citizen would be free to an extent now hardly imaginable. Neglect of parental obligations would indeed not be tolerated. The fittest might well find encouragement by relief from taxation in whole or in part. The least fit, segregated under compulsory laws, Dr Petrie would restrain from marriage, or make them liable to heavy penalties if they had offspring. Advancing civilisation throws up a large number of inefficient; and that cannot be avoided. But, by treating them drastically, we should be exercising the truest benevolence. For at present two classes—the capitalist and the proletarian—stand aloof from one another, in perilous opposition; whereas, by limiting the freedom of the degenerate, room is given for the nation to improve and expand. Most pains could then be taken, as Ruskin urged, with the best material instead of, as now, with the worst; and the ‘continuous sources of cretinism and crime,’ if not dried up, would cease to be a common danger. If the State undertakes the burden of wastrels it must have entire control of them. Slavery was not fatal to Rome; but the well-meaning Socialism which Emperors like Aurelian inflicted on all their subjects by compulsory Trade Unions, and which Diocletian embodied in his decrees regulating prices and wages, that, says Dr Petrie, brought ancient civilisation to the ground. Hard work, decent living, under enactment if necessary, but anyhow as the sole conditions of maintenance, will be the only sure means to prevent the British Empire from falling, as did the Roman, into a general anarchy, the creation of the benevolent and the imbecile. Dr Petrie would advocate no laws which disfranchise Jews or Japanese, no anti-Semite crusades; but still he must grant to ‘Fors Clavigera’ that ‘the worth of one man, as compared with another, is the one thing needful to be determined by laws of nature.’ When our Empire makes of unworth its corner-stone, and lays its foundation

in an alms-fed proletariat, the day of some conquering Attila will not be far distant.

Janus, therefore, by the lips of Dr Petrie, denounces that informal but deadly Communism which is now setting the wastrel on the neck of industry, and dividing the taxing-power from the classes most powerfully affected by it. He argues for entire freedom of labour and exchange against Protection in whatever shape, from sugar bounties to a 'White Man's Land' which bars out the alien. He would maintain permanent marriage, on grounds economic and social; yet with so large a sufferance of departures from it that a little more would probably reduce it to a counsel of perfection under his good-natured rule. He would prefer the individual to the State as a landlord; and he is sceptical as regards the scheme of peasant-proprietors, who are really held in mortgage by anonymous Banks. For the millionaire who gives back in public benefits some of his millions Dr Petrie expresses an admiration which others of us do not share; but he is comparing the Trust, as a machine for saving waste and distributing wisely, with workmen who squander their wages, with an improvident middle class, and the merely private luxury of the old rich. He foresees no end to war, though he looks for advance (which war would promote) by intensified competition in the world-markets and by the strain of armaments. Confederation among States will more and more prevail. Yet diversity, not uniformity, is the law of progress; and those countries will prosper which cultivate freedom. Profit-sharing must become the rule in all industries. Eliminate waste, check the growth of social parasites, and labour will increase in value while decreasing in volume. Capital is likely to command a very low rate of interest; but the improvement all round will make men wealthier in comforts and conveniences. There will be less inducement to work for saving in a community which fosters the strong and weeds out the feeble. A varied yet equal civilisation; a fairly uniform rate of prices and wages for what is produced and the ability that produces it; a competition tempered by the advantages proper to climate and genius in each people; a steady migration from colder lands towards the south; and in government less of voting, speech-making, antiquated methods; with

power added where it is now inefficient, but the individual recognised as cause and crown of the whole—such is the forecast which this ingenious speculation offers, commended by a study of past ages, and of present tendencies during a time of transition.

On this head all writers seem to be at one. The world has gone 'spinning down the grooves of change' with accelerated motion since Tennyson hailed the Liberal millennium in 'Locksley Hall.' Are we rejoicing at its advent? Mr Wells, who proclaims a universal Republic, with Science for its Grand Vizier and Lord High Executioner, does not think so. He laughs when 'Democracy' is exalted as the permanent state of the future. What, he asks, do we mean by Democracy? The 'Rights of Man' embodied in French rhetoric? Freedom to think, speak, print as we like; absolute private property; the abolition of special privileges and restrictions? Government by election, and the popular will? Suppose it to include all these ideas; what are the facts? On countless points there is no collective will; men and their rights never can be equal. Democracy has not been accepted on grounds of reason, but sprang up when machinery and industrial expansion created a new world which the ruling classes did not know how to manage. It was a revolt, not an organic development; and, in brief, simply a negation. This is the view Carlyle spent his life in reiterating with bitter eloquence; in Mr Wells he has found a disciple who adds that, when the new intelligent forces come to their own, the interlude now miscalled democratic will pass away. In the political order it merely represents a condition of anarchy ('deliquescence' our prophet would say) which has followed the break-up of Christendom into elements disconnected or hostile. Like Dr Petrie, the writer of 'Anticipations' perceives diversity growing, classes in conflict, and laws a temporary compromise between old and new. The situation is unprecedented. All things are in flux. Our measures of distance, or the working average day, must determine how and where the homes of to-morrow shall be. Town has destroyed village, and great cities absorb the population. But with novel means of transit a centrifugal movement is

setting in which may scatter our Babylons over the land, until town and country become relative terms. We may hope to see 'urban regions' instead of packed unwholesome 'slum-areas'; the city will serve as a bazaar, the cottage with its garden will revive; and agriculture upon ampler and more economical lines will pretty well make an end of small holdings and Tory magnates. Shareholding plutocrats are buying up the fine old English gentleman. American heiresses cannot save the House of Lords by marrying into it. The 'uneducated, inadaptably peasant and labourer,' upon whom the social pyramid was raised, 'are crumbling down towards the Abyss.' What of the *bourgeoisie*? It is disappearing in a confusion which mingles all classes together. As for the unfit, they do not increase, but are recruited from 'the contingent of death,' who will be always with us wherever social progress is made. The unemployed, who are in fact unemployable; perish but are constantly renewed, and cannot as a class be got rid of. So that two kinds of people hang upon our social system as parasites—the shareholder who, in French phrase, 'does nothing but 'eat his rents,' and the loafer who has none to eat. Both find support from an industry to which they never lend a hand. Irresponsible property, irremediable poverty—both alike, in Mr Wells' opinion, will be present a hundred years hence in any Republic that may spring up out of chaos. Yet their condition need not be what it is now.

Stockjobbing in all its branches gave rise to the shareholding class; which, being protected by law under Democracy, takes toll from every side but has no other duty. Of course, we are speaking in the abstract. Dividends received must spread themselves again; the smallest partner in a company is to that extent a capitalist. He spends or invests his profits, and so becomes a circulating medium. But, while subject to the risks attendant on speculation, the *rentier* turns over to some one else all the burden of managing his property. He may sleep the time out; dividends will accrue or diminish regardless of one who is their effect rather than their cause. What, now, will explain so remarkable a birth of time? Mr Wells answers acutely, 'the dividend of the shareholder, was the tribute the new

enterprise had to pay to the old wealth.' He is the feudal overlord, not yet bought out, released meanwhile from feudal obligations. Can he be eliminated? No, replies the seer, we must always reckon with possessors of earlier advantages whom the vanguard of progress would like to oust. As an individual or a corporation the shareholder will exact his royalty on invention; and in the Socialist State he would be represented by the community itself. This unexpected stroke falls with ironical effect on the Utopian, who believes that, even if his Cloud-Cuckoo-Land cannot altogether escape poverty, at least it will have done with the *rentier*. But 'Anticipations' teaches us that it will not be so. For many masters one will be substituted—shall we term it the omnipotent Trust?

Meantime, Democracy is on its trial. It can take a hundred shapes, from the despotic rule of the centre to a village union, with freedom varying in every degree. Mr Wells might borrow wisdom as a critic of its imperfections if he would glance over Plato's 'Republic,' a masterpiece that will be read when our Utopias, literary and machine-made, have gone thither '*ubi non nata jacent*.' It is undeniable that popular voting does not create, and constantly fails to recognise, the ability by which alone a nation vanquishes competitors. Moreover, the need of checks upon absolute power is just as obvious when elected persons govern as when birth and privilege administer the laws. That commonplace which reckons the democratic tyranny as the worst, because it acts in the people's name, is far from having exhausted its significance. French Socialists in office declare, as the Standard Oil Company does, that they are 'the people.' To question their mandates is nothing short of high treason. Shall we, then, after a period of confusion and inefficiency, pass on with science towards a new order of things, established not on majority-votes, nor on abstract rights, but on a real governing class, the strongest, wisest, and most practical developed since the ancient feudal days? Mr Wells is convinced that events are ripening for this consummation. He dreams, somewhat as M. Renan dreamt in his 'Philosophic Dialogues,' of an oligarchy or Senate of Supermen, all experts, who shall rule the nations with a rod of iron—electrified.

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This electricity is a wonderful thing. The novelist whom women delight to honour by endless editions, has taught us to see in the magnetic current a stream of grace. The Higher Life springs up between the positive and the negative poles, as if it were an arc-light to be turned on at pleasure. Mr Wells in his *feuilleton* for the 'Daily Chronicle' thrilled its readers by the adventures of a comet, which was to wrap them in an atmosphere of golden-green gas and change their hearts by quickening their aspirations. The virtues of oxygen were never more splendidly portrayed. We will not call these aids to perfection by any base disparaging name; for, when everything is said, Mr Wells and Miss Corelli (O rare conjunction of wits!) grant a soul in the man thus pleasantly regenerated. Who knows but he might still have become a new creature without laughing-gas or wireless telegraphy, as in the dark ages when they were not found out? The world's renewal by associated engineers will, indeed, be a miracle, if it ever takes place. For what religion is there in the parallelogram of forces? Or how does it appear that human nature grows more divine as machinery improves? This electric expert, we are told, will be 'vitally important' to the progressive State; but who is to make of him a philosopher, contemplating all time and all existence from the highest point of view? Let us throw in the chemist, the doctor, the biologist, with all their instruments—will they from germs and elements deduce a moral code superior to the Christian, or furnished with sanctions more imperative?

To a mind so earnest as that which dictated these 'Anticipations,' and the sequels—not quite so brilliant—given to them later, the problem of religion cannot seem, as to many German or French system-builders, a thing of the past. His experts will be required to solve it; and, in fact, Mr Wells does not shrink from describing them as the 'Sect of Reason,' convinced that order in the universe, which they act upon everywhere as their principle, demands a sovereign intellect apart from which laws of nature cannot exist. Reminiscences of eighteenth century Deism float over the Mechanical Period. But when the scientific man has made his bow to the Supreme, he turns to practice, leaves the next world to take care of itself, and behaves so like a Positivist that he

will certainly charm Mr Frederic Harrison. He will not pin his faith to Christianity, or believe in the fall of Adam, or trouble much about sin. And though his life will be orderly, yet, if he judges the bringing-up of children inexpedient, he may grant himself a plenary indulgence for conduct which Mr Wells, who does not recommend it, terms 'sterile vice.' Science would then fall under the poet's anathema, making itself 'procuress to the lords of hell.' This hardly promises regeneration for mankind; our ethical 'Ought' becomes so accommodating that in the wide grey twilight we cease to distinguish between the colours of good and evil, or even mistake the wolf for the house-dog.

With a romancer's enchanting touch the prophet sketches that extraordinary time. He conjures up the idle rich who embalm a luxurious, archaic, lawless decadence in forms ever more peculiar, in strange old Roman aberrations from the normal, in a religion of the senses, in public and permitted outrages on what was long held to be sacred. The woman of the future, born in this class or bought into it, will deserve the name invented by a quick-sighted essayist who has watched her coming, of 'a daughter of Belial.' Depravity will be magnificent and condoned. If even now the modern woman is not proud to be a mother, we may expect, in the dissolution following on that predicted collapse of the *bourgeoisie*, a 'childless, disunited, shifting *ménage*' to greet us where the old English home once overspread the land. Our engineers themselves will take wives, it would seem, from Girton or other serious institutions; but they may find in their not very attractive household a Madame Bovary, haunted by the splendours of the courtesan. If the skilled expert makes money, it is yet the kings of wealth who spend it, above all in the market where Eve's daughters are on view. Competition there will 'prevent many women from becoming mothers of a regenerating world.' The engineer's wife, too, will often use her husband's earnings in some 'pleasant discrepant manner,' which we need not too closely examine. The 'child-infested' home (what a curious expression on the lips of a moralist!) will be increasingly rare; and when husband and wife are leading separate selfish lives, how much of the sanctity of marriage will remain? Sanctity?

With an absentee God, sterile vice, unlimited divorce, motherhood dishonourable in most, and the examples of Eastern nations permeating our Empire, the less we say about sanctity in marriage the better. Liberty means variety; and if law does not broaden down, the law-breakers, eminently rich and in social contact with each other, will be a law unto themselves.

It is disquieting to observe that men so unlike in temper as Dr Petrie and Mr Wells agree in their prediction of an assault on the family life, encouraged or not put down by the Governments of the future. Dr Petrie thinks the day of 'absolute' morality is drawing to a close. He would be prepared, if we understand him aright, to set up 'island communities' where these different types of marriage and no-marriage might each prevail. 'Anticipations,' with more likelihood, pictures society as 'a vast, drifting, and unstable population grouped in almost every conceivable form.' But let this be observed; neither in a Socialist régime, nor in the decadent State which may lead up to it, is the family taken as that primal unit of order which it really was under the old law of Christendom. The individual is in both cases, from a legal point of view, what caricature has termed him; 'born a foundling, dying a bachelor,' he owes no duties to his parents, and is released from the duty of providing for his children. It is the State, not the husband, that endows maternity. Socialism now, with Professor Lester Ward, looks on to a 'matriarchate' as its future form.

What, then, in the 'New Republic,' would open acceptance of diversity in marriage signify? Not any regulation of wills and bequests as bearing on the preservation of family ties, but an approval by public opinion of connexions now reprobated. In other words, law is to take the office hitherto held by religion; but is to soothe or satisfy consciences not altogether easy in condoning lust. Yet let us hear the verdict which unexpectedly sums up Mr Wells' judgment: 'The world of the coming time will have its Homes, its real Mothers, the custodians of the human succession, and its cared-for children, the inheritors of the future, but in addition . . . there will be an enormous complex of establishments, and hotels, and sterile households, and flats, and all the

elaborate furnishing and appliances of a luxurious extinction.'

Here is an argument for the old order, not built on airy speculation, but drawn from tendencies already illustrated by facts and figures in France, the United States, and to an increasing degree in England. It may be called the 'reduction to death' of those premisses, Malthusian or economic, by which grave teachers justify marriage without maternity, terminable unions, divorce at the good pleasure of husband or wife, such as M. Briand would have to be French law. Moreover, this edict of extinction will apply to the childless expert no less than to the wealthy decadent. What guarantee has Mr Wells that his engineers will forgo the advantages held out by fashionable morality in their young and struggling days? Why should they care about leaving children to carry on the State any more than the owner of riches or the mere voluptuary? Is there ground for ascribing to the study of natural science those virtues on which monogamy relies? It has always existed, we are told, 'on the merits of the wife,' who is eminently disinterested about science, while she recognises in religion a power that supports her claim. When that power falls, marriage will suffer from the shock. Polygamy has never been favourable to civilisation; and a liberty passing more and more into Free Love, with no desire for offspring, would end it. The practical people, Mr Wells confidently anticipates, 'will be a moral people,' Their positive science will reprobate vice. But, as 'for one morality there will be many moralities,' will not vice and virtue come to signify what we please? We suspect that Christians alone, in that weltering confusion, will preserve their homes from the Black Death raging round them. Socialism, says Mr Wells in his latest pages, is coming more and more to approve of permanent marriage; at all events, it is not against it. Monogamy would be a pious opinion; but the free mother, subsidised by the State, leaves us perplexed.

In comparison with problems like these, what may happen to language, literature, commerce, or even to democracy, is of small moment. One thing remains for ever true; we cannot improvise the man or the woman that shall be a clear improvement on actual

types. Whether Pidgin-English, or South American Spanish, or the French of good society, will be spoken in the World-Republic a hundred years hence, we need not determine. That the last great war will be won by knowledge under guidance of character; that moral decay is the prelude to national ruin; that the school and the home are the battlefields where a people undergo defeat or rise to victory; and that ideals control events in the long run—if we grant all this, what follows? It follows that we should choose the right ideals and live up to them.

The new synthesis will 'favour the procreation of what is fine and efficient and beautiful in humanity,' says Mr Wells. Expound to us then the principles on which you distinguish the better from the worse amid conflicting moralities. You commend 'modest suicide'; you allow that 'in many cases the emergent men of the new time will consider sterile gratification a moral and legitimate thing'; you would poison or otherwise painlessly eliminate the unfit; and your Ironsides will have their Inquisition, their Index, their 'electrocutors' or givers of hemlock, pretty constantly engaged until the weeding out is done. With a really magnificent trust in private judgment you write concerning monogamic marriage, 'Upon this matter I must confess my views of the trend of things in the future do not seem to be finally shaped.' 'My views'! Were a Roman Pontiff to speak in this fashion how the world would exclaim! But, is it not possible that other experts in mechanism may take other views, even after yours have been laid down? All we can conclude from hesitation on such a point by so temperate a philosopher is that in the reign of the Ironsides moral anarchy will prevail. The unfit, doomed upon Darwinian motives to extinction, in a Republic where opinion is free, will not be without defenders. You must come back to dogma, with biologists for the Fathers of your Church. But under your handling science is only of the finite, whereas religion promises to man the infinite. Will you make of Christianity a friend or a foe? That is the final issue. It will not be decided by murdering the unfit in chambers of horror, nor yet by 'ampler groupings' of the dissolute who patronise the new ethics. If man is simply a passing

phantom, and he knows it, he orders his life in one way ; if a pilgrim towards eternity, in quite another. Perhaps the time is not far distant when parties, governments, and even religions will be divided by one clear line between the 'Mortals' and the 'Immortals'—between those who measure values by their relation to death, which cuts off hope, and those who believe in life everlasting. The writer of 'New Worlds for Old' belongs already to the 'Mortals.' He talks indeed of the 'final rightness of all being' ; but his 'euthanasia of the weak and sensual,' his sterile vice in the more cultivated—which I take leave to call murder and lust regulated by science—point directly towards man's extinction. This 'wide and reasoned view of philosophy' ends at the hateful cypresses which lift themselves above a vanished world.

When we turn to 'Varuna' we understand why it must be so. There is something in us, says Herr Hentschel, besides organic elements and their combination for which no science will account. That, however, is precisely what makes us human. It creates the undying interest with which we follow the fortunes of genius, the rise and fall of nations, the struggle for supremacy among races. Evolution depends on the mind. In each individual we may see the conflict going forward between inherited nature and rational will. Choice, not necessity, utters the last word. Freedom is no empty hypothesis, but a fact as certain as any with which our laboratories are concerned. If we allow the great 'cosmic unity,' now worshipped by so many, we must limit or modify its action in view of the higher life. And that life, 'Varuna' maintains, is embodied in racial types, of which the noblest has long been victorious over the less worthy, but is confronted by perils such as never yet were known. The crisis of the white man is upon him. Philosophers who were dominated by scientific considerations—Spencer, Virchow, Schäffle, for instance—would have sacrificed race and country to an abstract cosmopolitan idea. In effect this was all one with inviting the Aryan to surrender his leadership, to lose himself in an amalgam of yellow, dark, and inferior populations. Here is the danger which Democracy has brought in its train—this pretence of an

equality between the unequal, of rights asserted by the weak against the strong whom a foolish theory, Delilah-like, is reducing to impotence. Revolution has always proved fatal to the fair-haired folk, lords by right over the swarthy peoples around the Mediterranean from times immemorial, ever since these Aryans came in ships to Europe, or migrated thence into Asia.

Weighed down with disquisitions often unconvincing, 'Varuna' has yet many excellent points of view. It connects in masterly fashion the doctrine of equal rights with that of absolute property in land, tracing both to the Roman Law, by which an Imperial democracy was established. Others had thrown out hints in this direction, jurists like Savigny, and men of letters like Renan ; but to the general reader and voter such a pedigree of the principles of 1789 will come with a shock. Two things, however, it explains upon which the whole modern movement in the State has been revolving since the *ancien régime* fell to pieces. One is the changed nature of property in land ; the other is the rise of the proletariat. On these foundations capitalism, as law now recognises it, overtops our social system. We may sum it up even more sharply in a single phrase. If we ask, what did the French Revolution effect, the answer is that, in abolishing privilege, it transformed land and labour into commodities. Henceforth, money in the open market could purchase either on its own terms. Property had no duties beyond paying taxes ; land became a 'movable thing, or what lawyers term personalty ; labour was a ware to be sold by competition among workmen at the lowest price.

Now we can understand the expansion of towns, the drift of population to larger markets of men and women, the decay of agriculture, the declining birth-rate. Economic motives account for all. 'Varuna' labels this industrial world Semite or Roman indifferently ; Semite, for its kings are bankers and mostly Jews ; Roman, because its tribunals regard every contract on the principles laid down in the Code of Justinian. It is a state of war disguised as peace. To such law neither chivalry nor religion nor honour is known. The written agreement—the bond—is all it considers. Usury, therefore, reigns unchecked, with its exploitation of distress, its

evictions from farmstead and tenement, its demand for child-labour and female operatives, as costing less than the fathers of families. The home has ceased to be inviolable. Wage-earning is the only 'nexus' that now remains—an admirably chosen word, for it means slavery, 'indentured labour.' So indentured, however, that the risk falls on the slave, who may not claim from his employer subsistence, much less security for old age, but merely the price of his bargain. The one safe being under this 'law of the desert' is the wealthy shareholder, cosmopolitan, anonymous, Jew or Gentile, but increasingly to be found among the children of Abraham. Thus 'Varuna' depicts our urban civilisation with many a stroke of satire; but who will deny that the picture corresponds to a real world?

This, then, was the Revolution in fact, not as the Marseillaise hymns it, or as Liberal advocates themselves believed it to be. When Mr Hyndman, the Socialist, repeats what Marx or Lassalle insisted upon, that 1789 and 1793 turned to the profit of the *bourgeois*, he is merely telling us how the fixed capital of earlier times was unfixed, made movable and fluent, passing from château, abbey, cottage, into the hands of the money-lender. For 'credit' is nothing else than this. Add now those provisions in the Code Napoléon, essentially Jacobin, by which the family estate is parcelled out to every member equally, and see what follows. The solid land is thrown, as lawyers would say, into hotch-potch; it becomes a meal for the capitalist, who devours it without grace. Or, if any considerable share is to be snatched from his jaws, the family must be kept down by neo-Malthusian methods. France, therefore, loses in population as the 'High Finance' gains in power. And wherever that device of Bonaparte's for levelling ranks and breaking great houses can find its way, there is an end of the old social hierarchy. Enforced liquidation applied to real property was well summed up by an Austrian Jew: 'It is a mincing-machine,' he said, 'where Hans goes in a farmer and comes out a day-labourer.' Such is the Grand Arcanum which makes gold for the 'gombeen man' and a proletariat for the city. Land falls out of cultivation under heavy mortgages and low prices; the village decays, the brewer flourishes; in three or four generations

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a yeomanry thus driven to migrate, to become factory hands, will be extinct. Figures prove that the town does not breed its own inhabitants beyond this term. If not recruited from outside they dwindle and pass away.

One further observation completes the indictment. While progressive peoples are thus wandering from home, or shrinking in numbers, their place is taken by a less developed type. In New England the French Canadian supplants the Puritan; in Southern France the Italian enters; and the Pole is marching in his thousands towards the Rhine, or settling on the deserted feudal estates of Eastern Prussia. Jews in business, in agriculture and mining Slavs or coolies or Chinese, are beating the German and the Englishman. To Mr Wells, who can allow no vital difference between one race and another, this may seem to signify little; but to the public feeling (which is also a form of philosophy) it means that civilisation is in danger. The stored-up excellence of our Aryan world—in simpler phrase, of Christendom—will hardly be in safe keeping when Semites and the 'heathen Chinee' have become its masters. Already signs of change, ominous enough, may be discerned. How far will it go? To the conquest or absorption of those leading clans which regenerated the Roman Empire, fought the Crusades, colonised America, and have set up everywhere trophies of a genius without parallel? To the author of 'Varuna' that is the world-problem. He believes that the British Empire must fall. Must the Teuton likewise succumb to the Slav? And the Western to the Asiatic? If so deadly a blow is struck at civilisation, he declares that it will be dealt by the Industrial system.

'Contraria contrariis curantur'; Hentschel's treatment would be allopathic. So far he reminds us of Ruskin, holding as he does by an aristocracy founded on birth, detesting the town-life, and being prepared to abolish returns on private capital. He puts aside Henry George's Single Tax, which would assimilate land to any other market-ware. He is, of course, no Republican in the sense of equal votes and representative government. What he advocates might be described as the village and feudal system in a modern form. It is the 'German social idea.' Borrowing the Homestead law from America,

he would take the land out of Capitalist hazards, including mines, railways, and all permanent utilities. The market would be solely a means of exchanging manufactured or perishable goods. The Roman law of property against which German patriots long held out, must be repealed, the Code Napoléon got rid of, mortgages annulled, and probably the Jews sent into exile. Not 'least needs,' but the improvement of humanity should guide the legislator. As the city is the nation's cemetery, let inferior types be condemned to it, there to propagate for a while and expire. Vagrants should be denied the freedom which they abuse, compelled to earn their living, and regarded as criminals. But the only sure way of protecting Aryan culture is to check the declining birth-rate of Aryans. The stable village and inherited home would do much; voluntary associations planted on the forsaken 'Rittergut,' or country estates, along Elbe and Weser, living in a strong communal bond, would do more. The author does not believe in Christian ethics; he is willing to encourage polygamy, as practised by the Teuton chiefs, when his Midgard, or City of the Gods, has been walled in from mongrel breeds. At this point 'Varuna' turns to a Utopian romance, with features recalling Oneida Creek and even Plato's marriage laws. Permanent ties are dissolved; artificial selection governed by a Senate is to bring forth the true Golden Horde, with its discipline taken from Sparta, its duels and championships of injured ladies, its 'sacred spring,' or wandering to foreign parts of the youth trained in hardihood. Industry yields to chivalry; a greater 'Ritterthum' begins, and the Roman-Syrian yoke is cast away for ever.

Can we draw any conclusion from this tournament of thinkers, each fighting for his own hand in presence of an interested but not yet convinced public? All three have been moved by the same feeling; they hold civilisation to be in danger, and it is not too much to assert that they fix on the same enemy—the 'wholesale' leveller who calls himself a democrat. Dr Petrie rises up against his laws and benevolences at other men's expense, especially those who can least bear the burden. Mr Wells, flinging aside the egalitarian schemes of Marx, tempers his Socialism with private property on every scale; defines it as a 'repudiation of the severities of private owner-

ship,' and regrets the anti-Christian violence which prevails among foreign, as it is fast invading British, upholders of the creed on which he has practised so pungent a criticism. Herr Hentschel opposes to such democracy as now reigns the idea of race, bluntly declaring the Teuton, with his kinsfolk, to be perpetual overlord of all other species. We might reckon Mr Wells a cosmopolitan, were it not that his actual teaching refutes the account of this word hitherto accepted. For in his eyes what, after all, is Socialism? 'The collective mind of humanity,' he tells us, 'the soul and moral being of mankind.' But does not that mind sift out the nobler from the base, setting these to be ruled, and those to rule them? Sift by a process far more effective than ballot and caucus mongering? Sift until the better seed are chosen, the worse doomed to disappear? And is there, in fact, any civilisation worth cultivating except our own? The 'moral being of mankind' is to decide who shall live and who be eliminated. Will the soul of humanity speak ambiguous oracles? The choosers of the slain are ideals. Simply, then, let us ask whether any have been sighted superior to the Christian; and if so, what are they?

Freedom, all three again would certainly limit; the millionaire, the loafer, the parasite, are not to be free. But, while Dr Petrie gets quit of these excrescences by voluntary effort rather than by State intervention, Mr Wells advocates government control; and 'Varuna' would build up a Sparta within the walls of Midgard. Plutocracy or Socialism appears to be the alternative in 'New Worlds for Old,' which the next generation will have to face. Why not the Christian State, which would lay on property duties commensurate with opulence, and on anarchic freedom the yoke of the Gospel? We need no longer, it seems, concern ourselves with Marx or Bebel. Their conception of humanity has been rejected by the 'collective mind.' For that relief much thanks. Overlordship of wealth and industry, or a Higher Feudalism, tempered by humane ideas—say, boldly, the Kingship of Christ—is not a new thought, but assuredly, were it accepted and acted upon, it would bring in a new world.

WILLIAM BARRY.

**Art. II.—THE REVIVAL OF EGYPT.**

*Modern Egypt.* By the Earl of Cromer. Two vols.  
London : Macmillan, 1908.

LORD CROMER'S '*Modern Egypt*' has now been nearly six months before the public. It has probably been more widely read than any book of the kind that has appeared for many years; and innumerable reviews and extracts have familiarised even those who have not the time or the patience to study the two thick volumes for themselves with its principal characteristics. Hence it would appear superfluous at this time of day to give our readers any general description of the contents of the work, or of the literary gifts displayed by its author. We will assume them to be aware that the book is not only, by virtue of its contents, one of the highest authority, but that it is destined, by virtue of its style, to take a permanent place in English literature. Philosophical in spirit, simple and lucid in expression, and enriched by many good quotations and apposite references, it shows the great man of action who has written it to be also a considerable man of letters. That Lord Cromer is a master of clear and vigorous English has long been known from the series of his annual Reports, which are among the best Blue-books in our language. What has come as a surprise to many, though not to all his admirers, is the ripe scholarship and the broad general culture which make '*Modern Egypt*' attractive even to those readers who have no special interest in the subject with which it deals.

Assuming, therefore, a general acquaintance on the part of our readers with the substance of the book, we may proceed at once to dwell on some of its lessons. Lord Cromer, in his opening sentences, has stated his 'twofold object' to be, 'first, to place on record an accurate narrative of some of the principal events which have occurred in Egypt and in the Soudan since 1876, and secondly, to explain the results which have accrued to Egypt from the British occupation of the country in 1882.' We propose in these pages, following Lord Cromer's lead, to begin with an examination of the historical events which have brought about our present

position in Egypt, and subsequently to consider that graphic picture of the Egypt of to-day, which gives such unique interest to the later part of his book, and to consider it with special reference to the problems of the future.

The earlier and purely historical portion of 'Modern Egypt' covers the period from the beginning of 1877, when Lord Cromer (then Sir Evelyn Baring) first went out as a Commissioner of the Debt, to the death of the Khedive Tewfik in 1892. These fifteen years witnessed the great political transformation which has replaced one of the most profligate and fantastic of Oriental despotisms by a highly civilised administration of the European type under the virtual protectorate of Great Britain. By 1892 that virtual protectorate was firmly established. The years which have elapsed since, important as they are in the history of the development of Egypt, full as they are of interesting and sometimes even critical events, were not, like the fifteen years which preceded them, an epoch of revolution. They were years of progress, in some respects amazingly rapid, in others painfully slow and much impeded, but always progress on lines already laid down and more or less familiar.

With the actual history of these later years, except as regards the affairs of the Soudan, Lord Cromer has wisely not attempted to deal. In the second part of his book, which contains his description of the Egypt of to-day, he does indeed touch, incidentally, upon many events of recent date. But his continuous narrative is not carried beyond 1892; nor indeed, in any detail, beyond the fall of Khartoum in 1885. On the other hand, the series of intensely dramatic events which terminated in that year—the fall of Ismail, the rebellion of Arabi, the war, the occupation, the loss of the Soudan—all these are narrated in the most frank and vivid way, with a fullness of detail, and of course with an inside knowledge, which no other chronicler could command.

Amid much that is interesting and instructive, two points stand out with special clearness and are calculated to make an indelible impression on the mind of the reader. One is the hopeless welter of extravagance, tyranny, and corruption which led to the collapse of the native government of Egypt; the other is the special Providence which

seems to have watched over British policy, especially in the fateful years 1881-82. Aimless and vacillating from first to last, with no grasp of the realities of the situation, no plan beyond to-morrow, and no desire except to escape responsibility, Mr Gladstone and his colleagues were nevertheless led, or rather driven, by the course of events to assume that position of authority in Egypt which they did their best to avoid, and the assumption of which has resulted in great and manifest advantages alike to the people of Egypt and to all legitimate European interests in that country.

Much eloquence has been expended, and by many writers, on denouncing the misgovernment of Ismail Pasha. But no denunciation, however vigorous and well justified, could be so utterly damning as the sober and matter-of-fact narrative in which Lord Cromer recounts his own experiences of the results of that misgovernment, while acting as a Commissioner of the Egyptian Debt in the years 1877-1879. The dark picture is relieved by many touches of humour. If the results of Ismail's extravagance, its effects upon his unfortunate subjects, were enough to make angels weep, the manner of it was often so funny as to leave mere mortals no option but to laugh. The whimsical profusion which led him to bankruptcy, the ingenious if transparent devices by which he sought to avert or to conceal it, the travesty of constitutional government which was his last ruse for baffling his European tutors, his magniloquent professions of amendment and self-abnegation, his instant relapses into his old arbitrary ways, all the dodges and doublings of this 'astute but superficial cynic' as he was gradually run to earth, make up a drama transcending the best inventions of the comic muse. Truth is stranger than fiction. In the 'land of paradox' she is also consistently more entertaining. But never, even in that country of strange contrasts, have tragedy and comedy been more crudely juxtaposed than during the closing years of the last Khedive of Egypt who was absolute master in his own house.

How different the atmosphere when we turn from this tangle of Oriental guile to contemplate the virtuous ineptitudes of British diplomacy! Here too there is humour, but of a less attractive kind. We miss the

engaging, almost disarming, *naïveté* which characterised the manoeuvres of 'the Egyptian Verres.' Still, it would be difficult not to smile at the solemn persistence with which the British Government of the early eighties went on weaving diplomatic ropes of sand and laboriously 'considering' and 'conferring about' every possible solution of the Egyptian puzzle except the one which finally had to be adopted.

The whole story is exceedingly instructive. In the abstract there was nothing much amiss with the reformed administration which was established in Egypt, under European pressure, immediately after the abdication of Ismail in 1879. There was a young and well-meaning Khedive, who frankly accepted the position of a constitutional ruler. The Ministry, under an honest and vigorous, if somewhat narrow-minded, chief, Riaz Pasha, was seriously bent on reform. Moreover, it got on well with the two Financial Controllers, who, nominated respectively by the French and British Governments, represented the element of European supervision in this composite system. But that system suffered from one fatal defect. It rested on no firm foundation. It had no power behind it, either indigenous or foreign, definitely pledged to its support. By September 1881, after the third successful mutiny of the Army, it had become evident to every one that it was neither the Khedive and his Ministers nor their foreign advisers who were masters of Egypt, but the leaders of the insurgent troops. The only question any longer worth discussing was how assistance could be promptly rendered to the reformed administration, in order to prevent its overthrow.

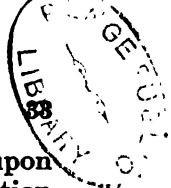
For fully nine months this question was vigorously debated, first between France and England, then between France, England and the other great Powers, without any one getting a single inch nearer to its solution. It was not till Europeans had been murdered in cold blood in the streets of Alexandria, and all Egypt was rapidly drifting into anarchy, that the only way out of the *impasse*, which had never been suggested in these endless diplomatic discussions, was, almost by accident, resorted to, and with complete success. Great Britain alone stepped in, and by a few well-directed blows succeeded,

in little more than two months, in crushing the rebellion and restoring a tranquillity which—in Egypt proper—has never since been disturbed. But not for one moment, even when we were actually engaged in cutting the Gordian knot, did we desist from the solemn farce of discussing how it was to be unloosed. Nothing could be more bizarre than the manner in which, through the agency of Lord Dufferin, then our ambassador at Constantinople, we kept on urging the Sultan to intervene in Egypt, and arguing with him over every detail of his intervention—how, when and where a Turkish force was to land, and what proclamation was to precede its landing—while all the time British ships were seizing the Canal, and British troops pouring into Egypt, overthrowing the forces of Arabi, and taking complete possession of the country. It was not till five days after the battle of Tel-el-Kebir had been fought that an end was put to these grotesque negotiations.

It is not wonderful that a cynical world thought at the time, and will perhaps continue to think, that Great Britain deliberately protracted the discussion in order to see Egypt drift into a state of chaos, which would afford a valid excuse for armed intervention. Lord Cromer is emphatic in his repudiation of this idea. Such insinuations, he says, 'are without a shadow of foundation. The policy of the British Government at the time may or may not have been mistaken, but it was certainly sincere.' Even without this authoritative denial, no one who follows the sequence of events recorded in Lord Cromer's pages, or who remembers the character of the British Government of that day, can for one moment suspect it of Machiavellian designs, or indeed of any far-sighted and carefully thought-out policy, good or evil.

Equally little can Mr Gladstone and his colleagues be accused of any liking for isolated action, least of all when it involved a resort to arms. In going to war—Mr Gladstone, it must be remembered, never admitted that it was 'war,' but only 'military operations'—they were deflected, suddenly and most reluctantly deflected, by merciless necessity from the general trend of their policy, or want of policy. The vigorous action which put an end to chaos in Egypt and laid the foundation of all her subsequent prosperity was the last thing they

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ever intended or desired. It was an excrescence upon their general course of conduct, a temporary aberration from their abiding faith in conferences and reports, and dilatory verbiage generally. As long as it was 'conferring about the situation' with one or more foreign Powers the Foreign Office was happy. What more could be expected of it, unless indeed it was to send somebody to report] on a problem the essential features of which were perfectly clear, but which nobody was prepared to tackle? In the spring of 1882, when the devil's cauldron in Egypt was just about to boil over, Lord Granville suggested that Great Britain and France should send two special Commissioners to Egypt. They were to be persons 'who had been in the habit of considering economical reforms,' and to whom 'the British and French representatives in Cairo might have recourse for an independent and impartial opinion upon any points which seemed to them doubtful or complicated.' When this proposal was made, the British and French representatives, and the leading Europeans generally, were in danger of having their throats cut. Some weeks later, Mr Cookson, the British consul-general at Alexandria, was nearly killed in the streets of that city. 'A more strange idea,' Lord Cromer gravely remarks, 'than that of sending two gentlemen "who had been in the habit of considering economical reforms" in order to control a mutinous army certainly never entered into the head of a responsible statesman.'

Strange, no doubt, but nevertheless characteristic. Lord Granville was a man of great ability. He was also a man of great charm—gay, humorous, and courteous. Lord Cromer himself, though he suffered a good deal at his hands, and is a statesman of a very different type, was evidently much attached to him, and has paid a warm tribute to his many endearing qualities. By virtue of his dexterity and his grace Lord Granville was by no means a bad hand at dealing with ordinary difficulties. It was his misfortune that, in the Egyptian crisis of 1881-2, as later in the great catastrophe in the Soudan, he was brought face to face with difficulties far transcending the ordinary. In such conditions no amount of tact and adroitness could make up for the lack of firm will and clear purpose. To a clear-cut policy, thoroughly thought out and resolutely pursued, Lord Granville—a

procrastinator on principle, a firm believer in the doctrine of 'sufficient unto the day'—was constitutionally averse. 'We shall muddle out of it somehow'; 'a good excuse for a dawdle'—these and similar phrases of his no doubt conceal, under a humorous guise, a certain political wisdom. But it is the part of statesmanship to distinguish between situations which are best dealt with by being left to settle themselves and those in which prompt and consistent action is the only road to safety. The problems presented alike by Egypt and the Soudan in the early eighties were essentially problems in face of which delay spelt disaster; problems, moreover, which could not be solved by isolated expedients, but where every step should have been considered with reference to the steps which had to follow. It was essential to have a definite plan and to adhere to it with resolution; to know from the first in which direction one meant to proceed and not to make a single move in any other. The tentative method was wholly out of place. Yet the British Government of that day never seemed to look beyond the morrow. It was very true, as Lord Granville said, that 'unfortunately there was no course which was not open to objections'; but that was hardly a good reason for adopting no course at all.

No doubt the aimlessness of our policy was not due wholly to the character of Lord Granville. The Government of Mr Gladstone had many other things to think of besides the Egyptian question, though possibly none which at the time called more urgently for attention. But political problems, under our system of government, are apt to receive attention from those in power, not in proportion to their inherent importance, but to the degree of interest which they excite at public meetings and in the House of Commons. Until the massacres at Alexandria and the exodus of Europeans startled the British nation into a sudden interest in Egypt, there was little public pressure on the Government to concentrate its mind on the affairs of that country. And though, from that moment onward, the Egyptian problem never left Mr Gladstone and his colleagues, but hung ever more heavily round their necks as they plunged deeper and deeper into the morass, it is evident that the Prime Minister himself never regarded it as anything but a disagreeable interruption to his management of other matters in which he

was far more deeply interested. Whatever his faults, no one can accuse Mr Gladstone of want of courage, or of tenacity. But he had no great experience, and certainly no special aptitude, in dealing with foreign and Imperial questions. He cordially disliked these foreign complications; and what he disliked he had a strong disposition to ignore. From first to last he shrank from facing the facts of the situation in the Nile valley; but they were stern and urgent facts and refused to be put aside.

With the exception of the brief interlude of decisive action from July to September, 1882, when the Government, swept along on a wave of public excitement at home, took steps of the most momentous character and far-reaching consequences, the attitude of Mr Gladstone's Ministry towards the Egyptian question was always the same. It was an attitude of reluctance, of vacillation, of never deciding to-day what could possibly be put off till to-morrow, of continually striving to avoid or limit responsibility, with the invariable result of increasing the burden which we were trying to shake off. Even in that involuntary interlude of drastic action which began with the bombardment of Alexandria, this tendency to shirk kept on asserting itself at every available chance. We have seen how, while actually engaged in conquering Egypt, the British Government was still seeking to induce the Porte to share in its military action, although the landing of Turkish troops would have caused a fresh and grave complication, and was regarded with unfeigned dismay by every responsible person in Egypt, including the Khedive. It was pure good luck that the habitual procrastination and tortuousness of Turkish diplomacy defeated our efforts to undo with one hand what we were doing with the other.

A still more striking instance of the same failing was the refusal of the British Cabinet to land troops at Alexandria directly after the bombardment. As a consequence of this refusal the retreating garrison had time to set fire to the town; and the unfortunate Egyptian Treasury, already thoroughly depleted, was presently obliged to borrow an additional 4,000,000*l.* in order to pay for the damage thus caused. Yet no sooner was the town burned down than troops had to be landed after all. In defending these proceedings, which were severely criti-

cised at the time, Mr Gladstone stated that the landing of troops would have been objectionable because it would have involved 'the assumption of authority on the Egyptian Question.' Lord Cromer's comment on this incident is as follows :

'It is difficult to conceive the frame of mind of any one who considers that firing several thousand shot and shell into Egyptian forts did not involve an "assumption of authority," whereas landing some men to prevent a populous city being burned to the ground did involve such an assumption. These technicalities, which are only worthy of a special pleader, were the bane of the British Government in dealing with the Egyptian Question during Mr Gladstone's ministry' (i, 298).

It may have been difficult to conceive 'the frame of mind,' which permitted the burning of Alexandria, but it was one with which Lord Cromer's experiences in subsequent years were destined to make him painfully familiar. No sooner had the British Government taken the decisive step of occupying Egypt than it began to try to escape from the inevitable consequences.

'Kinglake's prophecy' (says Lord Cromer) 'was that the Englishman would plant his foot firmly in the valley of the Nile. It had so far been fulfilled that the Englishman had planted his foot, but he had not planted it firmly. Hardly, indeed, had his foot been planted when, fearful of what he had done, he struggled to withdraw it' (i, 331).

The history of Egypt during the years 1882-85 is filled with the flounderings of the Gladstone Government in their efforts to get out of Egypt, efforts which fortunately ended in failure. The special Providence, already referred to, which forced them to occupy that country contrary to their intention, finally kept them there against their will. A subsequent effort to withdraw, on the part of Lord Salisbury's Ministry, was defeated by the slipperiness of Turkish diplomacy, which in this as in so many instances over-reached itself. For the second time within five years, the action of the Porte, which had no more fervent desire than to see us retire from Egypt, was largely instrumental in keeping us there. And so thenceforward British statesmen resigned themselves to the inevitable, and for twenty years past the futile desire to escape from a position of authority in Egypt has

gradually given way to the worthier aim of using that authority for her good. Of the two alternative policies, which, as Lord Cromer justly points out, were open to us after Tel-el-Kebir—the policy of evacuation, and the policy of reform—it was the policy of reform which finally triumphed. But it was a long time before we recognised that, as Lord Cromer says, ‘the adoption of one of these policies was wholly destructive of the other.’

Mr Gladstone's Government never arrived at the understanding of this fundamental truth. They were sincerely desirous of reforming the administration of Egypt and ameliorating the condition of the Egyptian people; but they were even more eager to wash their hands of the whole Egyptian business. It was the perpetual clash of these inconsistent objects which made our position in Egypt during the first years of the occupation a perfect Pandora's box of troubles, local and international, administrative, financial, and military. It is difficult at this time of day, when what we have achieved in Egypt has become a source of legitimate pride and satisfaction to the British people, to recall the utter weariness, disgust, and despair with which, two or three and twenty years ago, the average Englishman regarded the whole Egyptian imbroglio. The contrast between our feelings now and then is the true measure of our indebtedness to the writer of ‘Modern Egypt,’ and to those of our fellow-countrymen who were his coadjutors in the early evil days, when the efforts of British administrators to drag Egypt out of the slough of misgovernment, bankruptcy, and corruption were so heavily handicapped by the vacillation of the British Government and the baneful influence of British party warfare.

So far as the external relations of Egypt were concerned, the climax of Gladstonian policy was reached in the fall of Khartoum and the death of Gordon, of which more presently. But in respect of her domestic affairs we had touched bottom a little earlier. The Northbrook Mission in the autumn of 1884 probably marks the nadir of financial embarrassment and administrative confusion. ‘Lest we forget,’ it is worth while, even at this distance of time, to recall the lamentable figure we then cut in the presence of difficulties which, at a later date, and under different auspices, proved far from insoluble. Lord

Cromer, it must be remembered, had at this juncture not been more than a year in the position of British Agent, and was far from having attained that reputation and prestige which subsequently made him virtually the controller of our policy in Egypt, and the guide rather than the instrument of successive British Ministers. In 1884 he was still largely dependent on direction from home. What sort of direction he got can be gathered from his account of the Northbrook Mission, of which we venture to quote the principal passages.

‘The difficulties and complications of the Egyptian Question were, of course, greatly increased by events in the Soudan. . . . Under the circumstances, what was a well-intentioned Government, which had drifted into a position which it very imperfectly understood, to do? Undoubtedly, the question was difficult to answer.

‘After a short period of hesitation, Mr Gladstone resorted to his favourite device. He determined to send to Cairo a Special Commissioner [Lord Northbrook] to “report and advise Her Majesty’s Government touching the counsel which it might be fitting to offer the Egyptian Government in the present situation of affairs in Egypt, and as to the measures which should be taken in connection with them.” The Commissioner’s special attention was to be directed to the “present exigencies of Egyptian finance.” There was really little about which to report. The main facts with which the Government had to deal were patent to all the world. . . . What was required was the decision of character necessary to arrive at a definite conclusion, when once the facts had been collected . . . (ii, 366 ff.).

‘Lord Northbrook did not attempt to solve the Egyptian question in so far as its solution depended on the continuance of the British occupation. He expressed a strong opinion that the garrison could not be at once withdrawn from Egypt, and there left the matter. But he made some excellent proposals in respect to the finances of the country. Had these proposals been accepted by the Cabinet and carried into execution, internationalism, which has been the bane of Egypt, would have received a heavy blow, and the paramount power of Great Britain, as the guide and protector of Egypt, would have been asserted. Lord Northbrook’s views were, however, too thorough-going for Mr Gladstone, who was not prepared to guarantee the interest on an Egyptian loan. The proposals also did not receive the support which

they deserved from the English press. The result was that nothing was done in the direction of carrying Lord Northbrook's policy into execution. His mission was a failure.'

Fortunately there were to be no more such missions. Within less than a year from this date Mr Gladstone's Government had fallen. Owing to that and other causes which, towards the close of 1885, combined to lessen the tension in Egyptian affairs, alike in their local and in their international aspects, Lord Cromer and the British administrators under him got their chance. Comparatively little worried from home, supported by the continued presence of a small British garrison, they were able quietly and unostentatiously to set about that work of financial and administrative recuperation which was destined to produce such magnificent results. Luckily for them, it attracted at first but little attention. People at home had ceased to hope that any good thing could come out of Egypt. If only she ceased to worry, if she could merely be kept out of bankruptcy, and we ourselves out of perpetual hot water on account of her, the British public were disposed to be content. And so the good work went steadily on, gathering momentum year by year as the fruits of it came to be reaped in returning prosperity, until of late days it has won the respect even of those foreign nations which at first were hostile or contemptuous. There is practically no difference of opinion nowadays among European nations about the results of our reorganisation of Egypt. Nor is there in Europe any hostility to the continuance of our virtual protectorate there. The difficulties ahead, which will presently be referred to, are of a wholly different character, and bear little resemblance to the troubles in which we found ourselves involved in the early days of the occupation.

But before we leave the historical portion of Lord Cromer's book, something must perforce be said of what occupies a very prominent place in it, namely, his long and detailed account of the circumstances attending the mission of General Gordon to Khartoum, its unfortunate course and tragic conclusion.

We say 'perforce' because, to tell the truth, we feel much doubt whether there is anything to be gained at this time of day from a revival of the controversy,

which once raged so hotly, as to the relative importance of the successive mistakes, or the comparative guilt of the several principal actors, in that most unhappy series of events. The story of the fall of Khartoum must always remain an irresistibly attractive, if also a melancholy, page in English history. And let it be said at once that no one who aims at a complete acquaintance with it can afford to dispense with a study of Lord Cromer's pages. Not only do they throw some absolutely fresh light on several points, but they marshal all the material, old and new, in the clearest possible manner. The story itself is admirably told. But might not the running commentary of praise or blame, the continual calling up of one and then another leading character in the piece, including Lord Cromer himself, to receive sentence for this or that act of omission or commission, have been somewhat abridged? Nobody can say that Lord Cromer is not scrupulously fair. He is quite as frank about what he considers his own mistakes as about what appear to him the mistakes of other people. But, for all that, there is something which rather grates upon us in some of his criticisms of Gordon, and notably in the passage in which he discusses—quite needlessly, as we venture to think—the question whether, when at Khartoum, Gordon ‘really tried to do his duty.’

We say this in no spirit of Gordon-worship. We are quite prepared to agree with Lord Cromer that Gordon made mistakes, that he was guilty of many inconsistencies, and that he was, alike by his qualities and the defects of his qualities, ill fitted for the task confided to him. But it is possible to admit all that, and yet to feel that there is no occasion to impugn his motives; and that not merely because of his admittedly noble character and heroic death, to which Lord Cromer pays such a splendid tribute, not merely because reverence for his name is one of our national possessions. A stronger reason still is to be found in the extreme idiosyncrasy of Gordon's erratic genius. His mind moved in such abnormal grooves that it is idle to test its conclusions by the touchstone of ordinary logic. His decision to cling to Khartoum when the original object of his going there had clearly failed may have been wrong; it may even have been perverse; and yet it may have been,

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and indeed we think it evidently was, the outcome of pure devotion to his duty, as he saw it.

No doubt the history of the terrible series of our errors and failures in the Soudan, which reached such a tragic climax on the fatal 16th of January, 1885, is full of warnings, which should never be forgotten. But we miss the main point if we confine ourselves to an analysis of individual mistakes, to the unprofitable task of exactly apportioning the responsibility for each successive blunder. Broadly regarded, the great fiasco, as a whole, was nothing but the inevitable Nemesis of that consistent lack of definite aim and clear purpose which was the bane of all our action in the Nile valley in the eventful years 1881-5.

In spite of all, the Providence which 'shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will,' brought good out of the evil. But, lest on that account we should be tempted to think that there is no punishment necessarily attendant upon weakness and negligence and vacillation, we did not even begin to make headway with the work we were ultimately destined to achieve until we had passed through a series of bitter reverses and a season of profound humiliation. The fearful waste of life and treasure in our three abortive expeditions into the desert, the ignominious failure of the attempt to relieve Khartoum, our subsequent impotence in the face of the triumphant savagery which for years desolated the Soudan—these were the penalty we had to pay for the habit of timorous trifling with urgent crises, for the persistent practice of seeking to escape from the logical consequences of our own actions. We have seen how, from the first moment of our occupation of Egypt, we sought to avoid the responsibilities which it entailed. Having put our hands to the plough we at once began to look back. It was this frame of mind which led to the great original mistake of trying to wash our hands of all responsibility for the Soudan. We were masters of Egypt, and Egypt had a wolf by the ears in her vast Soudanese dominions. Yet for months we studiously took no notice of this most pressing difficulty of the Egyptian Government. Feeble Egyptian pashas, supported by a wretched army, were left to stem the rising tide of rebellion; and our only concern was to shut our eyes to what was happening.

The result was the annihilation of Hicks's army and a situation of such imminent danger to Egypt itself that we were compelled, *nolentes volentes*, to bestir ourselves. Egypt was clearly unable any longer to hold the Soudan, and we were, no doubt wisely, unwilling to hold it for her. So then, with a sudden access of resolution, due, be it observed, entirely to Lord Cromer, who compelled the British Government for once to make up its mind, we threw to the winds the theory that the Soudan was no concern of ours, and compelled the Egyptian Government to resolve on its instant evacuation. But evacuation involved unpleasant consequences—the relapse of the Soudan into utter barbarism, the revival of the slave trade, the probable massacre of the Egyptian garrisons. The British Government was all for evacuation, because it promised relief from further trouble, but it did not like the consequences of evacuation, which were very unpopular. The problem how to adopt the easy course and yet escape its unpopular consequences was evidently a puzzling one.

For a month or so the Government pondered over that puzzle, until, at the instigation of an enterprising journalist, it hit upon a remarkable solution. The solution was to send into the heart of the Soudan, now seething with rebellion, a single man, nominally, as usual, to 'report,' but really with a vague hope that he would, by some unimaginable means, retrieve the situation. He was to evacuate the Soudan and to withdraw the garrisons; he was also, if possible, to leave behind him some sort of settled government. The man, himself a visionary, did not, at any rate at the outset, perceive the hopeless inconsistency of these several objects. And so the Government, and, it is fair to add, the nation, jumped at his splendid offer, and sent him out to do the impossible. There has at different times been much discussion as to the precise purpose of General Gordon's mission, as to the 'instructions' given, or not given, to him, and so forth. But the real mind of the Government, and of the public, in so far as it had a mind, might have been written down on the proverbial half-sheet of note-paper: 'Our policy is to evacuate the Soudan. Go and carry out that policy—but without its drawbacks.'

It is easy at this distance of time to see that this

idea was an absurdity; that the frame of mind which led to its acceptance, the desire to do a thing and not to do it, to reap the advantages of a particular course and yet not to incur its disadvantages, was a frame of mind which courted and deserved disaster. And disaster followed with a vengeance. The single man who was sent to do the work and save the expense of an expedition, albeit a hero, albeit, in his strange incalculable way, a genius, was unable to stem the rising flood of intrepid fanaticism. He found himself shut up in the heart of the Soudan, surrounded by hordes of daring barbarians, and with only the *débris* of what had been at best a miserable army to support him. And so, after all, an expedition had to be sent to relieve the man who was intended to be the *deus ex machina* to relieve us from an expedition. But, inasmuch as the British Government, in the face of facts that were palpable to all the world, and of Lord Cromer's urgent and repeated warnings, required four months to convince itself that General Gordon was in danger, this expedition, though a great and costly one, was sent too late. The heroic emissary was killed at his post; the relieving force, after much gallant but useless fighting, had to be recalled; and the Soudan was left, for more than ten years, in a welter of barbarism which resulted in the death, by massacre or starvation, of some three-fourths of its inhabitants.

Rarely in history have weakness, irresolution, and the refusal to look facts in the face been productive of more ruinous consequences. Great Britain has indeed been fortunate in having been enabled, at a later stage, to retrieve the deep discredit which she incurred in the eyes of the world by the gigantic fiasco of her first dealings with the Soudan. After thirteen years, years well spent in restoring the prosperity of Egypt and building up a new Egyptian army, an opportunity offered of recovering what had been lost; and in three successive victorious campaigns the cruel despotism of the dervishes was overthrown and the Soudan was once more brought within the confines of civilisation. The events of these years are still fresh in every memory, and it is needless to dwell upon them. Suffice it to note that the lesson of our ultimate success is precisely the same as that of our former failure. The policy which led to the recovery of

the Soudan was characterised by all the qualities which were so conspicuously absent in our earlier proceedings with regard to that country. It was a policy of forethought, of resolution, of careful adaptation of means to ends, a policy which left the least possible room to chance, and took no step without calculating the steps that would have to follow. Alike on the military and civil sides, the Soudan expeditions of 1896-8 are a model of well-considered, consecutive, coherent action, with that happy combination of caution and dash which is possible only to those who thoroughly understand what they are doing. No doubt it may be said that throughout these years the British Government and its agents had great luck, just as in 1883-5 the luck always seemed to be against them. But, the closer we look either at the dark picture or at the bright one, the more we shall be disposed to doubt whether in either instance the element of luck is in any way necessary to account for the result. Is not the moral in either case summed up in the well-known lines of Juvenal, quoted—though in another connexion—by Lord Cromer?—

‘Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia. Nos te,  
Nos facimus, Fortuna, deam, coeloque locamus.’

Great as is the interest attaching to the historical portions of Lord Cromer's book, they must not be allowed to divert attention from those sections of it, less fascinating perhaps, but certainly not less valuable, in which, under the heads of ‘The Egyptian Puzzle’ and ‘The Reforms,’ he deals with the problems which Egypt presents to-day, after more than twenty years of recuperation, under British influence. The general effect of these years of progress is summed up in an impressive passage :

‘No one can fully realise the extent of the change which has come over Egypt since the British occupation took place unless he is in some degree familiar with the system under which the country was governed in the days of Ismail Pasha. The contrast between now and then is, indeed, remarkable. A new spirit has been instilled into the population of Egypt. Even the peasant has learned to scan his rights. Even the Pasha has learned that others besides himself have rights which must be respected. The courbash may hang on the walls of the Moudirieh, but the Moudir no longer dares to

employ it on the backs of the fellaheen. For all practical purposes it may be said that the hateful *corvée* system has disappeared; slavery has virtually ceased to exist; the halcyon days of the adventurer and the usurer are past; fiscal burthens have been greatly relieved; everywhere law reigns supreme; justice is no longer bought and sold; Nature, instead of being spurned and neglected, has been wooed to bestow her gifts on mankind; she has responded to the appeal; the waters of the Nile are now utilised in an intelligent manner; means of locomotion have been improved and extended; the soldier has acquired some pride in the uniform which he wears; he has fought as he never fought before; the sick man can be nursed in a well-managed hospital; the lunatic is no longer treated like a wild beast; the punishment awarded to the worst criminal is no longer barbarous. Lastly, the schoolmaster is abroad, with results which are as yet uncertain, but which cannot fail to be important' (ii, 556).

This, though a striking, is a modest summary of results. It might, from Lord Cromer's own pages, be greatly extended; and every one who has had personal experience of Egypt during the last two decades will be able to add some touches to the picture. But the question will ever force itself upon us: how far is the transformation permanent? Is it really the beginning of a new era, or merely an episode in the secular story of Egyptian oppression? And, to come to the direct practical issue, how far has the reformed system struck root in Egyptian soil? Would it survive without receiving continued protection from the alien hands which planted it?

No one who follows Lord Cromer in his careful analysis of the elements of Egyptian society, and especially in that masterly chapter headed 'The Dwellers in Egypt,' can have much doubt as to the answer to this question, even if the author had not stated his own view, with characteristic plainness of speech, in his concluding chapter.

'I make no pretension' (he there says) 'to the gift of political prophecy. I can only state my deliberate opinion, formed after many years of Egyptian experience and in the face of a decided predisposition to favour the policy of evacuation, that at present, and for a long time to come, the results of executing such a policy would be disastrous. Looking to the special intricacies of the Egyptian system of government, to the licence of the local press, to the ignorance and credulity

of the mass of the population, to the absence of Egyptian statesmen capable of controlling Egyptian society and of guiding the very complicated machine of government, to the diminution of the influence exercised by the British officials and by the representative of England in Egypt which would inevitably result from the evacuation, and to the proved impotence of international action in administrative matters—it appears to me impossible to blind oneself to the fact that, if the British garrison were now withdrawn, a complete upset would probably ensue. . . . It may be that, at some future period, the Egyptians may be rendered capable of governing themselves without the presence of a foreign army in their midst, and without foreign guidance in civil and military affairs; but that period is far distant. One or more generations must, in my opinion, pass away before the question can be even usefully discussed' (ii, 566).

These are strong words. There may be some who, even though agreeing with them, will wish that they had not been written. 'Is it necessary,' they may ask, 'to state these unpleasant facts with so much bluntness, especially nowadays when the question of evacuation has long ceased to be a burning one? Would it not be better to go on quietly as we are and let sleeping dogs lie?' For our own part we differ from that view. No doubt this and other passages, in which Lord Cromer points out, with great directness, the existing weaknesses of Egyptian society, would be regrettable if they were superfluous. But they are not superfluous. British statesmen will have to display no less tenacity in the immediate future than they have displayed for the last twenty years, if the good work which has been done in Egypt is to be upheld and consolidated. What chance is there of such firmness on the part of our rulers unless the nation remains convinced of its necessity? And how is the nation to remain so convinced unless those who can alone speak with unquestionable authority tell it the plain truth?

Let us harbour no illusions on this subject. The question of our withdrawal from Egypt may not be a burning one to-day. But it is quite certain that it will not be allowed to sleep. The pressure upon us to withdraw will come from a new quarter and in a more insidious form than it has done in the past.

So far as the European Powers are concerned, there is little likelihood of further suggestions that our occupation of the Nile valley had better come to an end. It may be doubted whether any of them, except France, ever seriously desired to see us leave Egypt; and the opposition of France to our remaining there, which was at one time so persistent and even menacing, has been completely dispelled by the agreement of 1904, and still more by the cordial relations which, largely owing to that agreement, have sprung up between the French and British nations, and show every sign of growing strength and permanence. But, if in the European world there is almost complete acquiescence in the *status quo*, Turkey remains as always sullenly hostile; and, what is of even more importance, there is a growing impatience of British control among the Egyptians themselves.

Now the British public are no doubt indifferent, perhaps more indifferent than they ought to be, to the estrangement of Turkey. But there is a great body of opinion in this country, a body of opinion always influential, and which, in certain moods of the national mind, may even attain a temporary predominance, to which the programme of the Egyptian 'Nationalist' party is calculated to make a powerful appeal. There is a large class of people over whom nationalism of any kind, always excepting British nationalism, seems to exercise an irresistible spell. You have only to utter the words 'freedom' and 'self-government'—provided the freedom be freedom from British control, and the self-government be to the exclusion of some 'Imperial' authority—in order to gain their enthusiastic support. It is the strength of this sentiment among ourselves which makes the growth of the Egyptian Nationalist party a serious matter.

There is no need to exaggerate the gravity of the danger; but it would not be wise to ignore that Egyptian Nationalism has been making great strides in the last few years, and that it is in the nature of things that it should continue to grow. An ever-increasing number of the educated, and especially of what Lord Cromer calls the 'Europeanised,' Egyptians will associate themselves with the agitation for the withdrawal of British control. No doubt only a few of them will be disposed to make serious efforts for the realisation of their ideal.

But they will give more or less encouragement to the handful of men who do make such efforts. The native newspapers, which have greatly increased in numbers, and which, owing to the spread of education, have a far wider circle of readers than they used to have, will, with rare exceptions, continue to indulge in violent diatribes against the British occupation and in scurrilous attacks upon particular British officials; and the great mass of the people, the cultivators of the soil, who have derived such unmixed advantage from the occupation, and would be the first to suffer from the termination of it, will look on with indifference, and even with a certain sympathy, at these attacks upon what is the palladium of their own prosperity. The old evils from which we delivered them are being forgotten, while sympathy with men of their own race and faith, as against the foreigner and the infidel, is a permanent factor. Lord Cromer is under no illusions as to the attitude of the fellahen, or of the Egyptian Moslems generally. Over and over again he points out how difference of race and religion and the eternal contrast between East and West constitute an unbridgeable gulf between them.

‘The English engineer’ (he says, ii, 148, 154) ‘may give the fellah water for his fields, and roads and railways to enable him to bring his produce to market; the English financier may afford him fiscal relief beyond his wildest hopes; the English jurist may prevent his being sent to death or exile for a crime of which he is innocent; the English schoolmaster may open to him the door of Western knowledge and science . . . but the Egyptian Moslem, albeit he . . . recognises the benefits conferred on him by the Englishman, and acknowledges his superior ability, can never forget the fact that the Englishman wears a hat whilst he himself wears a tarboush or a turban. Though he accepts the benefits willingly enough, he is always mindful that the hand which bestows them is not that of a co-religionist; and it is this which affects him far more than the thought that the Englishman is not his compatriot.’ And again: ‘The differences between Eastern and Western habits of thought constitute a barrier interposed between the Egyptian and the Englishman almost as great as that resulting from differences of religion, ideas of government, and social customs. Indeed the difference of mental attributes constitutes perhaps the greatest of all barriers.’



Hence it is that, as Lord Cromer reminds us in almost the last words of his book, we must not imagine that

'we can ever create a feeling of loyalty in the breasts of the Egyptians akin to that felt by a self-governing people for indigenous rulers, if, besides being indigenous, they are also beneficent. . . . Sir Herbert Edwards, writing to Lord Lawrence a few years after the annexation of the Punjab, said: "We are not *liked* anywhere. . . . The people hailed us as deliverers from Sikh maladministration, and we were popular so long as we were plaistering wounds. But the patient is well now, and he finds the doctor a bore. There is no getting over the fact that we are not Mohammedans, that we neither eat, drink, nor intermarry with them." The present situation in Egypt is very similar to that which existed in the Punjab when Sir Herbert Edwards wrote these lines. The want of gratitude displayed by a nation to its alien benefactors is almost as old as history itself' (ii, 570).

These are unpleasant truths, but the recognition of them will do us no harm if we can face the situation with the broad-minded and practical stoicism of Lord Cromer. We did not go to Egypt to win the affection of its people, but in defence of our own interests; and if, by remaining there, we can promote the welfare alike of Great Britain and of Egypt, we must be content to hold our ground without hoping for popularity.

If, indeed, the object, or the effect, of our action were to retard the progress of the Egyptian people in order that we might the more easily keep them in subjection, it would be impossible for us to persevere with an easy mind. But since exactly the opposite is the case, since it is the whole tendency of our policy to raise the Egyptians, alike materially and morally, in the scale of civilisation, we need have no qualms of conscience in the matter. Indeed, from one point of view, the very growth of Egyptian Nationalism is a tribute to the work we have achieved. The great increase in the number of young Egyptians who are, or consider themselves, capable of governing their country on civilised lines is due to the spread of education. The growing spirit of independence in the minds of the people is the result, on the one hand, of their elevation from the direst poverty to comparative comfort; on the other, of their having been taught to regard themselves as men and not as slaves. No doubt

one effect of all this progress, material and intellectual, is to make the Egyptians, or a large proportion of them, impatient of the controlling hand to which it is due, and without which its maintenance would be more than problematic. That is a phenomenon with which we are becoming familiar, not only in Egypt, but in India; and it is as natural, one might almost say as inevitable, as it is undoubtedly embarrassing.

But the novel difficulties with which we are thus confronted are not insuperable, provided we remain true to ourselves, and do not let them deflect us from the course which our duty and interest alike point out. That course is to persist in the policy of governing in the interest of the governed, but to retain the right of judging to what extent they are capable of being associated with us in the business of government. As a matter of fact, there is very little administrative capacity on the part of the native Egyptians which is not already employed in the service of the State. The number of natives so employed is constantly increasing. The controlling authority is always on the look-out for native ability, always trying to utilise it; and the amount of real capacity which is overlooked is probably very small. No doubt there are many men who think that they could adequately fill the posts still occupied by Europeans; but they are mostly glib talkers, whose practical capacity is not by any means commensurate with their ambition. And, though they may be a thorn in the side of the protecting power, they are not a real danger, unless our own weakness should make them so. The great body of the Egyptian people—a patient, hardworking, and, despite their excitable temper, essentially docile peasantry—may have a sentimental sympathy with nationalist aspirations. But they are not disposed to make any great effort to realise them; and, so long as their material interests are well cared for, and they are treated with reasonable consideration, they never will be. It required an unparalleled amount of misery and misgovernment to drive them into rebellion six and twenty years ago; and even then, under the most favourable conditions imaginable, the rebellion was half-hearted and short-lived.

Let it never be forgotten that this is not a question which concerns only the native Egyptian Moslems and

their British protectors. Egypt is an international country. The resident Europeans, many of them natives of the country, may represent only a small proportion—not much over one per cent.—of its total population; but, by virtue of their wealth, their intelligence, and their immemorial privileges, they are an element of first-rate importance. 'Are they not,' as Lord Cromer says, 'the salt of the Egyptian earth, the Brahmins of Egypt? and have they not behind them the diplomatists, and, it may even be, the soldiers and sailors of every State of Europe?'

It is one of the chief boasts of the British administration of Egypt that it has restrained the abuse of European privilege. It is one of the greatest problems before us to devise a means by which the resident European population shall in future continue to enjoy the security which the system of the Capitulations gives it, without those impediments to the general progress of the country which the maintenance of the Capitulations involves. But no solution of that problem would be possible under a purely Egyptian Government. It will be very difficult in any case to induce the European Powers to agree to any surrender of the privileges which their 'nationals' at present enjoy; it would be not only difficult, but absolutely impossible, to induce them to agree to it without the assurance which the protectorate of Great Britain, or of some other European Power, can alone afford, that these privileges could be abandoned with safety. The Capitulations have been maintained as affording a necessary protection of European rights against the arbitrary action of a native government. They will never be abandoned unless the danger of such arbitrary action is provided against by other means; and, so long as the Capitulations remain in force, so long, that is to say, as no Egyptian law can be made binding on European residents without the consent of fourteen foreign Powers, it is idle to talk of a 'self-governed' Egypt.

If Egyptian self-government means the government of Egypt without any European element at all, it is an absolutely impossible ideal. The only kind of self-government which is either conceivable or desirable is a system under which the European residents in Egypt would be associated with the native Egyptian Moslems

in legislation and administration, and associated, not merely in proportion to their numbers, but in a degree which would take account of their vast superiority, man for man, in wealth, intelligence, and civilisation. They would have to be weighed, not counted. There could be no question of basing representation on the principle of 'one man one vote,' or anything at all resembling it. But such a system of self-government—and it is the only possible one—will never be established, and it could never be maintained, except under the ægis of some European Power. The Egyptian Nationalist who dreams of becoming master in his own house by the simple process of extruding the Englishman is pursuing an idle dream. It is not *his* house only, and he can never be absolute master of it. If he has got so far as he has on the road to self-government, it is due to the protecting Power, which has at one and the same time defended him against European encroachment and afforded him a chance of rising in the scale of civilisation. If he is to make still further progress in the same direction, it can only be with the same assistance.

But he will have to admit some modification of his present crude ideal and to substitute for the watchword of 'Egypt for the Egyptians' that of 'Egypt for all the dwellers in Egypt.' He will have to accept the conclusion of Lord Cromer, that the only autonomy which is capable of realisation 'is one which will enable all the dwellers in cosmopolitan Egypt, be they Moslem or Christian, European, Asiatic or African, to be fused into one self-governing body.' That is a sufficiently difficult and distant ideal. But it is the maximum which can reasonably be hoped for in the way of self-government. And it will never be attained except under the guiding hand of the Power which has raised Egypt out of the slough of misery and oppression, and which is bound, in its own interest, to promote the prosperity of the Egyptian people and the stability of the civilised institutions with which it has endowed them.





### Art. III.—THE FIRST HOMER.

1. *Homer and His Age*. By Andrew Lang. London : Longmans, 1906.
2. *The Rise of the Greek Epic*. By Gilbert Murray. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1907.

THE discussion of Homer flows on, a noble stream, broadening and deepening with the accession of tributaries from prehistoric archæology and other sources. We admire the spectacle, but are not without apprehension that the volume may obliterate the channel, and that, like Father Thames in 'The Critic,' the river may need a reminder to 'keep between his banks.'

The books above cited, both interesting but different as the poles, agree in a tendency characteristic of the controversy at present. They are occupied almost exclusively in tracing or conjecturing the course of things in times antecedent to any recorded history of literature, and indeed to any historical record whatever. The authors' arguments are drawn from the internal evidence of the extant poems, and with external testimony they have little to do. And in general, the very last thing that we get from disputants on either side is an exact construction and estimation of what, truly or falsely, is recorded about the history of Homer. The record, such as it is, is hardly ever even correctly represented. The most punctilious of scholars (Grote, for example) are in this matter not to be trusted. It is the internal evidence which, on both sides, furnishes the main artillery; the record, when it gets a turn, is treated with little respect, and, what is less justifiable, is construed with little attention.

It is not surprising if, in these conditions, we make little progress towards agreement. Internal evidence about the history of a book, if not controlled by record, is liable to infinitely elastic interpretation. From a given phenomenon, such as a discrepancy in the narrative or an inconsistency of manners, different conclusions will be drawn with equal legitimacy, according to the circumstances of the time at which we know, or may suppose, the composition to have been executed. If these circumstances may be placed anywhere in the course of some

three or four centuries at least, about which we know almost nothing except that they were a time of profound changes—and this is, in effect, the license which we are apt to assume in discussing the problem of Homer—how can we expect that we shall produce any mutual impression? But, before we accept these conditions of debate, we should exhaust, by the most scrupulous construction, the possibilities of such external testimony as may exist. We cannot but think that the ancient record about the origin of Homer suffers unfairly from certain prepossessions which all would disclaim, but which are more easily disclaimed than abandoned.

For us modern readers it is scarcely possible, whatever we may say and however we may try, not to take the name 'Homer' as meaning, *prima facie* and presumptively, a book consisting of the Iliad and the Odyssey as we possess them, or the author of such a book. Nothing else of importance bearing that name has been extant since the revival of learning; and of the far larger mass which originally bore it, and which, if we believe what we are told, was extant long after the Christian era, nothing of importance, except the Iliad and Odyssey, was accepted as 'Homer' in the learned ages of antiquity—that is to say, from about 300 B.C.—or, after that date, was commonly read or even studied. It is natural, therefore, plausible, and inevitable, that we should not only use 'Homer' as a compendious expression for these two poems, but, if we raise the question of authorship and origin, should put it to ourselves in the form, 'What was the origin of the Iliad or of the Odyssey,' assuming these as the starting-point for discussion.

Nevertheless we must not so begin if we would study the tradition fairly. If we do, we practically forestall some of the most important conclusions which we have to verify. As a matter of record, and apart from inference or hypothesis, this 'Homer' of ours, comprising the two poems in their extant form, appears as an artificial product of scholarship, the result of a critical process; and the validity of this process is precisely one of the principal things which we have to consider. Nor must we presume, before proof, that the Iliad or the Odyssey, meaning the poems as we have them, had either of them, an independent beginning at all. Upon

the record, they first appear neither as constituting Homer nor as independent, but as parts of Homer. Whether, and in what shape, they existed before, is matter for inference and investigation, but cannot be investigated to much purpose if we begin by assuming an answer.

The history of 'Homer' as a definite book, with a fixed extent and content, begins, upon record, in the middle or latter part of the sixth century B.C., and at Athens. Then and there, but not before, nor at that time elsewhere, we have testimony to the existence of a definite book or collection commonly entitled 'The Poetry of Homer.' Possibly it bore also, as we shall see, another and a better title, but this one it certainly bore. That it had a definite extent and content is proved by the fact that it was the subject, like our Bible, of official sanction and enactment. There were precise orders about the recitation and study of it, a thing impossible unless the book or corpus was itself determined.

Of any earlier 'Homer' existing in these conditions, or any conditions of fixity, we know nothing from testimony; and what we do know about political and literary conditions generally is altogether against the presumption of such a fixture. It depends, not upon the use of writing—a matter which in some stages of this discussion has played too large a part—but upon the practice of reading. It is by readers, and the recognition of readers, that fixed and definite books are protected. We cannot here prove, but it will hardly be disputed, that a body of readers existed nowhere in Greece before the sixth century. At that time, and in one particular State, the nucleus or foundation of such a body was formed, by a revolution in the method of education not less momentous than any movement in history. The formation or collection of 'Homer' is said—and we believe it—to have been a part or instrument of this movement. The book, or perhaps we should rather say, the library, was adopted, and (we are told) was arranged, as the material of improved education at Athens.

The movement itself, the novel development of education, and its immeasurable importance, would be known by inference, even if it were not recorded. The whole history of Athens and of Hellas is but the sequel and effect of it. The amazing and unprecedented success

of the democratic experiment, in itself no novelty, which was made at Athens in the last years of the sixth century, is explicable by nothing else than a sudden and incomparable increase in the diffusion of intelligence and intellectual culture. Literature tells the same story, upon which it is needless to insist. It would be absurd, of course, to suppose a high standard of acquirement, or to think that in the sixth century, or in the fifth, Athens was, in the later and modern sense, a place of learning. But all things are measured by comparison. The population which embraced and realised the democratic conception of Cleisthenes, and achieved, as a people, in every department of life, the triumphs which Athens achieved between the birth of Æschylus and the death of Euripides, however far from erudition, had plainly an immense superiority of mind in comparison with their predecessors and contemporaries.

This lead, with all its consequences, the Athenians themselves, looking back upon their great age from the less advantageous position of the fourth century B.C., ascribed wholly to the better education which, by the efforts and encouragement of their successive governments, they adopted and established in the sixth. Such is the language of the statesman Lycurgus, in an eloquent passage of his extant speech (§§ 102-107). He treats it not as matter of theory, but of notoriety, that the whole Athenian triumph, the repulse of the Persians, Marathon and Salamis, the Athenian hegemony and the Athenian empire, had a principal cause in the studies which, in the previous generation, they as a people had adopted and espoused. It all came, he says in the plainest terms, from their familiarity with certain literature, to wit, 'the Poetry of Homer.'

Nor is there reason to doubt that, under proper interpretation, this view was as completely true as any such simplification of history can be. The success of Athens had many contributory causes or occasions; but the main cause clearly was that, in an age when not even the elements of literary education were yet diffused among any of the peoples with whom Athens had to contend, those elements at least, by energetic public efforts, were diffused in Attica. Before the close of the sixth century the Athenians were, what as yet no other people

was, generally familiarised with at least one great book, and had the advantage of this mental stimulus.

We should remark, indeed, that it is not upon the mental stimulus that the Athenian statesman himself insists, but rather upon the moral instruction which the Athenians derived from their studies. It was by familiarity, he says, with the patriotic sentiments to be found in 'the Poetry of Homer' that the Athenians became eminent in patriotism; and similarly, we are doubtless to assume, in other virtues there exemplified or inculcated. But, though we need not deny this moral effect, and may well suppose that, upon the whole, 'Homer' was in this way a means of elevation to a people starting from the general level of Greece in the time of Pisistratus, it is nevertheless, we think, plain that, in insisting exclusively upon this side of the matter, Lycurgus, and the Athenian public opinion to which he appeals, overlooked much, perhaps most, of the truth. The mental advantage, immense when it was uncommon, of being generally trained in the comprehension and exposition of some good literature, had surely more to do with making the Athenians into the leaders of Hellas, than the fact that more men there than in the other cities could repeat the lines in which Hector commends the sacrifice of self to country. A not dissimilar question arises upon the effects of the Protestant movement and the consequent diffusion of training in the Bible. Apart from the moral lessons, this education enlarged the class who read and discussed their reading, and who thus became better thinkers and more competent generally in all the business of life. The example of Scotland is notorious. And similar, we may suppose, *mutatis mutandis*, was the effect of the Athenian book, simply as a book, widely taught in Athens at a time when as yet no such teaching was common.

By Lycurgus this whole educational movement, and the adoption of Homer as the basis of it, is attributed to the Athenians as a people, without distinction of persons or of any particular authority. By others (the testimonies are familiar and we need not cite them) the movement, and the operations respecting 'Homer' connected with it, are attributed, now to one, now to another of the persons powerful at Athens in the age when the thing was

done—to the sons of Pisistratus, especially Hipparchus, to Pisistratus himself, and even to Solon. There is no need to reject or suspect any of these ascriptions, which have presumably the same measure of truth as the connecting of the Reformation now with one and now with another of the princes or statesmen of the sixteenth century. Hipparchus in particular is described (by no late or dubious authority, but by an Athenian whose work could be attributed to Plato) as extraordinarily and almost fanatically active in the diffusion of intellectual culture ('Hipparchus,' p. 228 B). That the movement was zealously supported by authority may safely be assumed from its rapid success; and that we know little or nothing of the methods, probably very simple, is no reason for doubting the fact of official activity. And as to the making or collection of the educational book, 'the Poetry of Homer,' it cannot possibly have been completed, as we shall see, in any very short time, and may well have extended over the forty or fifty years (say 570–520 B.C.), which would include all the names traditionally associated with it.

By both the above-mentioned witnesses, and elsewhere, stress is laid upon one particular ordinance respecting the national book or literature, namely, that it should be regularly and publicly recited at the great festival of the Panathenæa, celebrated in every fourth year. The emphasis laid upon this, as a proof of respect, is very proper; but we should observe, as having an important bearing upon the question, what was the nature and content of the collection, that neither in those places nor (we believe) anywhere is it suggested that this occasional recitation was the principal use or design to which the books were applied. The practical effect of such performances could hardly be anything; and we should attribute nonsense to Lycurgus, if we supposed him to ascribe the greatness of Athens to the fact that an Athenian might hear Homer for a few hours, upon perhaps some ten or a dozen occasions in the course of his life. But this is not said or suggested. In Lycurgus, the whole context, and in particular the comparison which he makes between the Athenian use of Homer and the instruction of the Spartans, shows that by the 'hearing' of Homer he means the habitual hearing, by all in the course of education, and by many subsequently in recitation and



reading aloud. He speaks of 'hearers' where we should say 'readers,' because instruction and literary communication generally, in the times of which he speaks, was mainly oral. In the Platonic treatise, and what is there said about Hipparchus, the reference to education, and to 'Homer' as an instrument for that purpose, is explicit.

From this Athenian Homer of the sixth century our extant Homer is unquestionably derived, and probably with little or no other change than common accidents of transcription. Directly or indirectly, the Athenian texts, diffused from Athens as the source and ruler of learning—until, as was said, all Greece, as Athens first, had been 'educated by Homer'—were the principal, and, it would seem, the only important factors in forming the texts which we read to-day.

What then was the determinate book or collection, which at Athens, in the sixth century, was called 'the Poetry of Homer'? That it consisted of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, or that these poems had in it any distinctive mark, there is, so far as we know, no evidence whatever. There is some direct evidence, and much indirect, for the opinion (no new one, though not established) that the Athenian 'Poetry of Homer' was substantially identical with what is otherwise known as the 'Cyclus' the 'Circle' or 'Round'—either with the whole of it or with some part. This was a sort of history, in epic verse, beginning with the beginning of the world, and carried down through the heroic age of the Theban and the Trojan wars until the end of the latter and the return of the Greeks. It is known to us mainly by a partial abstract, dating probably from the fifth century A.D., when it is said to have been still extant. It was at all events extant and notorious, though little read, in the flourishing ages of ancient learning. It is described as a narrative continuous from beginning to end. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, such, apparently, as we possess them, were parts of the story, standing in their proper places. The exact dimensions of the whole are uncertain, but were certainly vast, much larger than the two extant poems put together. We are positively told\* that the whole, the 'Circle' as such, was regarded

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\* Suidas. The statement, like every part of the tradition about Homer, has been explained away, but, as we think, without reason.

as the work of Homer by 'the ancients,' a statement which can mean nothing but that it was so regarded in the sixth century; for before that time there was no history of literature, or established opinion about such matters, and for all later times we have proof that part, and most, of the 'Circle' was not generally accepted as 'Homer.' Moreover, in the sixth century, when the legends were still regarded as matter of fact, the compilation of such a poetical history, if there were material for it, would command interest, whereas in later times it would have been futile and out of date. In short, unless the Athenian 'Homer' of the sixth century was the 'Cycle,' we cannot conceive how the Cycle came into existence, or was preserved, or got, as it certainly did, the name of 'Homer.'

Further, this supposition at once explains and accords with the tradition, that the Athenians of that age not merely adopted or compiled, but 'arranged' their collection. This detail does not appear in the authorities chronologically nearest. Neither Lycurgus, for instance, nor the Platonic 'Hipparchus' says so; they speak merely of adoption and compilation. But their language in no way excludes an arrangement or redaction, as alleged by others, principally by Cicero in the first century B.C., and by Pausanias in the second century A.D. These statements, that Pisistratus arranged the poetry of Homer, have been treated by some, in the modern controversy, with a kind and degree of scepticism which, if applied impartially, would make astonishing holes in ancient history, chiefly because they have been supposed, quite unnecessarily and erroneously, as we hold, to apply directly and specially to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and, if accepted, to prejudice the question how those two poems were composed. But the statements relate to 'the poems' or 'poetry of Homer,' by which, if they are well-founded and descend from the sixth century, must be meant what was then so accounted and called. We see no reason to doubt (though the wildest expedients have been adopted in order to avoid the conclusion) that they do descend from the natural source, the Athenian antiquaries of the fourth and third centuries, who were in touch, by a solid train of literary tradition, with the time of the alleged arrangement.

In some sense, indeed, in order to be made, the Cycle

must have existed earlier, since it is never said that the Athenians actually composed their 'Homer.' But the situation and the operation are not hard to conceive in a natural way. We can readily understand and explain them up to, or rather down from, a certain point. The material was poetry, in the conventional epic style, which had been composed, and hitherto diffused, by professional reciters or story-tellers, principally, it would seem, in Ionic Asia. The subjects were taken from a common stock of popular and more or less harmonious legend. If we assume the creation of some specially successful and authoritative poem—an *Iliad* or a *Thebaid*—embodying a part of the story, the production of other poems closely related to it, prefaces, continuations, and supplementary incidents, would be the natural course of things in the circumstances, the natural effect of a double desire in the story-tellers to give their audiences something novel yet easily intelligible. Such a process, given the assumed nucleus or nuclei, would produce a mass of poems tending to constitute, though not actually constituting, such a history as the Cycle was. If they were collected, it would not be difficult, by selection, some correction, adaptation, and a little composing of connexions and completions, to make up a total having as much consistency (far from perfect) as the Cycle seems to have had. But, for the actual production of the history, the arrangement or redaction would be an indispensable factor. It could not actually come into existence as a complete thing, and much less could it be preserved, under conditions conceivable (to say nothing of evidence) in the seventh century or earlier. The Athenian educational movement supplied, it appears, what was requisite for the production, and the public sanction of Athens what was requisite for the preservation.

All this process, however, assumes, as a starting-point, the authoritative and stimulating nucleus or nuclei; it assumes, for the Trojan part of the Cycle, the existence first of something like an *Iliad* and something like an *Odyssey*. Assuredly neither of these poems, such as they now are, could be produced, by such operations as are attributed or attributable to Pisistratus, out of pieces having originally no other connexion than a general agreement in the story and a similar conven-

tional style. In both, the artistic unity, the ruling conception, is far too strong for this. But, let us once more observe, the Greek authorities do not say, though they are constantly discussed and criticised as if they did, that Pisistratus 'arranged' the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. The thing arranged, and in a sense constructed, by the Athenians was 'the Poetry of Homer,' by which we at all events understand the 'Cycle,' and, with this understanding, have no difficulty in accepting the record. It is perfectly consistent with the record to suppose that the *Iliad* was adopted, as a part or a chapter in the Cycle, exactly as it previously existed and was originally created by a single author. Whether this was so, or was not, must be determined not by the record, but by the internal evidence of the poem.

But, before we turn to this, let us say a word or two more, first of the Cycle and its title or titles, and then of the critical process which evolved from it the later and modern conception of 'Homer' as consisting of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The poetry out of which the Cycle was made seems to have been generally recited and circulated, all of it, as anonymous. In the absence of libraries, histories, biographies, and scholarship, it is likely that the audiences of the reciters were little interested in the question of authorship. If any name was given, Homer, author probably of some determinant nucleus, an *Iliad* or *Thebaid*, had the credit of all. The collection, therefore, as a whole, bore his name, at all events in popular parlance, as 'the Poetry of Homer.' But we must not presume that the collectors either believed in the single authorship of the collection, or even warranted the name.

For anything that appears to the contrary, the appellation 'cycle' or 'circle' may be as old as the thing; and, though this is not generally supposed, we think it probable, for this reason. The attempts to explain the name 'circle' from the content or form of the work appear to us altogether unsatisfactory. A thing is not 'circular' because it is large, or full, or compact, compendious, complete. Such applications of the name are cited, but can be explained only by false analogy, from resemblance, in the points noted, to something which was called 'circle' for some better and proper reason. Such a reason, for

the Athenian collection, exists, not in the book itself, but in the purposes for which it was used and intended. It was to be taught and to be studied as a course of reading; and the course, we presume, when finished, was to be begun again. It was 'the circle' in which study was to revolve. And similarly with the recitation at the Panathenæa. More than one of our authorities, in mentioning this, specifies that the recitation was 'by way of resumption,' one recitation beginning where the last ended. This detail, otherwise unimportant, is essential if the ordinance referred to the Cycle of which only a small part could possibly be given upon a single occasion. Here also the proceeding was 'circular'; successive parts were to be taken, until all had been taken, and then *da capo*. Such, we suppose, was the original design.

But neither these uses of the Cycle, nor the ascription to Homer, could long survive the effects, infinitely greater than can have been foreseen, of the educational movement. The literature, which, under the new stimulus, was produced at Athens in a single century, was alone sufficient to exclude, by competition, from general notice so vast a body of antique story. And criticism, even the most rudimentary, as soon as it existed, must demur to the attribution of all to a single authorship. In Herodotus, about a century after Hipparchus, we find that the cutting down has already gone far. The allusions of Herodotus to the subject are just what we might expect them to be, if, *prima facie* and apart from criticism, 'Homer' was the Cycle. He gives, quite incidentally, a reason why the 'Cypria' (part of the Trojan story in the Cycle) should not be reckoned as Homer's—namely, a disagreement with the *Iliad*. Why it might be, he does not think necessary to specify. He speaks as if it *was* in 'Homer,' as 'Titus Andronicus' or 'Henry VI' is in 'Shakespeare.' Already, for Herodotus, the Thebaid itself is doubtful 'Homer'; and, in short, we are well on the way to the point at which common opinion stopped—that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* only, or almost only, are 'Homer.' It is noticeable that Herodotus pretends to no external information about authorship; and it is, to say the least, doubtful whether any trustworthy discoveries of that kind were made later. No such supposition is needed to explain the result. The

Iliad and the Odyssey were left to Homer because they were the best parts of his putative work. No more was left to him, because this was quite enough to assign to one man. Rejection went no further (though some wished to go further and divide the two poems) because the two together did not seem clearly too much.

The next step, as might be expected, was to distribute the rejected mass among supposed authors. This we need not and cannot here follow out. The attributions are extremely suspicious, for reasons which have often been stated. The very names of the alleged poets are not mentioned, none of them, we believe, in any extant work of the fifth century, when the poetry afterwards assigned to them was still popular. This may be explicable, but it is odd. The assignments vary, and were never generally established. We are probably best advised if we follow the more cautious critics of antiquity, and treat as anonymous all parts of the Cycle which we do not choose to call 'Homer.'

Such, in very brief and summary statement, is the record as we understand it. And now to the main question. When the Cycle was collected, arranged, and made up, what, if anything, was done to the Iliad, or to the Odyssey? Possibly nothing, or nothing of importance. So say the 'defenders of unity'; and the record proves nothing to the contrary. If we hold otherwise, as most at present do, it is because the poems, both of them, or at all events the Iliad, exhibit peculiarities for which, as we think, nothing will fairly account except an artificial and rather violent process designed to accommodate them, as parts, to such a quasi-historical compilation as the Cycle was.

We take an instance from the Iliad, a familiar instance, though we shall state it partly in our own way. The Greeks, for want of Achilles, are defeated and driven to their ships, to which the Trojans are actually beginning to set fire. At this crisis Patroclus persuades Achilles to let him lead the Myrmidons to the rescue. The scene is a turning-point in the story, and the narration of it vivid and unforgettable. We proceed. Patroclus, after some triumphs, is slain, and the armour of Achilles, which he wore, is lost. To replace it, Thetis obtains new armour from Hephæstus, to whom, in making her request,

she naturally recounts the loss and the cause of it, the sending forth of Patroclus by Achilles (*Iliad*, xviii, 446). But to our surprise she relates this, not as we were shown it before, but with utterly different circumstances. According to her, the Greeks were beleaguered, and so hard pressed that they could not go out or sally from their camp. Thereupon certain elders approached Achilles with entreaties and gifts. He refused to give aid himself, but armed Patroclus and sent him with a strong force to the war. The two accounts are manifestly not discrepant merely, but absolutely different in conception. Both are clear; both give effective situations; on the one side the extreme crisis of firing the ships, the entreaty of Patroclus, and the sudden rush to the rescue; on the other side the beleaguering and the solemn embassy. In either way the thing might well happen, but by no possibility in both at once.

Now, if the 'Making of the Armour' was designed as a sequel to the 'Sending of Patroclus'—as of course it was if our *Iliad* comes from one author—why do they not agree? It is surely idle to plead negligence or a lapse of memory. Lapses are common, but not of this magnitude or kind. Why should the narrator forget completely a scene which no reader can forget, a principal moment in his story? Why should he reconstruct it? What put into his head the new scene and the impossible embassy? Nor can it be a case of interpolation. The second account is no loose or inaccurate or garbled version of the first, but a complete and self-consistent reconstruction, with new circumstances and a different purpose. Nor does it help at all merely to make a distinction of authors, and assign the 'Making of the Armour' to a new hand. If the new hand meant his work for a continuation of the other's, he would have told the previous incident as he found it. He would be even less likely to reconstruct the scene than the original narrator, because more conscious of his obligations as a continuator.

Twist the matter as we may, the obvious and natural supposition is, that the 'Making of the Armour' was composed by some one who had before him, or rather behind him, the 'Sending of Patroclus' described as he describes it. The 'Making of the Armour' should be part of an *Iliad* in which the 'Sending of Patroclus'

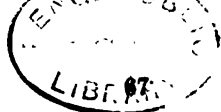
was told according to the 'embassy-version' (so to name it), and not, as in the extant book, according to the 'fire-version.' And the question is, here and repeatedly elsewhere, when, by whom, and above all why, was a compound made, which takes the 'Sending' from one version and the 'Making of the Armour' from another, and combines without reconciling them.

Another example, recurring throughout the work, is the ever-changing aspect of the Greek camp, now not fortified, or fortified at most with a ditch, now with a rampart hastily run up in consequence of the defection of Achilles, and now again with a wall as great and solid as that of Troy—the three pictures not successive and connected by explanation, but assumed and dropped and re-assumed with tacit indifference. Neither for one composer nor for a plurality of composers is such treatment natural or (to us) explicable, if the composer or composers were free to design, and actuated only by the motives of an artist.

The more conscious we are of the unity of the work and the dominance of one general conception, and the more we are convinced that all parts of the actual story (with perhaps some trifling exceptions) must have been designed as parts of a story closely similar, the more puzzling is their imperfect adaptation. Who was the composer, and what can have been his motives, who took these freedoms with his originals, and took no more?

Now the alleged Athenian collection and arrangement of 'Homer' afford an answer, so suitable to the internal evidence that, if we had not such a tradition, we must have invented it. That is to say, we can, quite probably, suppose the Athenian redactors to find this part of the Cycle—the Iliad—in such a condition or conditions that, in their situation and with their purposes, they would make of it what we have.

Take the case of the double 'Sending of Patroclus.' Be it supposed that (never mind when, in the tenth century B.C., or the thirteenth, if any one pleases) Homer composed the Iliad with what we called the 'fire-version' of this incident, the version of it which is first narrated in our book. Let us call this Iliad A. Might it not presently occur to a reciter-poet, stimulated by the example, that the 'embassy-version' would also be a good



one, giving a different opportunity? But the 'embassy-version' requires a fortified camp, in which the Greeks are 'beleaguered' and unable to sally, but otherwise act at leisure. Accordingly our second composer (B) fortifies the camp, which (we will suppose) A did not, and remodels accordingly those scenes of the story where the camp is actually assailed. Also (suppose for simplicity), this same B invents the 'Making of the Armour,' and, of course, there narrates the 'Sending of Patroclus' according to his own version, with the embassy. Subject to these changes, he adopts A bodily, as why should he not?

Now suppose (we simplify the case, intending merely to show the general nature of the process assumed) that these Iliads A and B, verbally identical for the most part, but totally different in the 'embassy-version' and certain connected episodes, come both, from different quarters, into the hands of the Athenian collectors. What should they have done with them, and (a different question) what were they likely to do? 'Keep both as they are,' we should now say, and so would have said Cicero, or Aristarchus, or Aristotle—any one in the ages of erudition. 'Both are mere fictions, and each good in its way.' But in the sixth century the stories could not possibly be so estimated. This view was to be afterwards evolved, by Thucydides and others, products of the movement which the collectors were initiating. To the sixth century, the Trojan war, heroes, gods and all, was a reality, which the Homeric poems more or less exactly represented. Probably, before the collection, no one was clearly conscious of the divergences. And what the collectors made and wanted was a book to be learnt, to be the basis of national instruction, a history compiled from the epics, with the Iliad as a part of it. What then more natural and proper than to combine the versions in a 'harmony,' supposed to represent the truth, or the nearest approximation to it obtainable in the circumstances?

Upon these principles, between two totally incompatible versions of the same incident, you must choose. For the 'Sending of Patroclus' we take the version of A, the 'fire-version,' discarding that of B, the 'embassy.' But this would be no reason for discarding the 'Making of the Armour,' an episode of many hundred lines, which, as a whole, is equally compatible with either version of

the 'Sending.' It goes in therefore as we find it; and by an oversight, such as is sure to occur in constructions of this kind, and does occur in harmonies far more skilful and elaborate than could be commanded by Pisistratus, it is allowed to carry with it the half-dozen lines (xviii 446-452) in which the 'embassy-version' of the 'Sending' is summarily related by Thetis.

Further, if we turn to the 'Sending' itself (xv, 112 foll.), we see that, though based mainly on the conception (A) that the resistance of Achilles is overcome by the firing of the ships, it contains passages which are not easily attributed to a poet possessed by that conception. Let the reader peruse what passes, or is related, in our Iliad between the moment when Achilles discovers the fire and the outrush of Patroclus and his men (xvi, 130-256), especially the incident of the cup, libation, and prayer (ib. 220 foll.), and consider whether this is the way in which the thing would naturally be imagined, upon the supposition that the ships are now on fire. All is fine poetry, but is it all proper to the situation? Does it not ignore the urgent and desperate crisis, and assume, on the contrary, that there is no need for haste? But according to Thetis and her 'embassy-version,' there was no need for haste. We suspect therefore strongly, that here also, along with the version of A, we have elements, as much as seemed possible, incorporated by a harmonist from the version of B.

From B, or a closely related version, comes also, we may naturally suppose, Book ix, the embassy to Achilles, the difficulties of which, within itself, and in relation to the rest of the work, are well known and generally admitted. It lacks connexion, it seems to be forgotten, and there are other doubts. Moreover, though this is not generally admitted, we ourselves agree with those (for instance, Mr Leaf) who say that the book itself exhibits imperfect harmony. We begin with two ambassadors, but presently have a third (Phoenix) who, it would certainly seem, did not originally figure here. All this is the more perplexing because both the general conception and the parts (if they would but fit) are magnificent. But whence and why did Phoenix come in? To this question we have not seen any satisfactory answer. We would suggest that he is one of the 'elders' who, according to

Thetis, went as ambassadors to Achilles and procured the sending of Patroclus. The version B, or some version closely related, contained two embassies, one (that which forms the bulk of Book ix) to which Achilles conceded nothing, and a second, of 'elders' (Phoenix for one), to which, as related by Thetis, he granted the sending of Patroclus. The first could be adopted in the harmony without offence, and accordingly was; the second was plainly inadmissible; but, upon the common principles of harmonists, some of it, as much as seemed possible—the presence and speeches of Phoenix—was amalgamated with the first, 'though not without leaving clear traces of the joints.'

We cannot here work this out, nor do we pretend that it could be worked out to any precise distribution of A and B and other letters. But upon some such hypothesis we can account to ourselves for the actual relations between Books ix, xvi, xviii of the Iliad; and we cannot account for them upon any hypothesis which does not somewhere import a harmonist—no poet, but the compiler of a history.

To this operation we should attribute, not exclusively but mainly, those peculiarities in which, as it seems to us and to many, the two epics, or at all events the Iliad, are unique. We cannot here illustrate the matter any further. But this, we think, is the cause, for instance, of the strange fluctuation between different conceptions of the scene (the Greek camp). Manifestly this discrepancy, if present in the contributory sources, could not be eliminated without thorough and bold recomposition, which was not (as we apprehend) within the design, or perhaps the powers, of the harmonists. And above all, to this cause we assign that characteristic of the Iliad which, though some can ignore it, we cannot ignore. The main design is masterly, the parts are almost all admirable—yet they do not fit. Repeatedly the thread seems to break, the track to be lost; and we arrive, after some wandering, at a stage of progress already reached before. Such is the natural, the inevitable effect of a 'harmony.' And (to repeat this essential point) if it is asked why the harmony should have been attempted, and why it was possible, we reply, 'Because the contributory versions were, each with each, to a large extent, not only con-

cordant in matter, but verbally identical.' Therefore they could be united; and the historic impulse, natural though mistaken, gave the motive for such a combination.

It cannot be proved that the harmonising was the work of the Athenians, or connected with the redaction of the Cycle. It may conceivably have taken place elsewhere and earlier. Only this seems a gratuitous supposition. We have no tradition suggesting it. The required conditions of purpose and mental attitude are not, we think, so likely to have existed anywhere or at any time as in the city and age of Pisistratus.

Whoever made the harmony, he or they had doubtless not the least intention to suppress or replace the versions, or any expectation of this effect. They made such an Iliad as they wanted for a new purpose, presuming, if they considered the matter, that others would circulate as before. How could it be foreseen that in no long time the new education would make an altered world, would create a polity and society never before imagined? That Athens would for ages rule the teaching and supply the books of all civilised peoples, as in some degree she does to this day? That in a few generations the 'rhapsode' would be an extinct profession, and epic poetry, all but a small reserve, a drug in the market? In the events which happened, the Athenian 'Homer,' of course, obliterated and extinguished whatever competitors existed. Nor indeed do we suppose that it had much to compete with. Respecting the diffusion and influence of 'Homer' before the Athenian movement, much more is sometimes asserted or assumed than the evidence warrants. But of this we cannot here speak. We suppose, and we think it natural, that when, some centuries later, text-criticism arose, all sources for 'Homer,' except those directly or derivatively Athenian, had long disappeared.

The silence of the ancient text-critics respecting the Athenian operation, or rather the fact that apparently they did not use the tradition as a ground for analysis, and anticipate the modern treatment of the Homeric question, has been taken by some as disproving the operation, or indicating that it cannot have been important. We do not see this. It is quite likely that the Alexandrian scholars, knowing what we do about that operation, knew little or nothing more. They seem to have

assumed that the Athenian Iliad, their Iliad, was substantially the work of one author, descending, in the manner of transmission familiar to themselves, from a remote prehistoric antiquity. If they so assumed without warrant, they only did what has been done by many moderns far more experienced than they in research and criticism.

With respect to the Odyssey, we admit of course that the traces in it of a 'harmonist,' if any, are far fewer and less convincing than those in the Iliad. Were it not for the Iliad, they would hardly have been suspected. Nevertheless, the analysts of the Odyssey do seem to have proved that, at least in some places, the treatment of materials is harmonistic. There *are* some mere sutures, notably in the 'Slaying of the Suitors' and the exchange there of the bow for the spear. As to a common authorship for Iliad and Odyssey, or rather for *an* Iliad and *an* Odyssey, that is a matter beyond the scope of this article.

Now it will be seen, and we would specially insist, that the question we have been considering, whether the actual state of the epics, or either of them, is partly the result of a 'harmony,' has no necessary bearing whatever on many of the issues which students of Homer debate. It is on this point especially, we think, that controversy tends to confusion and prejudice. A harmonistic theory of the Iliad implies nothing whatever, *per se*, as to the date and origin of the supposed components, or the value of any part, or of the whole, as evidence upon customs, culture, and other such topics. If it were ever so completely proved that our book was made in the sixth century B.C. by a mechanical, or partly mechanical, amalgamation of versions, all the versions, and every substantial part, might none the less be as ancient and as nearly contemporaneous as we please to suppose. We ourselves think it probable (so far as, in conditions almost wholly unknown, one thing can be more probable than another) that the components of the Iliad do mainly belong to a time more narrowly limited than some analysts would suggest, and that what we called the 'versions,' those that lasted and determined the eventual product, all followed at no great distance upon that of Homer, the original designer. At all events this

may be so; and the question between unitarian and harmonist ought not to be affected, as it frequently is, by arguments or theories about date. For example, the different views about the Homeric armour, and whether it represents a reality or a conventional confusion, are all of them consistent with a harmonistic theory respecting the genesis of the existing text.

Needless to say, we do not offer the above as a proof, but merely as a statement, of the position from which we view the various treatments of the subject. Turning now to Mr Murray, we find him so far at one with us that his view of the *Iliad*—his book seldom touches the *Odyssey*—is analytic. He does not accept it for the work of one poet preserved by a normal process of tradition. But of his positive doctrine we are left in some doubt. In this complicated matter misunderstanding is easy; but Mr Murray would himself, we think, disclaim having propounded a complete theory. He deals but little with the peculiarities of the extant text. He is mainly occupied in reconstructing, by deduction from such evidence as there is, the general conditions in which the Homeric mind, so to say, was developed, and the legends were purified, elevated, carried on, to the point which the epics exhibit. He would fill up, by reasoned imagination, the dark interval between the historic civilisation of Greece and that older culture which the spade has recently revealed. He would show what were the lines of change, and in what sort of way old stories were expanded or corrected to express new beliefs, and, more or less consciously, to promote improvement. So long as we keep to this point of view, and think of ideas rather than books, we find Mr Murray full of suggestion, and, for the most part, as convincing as the conditions permit. In particular, we agree with him that stories and poems were, at some time or times, corrected with definite ethical purpose, and that traces of such correction may be found in Homer.

But after all, there are the books, the extant poems, with their enigmatical unity and disunity; and with some theory of their origin and history, as books, investigation must logically begin. What Mr Murray would say about the *Iliad* in this respect, if we do not misunderstand, is that it is a growth produced by the rehandling of suc-



cessive poets, who imported episodes and topics according to their different interests, but all of them with the motives and freedom of a story-teller. He does not see occasion, or at least we do not perceive that he does, for any operation of the kind which we have described as harmonistic. It is consistent with this, and well exemplifies the scope and limits of his treatment, that about Athens and its tradition he has nothing to say. The final purpose of the poem as it stands—here he is definite—was to be recited, completely and as a whole, at a public festival—some Ionian festival, we are to suppose; this it was that fixed the limit of expansion and prescribed the scale.

If this be the proposition—and it is at all events a view which is held—what we should say to it may be inferred from our previous statement. It is a possible theory, whether true or not, of the *Odyssey*. As applied to the *Iliad*, it does not cover the facts. It does not account, so far as we see, either for the number or the kind of dislocations which, beneath its unity, the story presents. It may cover the few cases which Mr Murray has room to cite, but will not stretch to the requirements. His method, in the last resort, evades, though of course he fully comprehends, the phenomenon of 'sutures.' He invokes comparison with the analysis of the Old Testament; and in one respect, at all events, that is suggestive. The critical work there accomplished begins (we apprehend) from a record about a book, and rests upon ascertained historical conditions, explaining, or supposed to explain, a peculiar development. That is how we must proceed, to reach any positive conclusion, in the case of Homer.

Whether festival-recitation, as such, will account for works on the scale of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we have doubts. We should suppose them for this purpose far too long; our hypothetical 'versions' would offer something more practicable. The extant books, we think, were made to be read or recited privately. It should, however, be observed that on this head of the argument the defenders of unity have a plausible case. According to Mr Lang, the poems were planned for recitation, resumed night after night, in the halls of feudal lords, at the immensely remote epoch, a millennium and more

B.C., which they describe. If the unity of authorship were otherwise defensible, that might very well be so.

In his recent book, 'Homer and his Age,' Mr Lang is mainly occupied with another part of the case. He seeks to show, as against the 'expansionist' arguments, that the culture, the state of society and habits of life, described in the two extant epics, is natural, consistent, and drawn from the same reality. In politics, law, custom, houses, dress, armour, and so on, the Iliad and Odyssey are, he holds, concordant throughout, with such minute and rare exceptions as may properly be attributed to the common accidents of text-transmission. There is no deliberate archaism, successful or unsuccessful; there is no involuntary or conventional confusion, such as expansionists allege, between the customs of different ages. From this, if true, it follows of course that all parts of the poems are approximately of the same date; they cannot have grown, by additions, insertions, and so forth, under the hands of successive composers, spaced over a period of several centuries.

Now with this part of the controversy our main position, as we have before explained, is not in the least concerned. We do not, for the present purpose, either assert or deny expansion; still less do we assume that expansion, if such there was, extended over a long period. What we say is that, expansion or no expansion, the extant Iliad, at all events, exhibits the phenomena of a harmony, the quasi-historical combination of versions partly incompatible and not designed for union. Whether the versions were narrowly or widely separated in time of origin is a distinct enquiry. And the nearer they were, and the more concordant therefore in natural and conventional colour, the easier and the more tempting would be the operation of the harmonist. For this reason, and for others, we doubt, as we said before, whether the development of versions, or of those versions which lasted and contributed to the final result, can have been distributed over so long a time as some would assume. And, if Mr Lang has proved that all contributory compositions must have been nearly contemporaneous, be it so; we are more than content.

Whether he has proved this we shall not pretend to say. The controversy, what with doubts arising upon

the interpretation of Homeric terms or language, doubts and differences distracting enough between archæologists respecting the import of their 'finds,' and a third set of doubts about literary conditions supposable in times and places totally blank of record, is at present, we suspect, irreconcilable. Mr Lang makes many good points; and his case, in this part, is entitled to that thorough examination and answer from the other side, for which he presses in a subsequent article.\*

But, when we turn to other parts, equally essential, of his argument for single authorship, our feeling always is that, in reality, he begs the question. He maintains, if we do not mistake, that there is no difficulty in supposing the Iliad, as we have it, to be the work of one poet; that the alleged dislocations, wanderings, inconsistencies of the story, so far as they exist at all, are nothing more than, from common experience, we might naturally expect in a single author. When he comes to establish this in detail, his procedure is, to take the allegations separately, and to ask, in each case, whether it is inconceivable that the discrepancy (if allowed) is due to oversight on the part of the single composer. On these lines we may make short work. Hardly any error whatever of this sort is inconceivable, and hardly any, by itself, can be improbable. It would be nothing at all that, once in a way, Homer should forget that his Greek camp had a wall. We could scarcely call it inconceivable that, having himself described the 'Sending of Patroclus' with one set of circumstances, he should make his Thetis relate it with a totally different set. If such flaws were few and miscellaneous, and if there were external testimony to the single authorship, we would pass them without a murmur. Mr Lang always does argue on this head as if they were few, as if they had no apparent relation to one another, and, above all, as if single authorship were a *datum*. Any explanation will serve where none is necessary; and consequently Mr Lang's explanations often seem to us hardly serious.

We will give one specimen. In Book ix the Greek camp has a wall (vv. 69-87). At the beginning of Book x, Agamemnon at night, looking from his tent on the plain,

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\* 'Homer and the Critics.' 'Blackwood's Magazine,' January 1808.

sees the 'many watch-fires' of the Trojans, who, on this particular night, are camping out before the city on the same plain. The wall is gone, as it does go and come throughout the fighting-scenes of the Iliad. Nor is this a momentary inadvertence; for through the whole of Book x, though its story is such that the wall, if there, must be visible to the narrator (so to say) constantly, though the camp-boundary is passed several times, never is there trace of anything but a ditch. We say that, for a composition meant to be continuous as it now stands, this is a most uncommon and surprising phenomenon; nor is it intelligible to us that any one so far should disagree. Mr Lang, in a special chapter on Book x, disposes of the matter thus:

'Agamemnon "hears the music of the joyous Trojan pipes and flutes," and sees the reflected glow of their camp-fires, we must suppose, for he could not see the fires themselves through the new wall of his own camp, as critics very wisely remark.' ('Homer and his Age,' p. 260.)

'We must suppose.' But how can we suppose anything of the sort? '*Many* fires' are not a glow. If the point were merely that the wall is ignored in this passage, let us say simply that the poet forgot it. But the point is, that the wall is ignored consistently throughout the Book, and that, all about the poem, similar traces of ignorance, respecting this vitally important object, are found from time to time. If that is a phenomenon commonly observed in narratives known to be from one hand, or otherwise designed for continuity, let some of these narratives be produced for comparison.

Nor is Mr Lang more satisfactory to us, when he discusses what we call the Athenian record, and he calls the Pisistratean legend. His contempt is fortified, unfortunately, by the authority of many excellent scholars; but the texts, as we have said, are not treated fairly. It would be much if the defenders of unity, and controversialists generally, would perceive that there is room within the record for them all. If Mr Lang can show that the internal evidence of the Iliad favours the hypothesis of single authorship, there is nothing against him in Cicero and Pausanias. For anything they say, or the rest say, Pisistratus may have done nothing

to the Iliad, separately and as such, except to purchase and have copied a MS. dating from the days of the original poet. Only, we say, somebody must have done to the Iliad what no one is so likely to have done as the Athenians of the sixth century. We think, indeed, with Mr Lang, that some operations are assigned to that epoch, which go beyond the likelihood. We do not suppose that any considerable modification of the text was made in the interest of Athens or her princes. The 'sycophant of Pisistratus,' as Mr Lang cheerfully calls him, is, we rather think, a fictitious personage. But the record is not responsible for him. Indeed the record, fairly read, has no essential concern with the personal action of Pisistratus. If his name be displeasing (though we respect it), let us say, with Lycurgus, that 'the Athenians' conceived and carried out the profoundly important educational movement, in connexion with which—as others say, who may well have known—they arranged, as well as collected, their 'Poetry of Homer.' That they did things with it altogether novel and, in the circumstances, stupendously effective, is proved by all history to this day. Having new purposes, they may naturally have made a new book. We believe them to have made in good faith a quasi-historical harmony of certain ancient poems, which were in such condition, and so related, as to invite the operation. If, new to the business, and taking the first stumbling steps towards the foundation of European learning, they did some mischief which we could have taught them to avoid, it is due mainly to them and their Homer that we have any learning at all. It is possible to feel a mild resentment when one reads of 'the Pisistratean legend.' We should ourselves as soon speak of the 'legend' that the authorised version of the Bible was a product of the Protestant Reformation.

However we have no quarrel with any one. Both Mr Lang's book and Mr Murray's are good reading; and we rejoice to see these stimulating studies so thoroughly alive. We expect no immediate agreement. Mr Lang thinks that there is a reaction coming against expansionists, harmonists, and all such. It may be so. But the sutures of the Iliad are there, and will be seen whenever men look.

A. W. VERRILL





Art. IV.—THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET.

1. *The Victoria County History: Somerset.* Edited by William Page, F.S.A. Vols I and II. London: Constable, 1907.
  2. *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society, 1849–1907.*
  3. *Proceedings of the Somerset Record Society, 1887–1906.*
  4. *Domesday Studies: Somerset.* By the Rev. R. W. Eyton. Two vols. London: Reeves and Turner, 1880.
  5. *The Somerset Religious Houses.* By W. A. J. Archbold. Cambridge: University Press, 1892.
  6. *The Last Abbot of Glastonbury.* By the Rev. F. A. Gasquet, D.D. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1895.
- And other works.

THE gradual publication of the Victoria history of the counties of England reveals to us, page by page and volume by volume, the enormous wealth of our land in all kinds of material for historical and archæological research. The old type of county histories, useful and attractive as they were, especially in their accounts of manors and of family genealogies, has been supplanted by a newer, fuller, and more scientific description of our counties. The method employed is that of co-operation between men eminent throughout England in their several departments; and, in place of one county historian labouring single-handed at a vast and complicated task, there are now a dozen collaborators, each working in his own special sphere.

To take for example the county of Somerset, it may be noted that in the first edition of the Victoria County series, before the subject of the Domesday Survey (the point where the Rev. John Collinson, the old county historian of 1798, began) is touched at all, there are exhaustive articles on the geology, the botany, and the zoology of the county. Then follows an account of palæolithic man in the Pleistocene age and of prehistoric man in the present geological epoch by Dr Boyd Dawkins, a life-long student, whose name appears in the earliest proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society as the explorer of the famous Cheddar and Mendip caves. The fascinating story also of the 'Glastonbury Lake

Village,' revealed bit by bit as the sites of the dwellings are uncovered and the fragments lie exposed, forms a chapter in itself; so does that of the Roman occupation of the county, brought well up to date by Prof. Haverfield, an expert and local student from boyhood.

There are few counties which, to the geologist or to the student of natural history and botany, present a more ample and diversified field than the county of Somerset, with its lowlands, moors, forests, woodlands, tidal rivers and long sea-frontage, from the mouth of the Avon on the east to the remote wilds of Exmoor on the west. Cheddar gorge and the carboniferous limestone ridges of the Mendips; the blue lias strata of its central valleys, in which are embedded so many forms of ancient life; the vestiges occasionally seen of submerged forests in the Channel; the quarries of the 'new red' sandstone, providing such an agreeable contrast to the flinty glare of neighbouring counties; the deep meadows grazed by herds of red cattle—all in turn challenge and rivet our attention. The apple orchards of Avalon, seen at their best in May when the myriad blossoms cluster thick, are famous all the world over; and the cider made from the Kingston black apple in Somerset dells deserves all the eulogy which old John Philips essayed to give to this beverage in his enthusiastic although rather stilted Georgics. The county of 'Zammerzet' has been humorously termed the 'Zyder Zee'; and, if we add the pleasing item of Cheddar cheese (a farm produce carefully fostered by the late Archdeacon Denison at East Brent), it will be seen that the region offers wholesome and simple but delicious fare to all who live or sojourn in its valleys. In ancient times the sloping hillsides were tilled high up with crops of oats and rye (the latter crop is strangely neglected now), whilst on the healthy summits fed countless sheep with wool of surpassingly fine texture, known in Spain and Italy, if we may believe Polydore Vergil, the learned Canon of Wells and a native of Italy, who wrote with a local knowledge of the county of Somerset and of the Mendip range in particular. In addition to its flocks, Mendip was famed as an ancient forest and lead-mining district worked from Roman times down to comparatively recent days. Further west there was the iron ore of the Brendon hills on the eastern skirts of the famous Exmoor

Forest, the scene—so rumour says—of Roman mining centuries ago, and now again receiving careful attention as the Spanish ore from Bilbao is becoming exhausted.

The five ancient and royal forests of Somerset, viz. Selwood and Mendip on the east, North Petherton and the ancient Somerton Park and warren along the low-lying valley of the Parret, Neroche on the southern borders, and Exmoor on the western confines of the county, form a most interesting study in themselves. The annals of Exmoor as a royal hunting preserve can be distinctly traced from Saxon times to the date when, in 1818, the royal demesne was sold to Mr Knight of Worcestershire. Since then a new and modern chapter of sport has been inaugurated; and the Devon and Somerset staghounds are perhaps the most celebrated pack in Great Britain. The whole of Exmoor Forest, in the old and proper definition of the term, lay within the borders of the county of Somerset and, in the opinion of some, gave occasion to its first western demarcation, the forest, as a geographical definition, preceding the county.

The broad alluvial valley of the river Parret, anciently written Pedridan or Pedret, and giving rise to the Saxon 'tons' and Hundreds of North and South Petherton, is the most striking feature of central Somerset. The chief tributaries of the Parret are the Ile, formerly written Yvel, and giving a name to Roman Ilchester; and the Tone, giving a name to Taunton. Here for many a mile stretches a wild and flat region, subject occasionally to devastating floods and the chronic puzzle of generations of commissioners of sewers. Here and there little 'eyots' rose above the waters, like Athelney, the far-famed Island of the Nobles, or the islands of the Glastonbury jurisdiction, viz. Godney, Martinsey, Ferramere, Andredsey or Niland, and Pathenesberg. The last-named island was noted—so viticulturists may be interested to hear—for its wonderful vineyards.

The Saxon settlers approached all this central region from the south and by way of Somerton, in reality the 'Sea-moor-town,' and gave their own name, 'Sea-moor-sætas,' to the county. The port of Somerton was Langport, from which communication with the Severn sea was carried on upon the tidal waters of the river Parret, which practically intersected the county from south to

north. There is good reason to believe that, far back in British times, most of this alluvial valley, with the central point of Langport (conjectured to be the Llongporth of Llywarch Hen), lay within the boundaries of that ancient kingdom of Damnonia or Dumnonia, which included Cornwall and Devon. It is possible that the boundary, roughly speaking, was the line of the tidal Axe, which formed at Uphill the port and terminus of Mendip in Roman times, and was connected oversea with the Roman town of Caerleon on the Usk.

The real history of Somerset, as handed down to us by annalists, begins with the story of Glastonbury, the famous 'Ynys Witrin' or 'Inesvitrin' of old. The earliest endowment of the old abbey that we know of was that of a certain Gwrgan Varvtrwch, King of Damnonia in 601, his gift to the Abbot Worgrez being the land round the famous Inesvitrin, which we take to be really *insula vitrea*, i.e. the green island. There is mention, at that date, of an *ecclesia vetusta*, to which Gwrgan gave the land; so here, if it were really needed, we have a proof of the immense antiquity of Glastonbury. But long before this, Inesvitrin, with its smooth, uplifted tor visible from so many points by sea and land, and intensely green in the sunlight when the moorland round it lies in deep shadow, had provided a landing-place to an earlier race of men. Here has been exhumed within recent years that wonderful village of lake-dwellers which has opened up a new chapter of the distant past, relics of which are to be seen in the local museums of Glastonbury and Taunton. But for this chapter there is no annalist, only fragments of ornaments and pottery, like those of Shelley's Grecian urn, 'teasing us out of all thought.'

The great abbey nestling under the tor was fortunate in its annalists. Adam of Domerham, John of Glastonbury, and William of Malmesbury have all given their account of this unique and notable foundation; and its charters are enshrined in Dugdale. Inesvitrin grew with every generation, and was the cradle of British Christianity long before the Roman mission of St Augustine. St Patrick visited it and so did St Benignus of Armagh; also St David, uncle of the renowned King Arthur, as the story runs. In King Ina's Charter (A.D. 725) the

abbey was *mater sanctorum* and the *fons et origo totius religionis*; being exempted from all secular and even from episcopal jurisdiction. In the 'Rentalia et Custumaria of Glastonbury,' reprinted by the Somerset Record Society, the wealth and magnificence of the abbey may be traced. But, as Prof. Freeman has pointed out, the historical significance of Glastonbury lies in its being 'the one great religious foundation which lived through the storm of English conquest and in which Briton and Englishman have an equal share.' Unlike St Martin's church at Canterbury, Glastonbury never suffered from heathen conquerors, for, when Saxons came to Glastonbury, they came as converted Christians; and King Ina, of the house of Cerdic, was one of its chief benefactors.

If, after all its vicissitudes, Glastonbury can now be purchased and become Church of England property for ever, free of all encumbrances, it will indeed be a triumph for all those who love old things and are swayed by the magic of the past. For Glastonbury, as providing a unique chapter in our ecclesiastical annals, can teach us much and is most eloquent in her decay. Here the dreamers, there the iconoclasts. Here the truth, there the errors—perhaps hinted at by Wordsworth when he thought of the 'sorceries of talent misapplied':

'Proud Glastonbury can no more refuse  
To stoop her head before these desperate shocks,  
She whose high pomp displaced, as story tells,  
Arimathea Joseph's wattled cells.'

Occasionally the historian needs to be reminded of the important part played by the Abbots of Glastonbury in moulding the annals of the West Saxon kingdom. Who can overrate the vast influence of St Dunstan in the reigns of Edmund and Edgar? An influence not absolutely good, but still roughly embodying the better conscience and humanities of the age. Perhaps one doubtful result was the impulse given to monasticism and the popularisation of the Benedictine rule. As Wordsworth wrote:

'From its Benedictine coop  
Issues the master mind, at whose fell swoop  
The chaste affections tremble to fulfil  
Their purposes.'

Whoever, in the mood of a pilgrim, wanders amongst those beautiful ruins of Glastonbury, especially at that time of the year when all is dreamy and peaceful, and the orchards of the fair 'Valley of Avalon' make their goodliest show of blossom, must long for that impossible vision of Glastonbury as it was, in all its glory. What a splendid mausoleum it would have been! What a noble 'campo santo'! where, alongside the dust of Saxon kings—nay, the remains of great Rex Arturus himself—the noblest of succeeding generations might have rested in their last long sleep. The abbey, as a national heirloom, is surely a marvellous epitome of our island annals, far more ancient and little less wonderful than Westminster Abbey. Whatever its fate, may it live again in some noble form, still a shrine and still a centre of the British race!

Prof. Freeman, whose home for so many years was at Somerleaze, in the parish of St Cuthbert's, Wells, received some of his earliest and strongest historical impressions from the county of Somerset. As a working member of the Somerset Archæological Society, and as its president in 1871 and one of its vice-presidents many years afterwards, the great historian used frequently to delight his Somerset audiences, upon the occasion of their annual meetings, with his profound knowledge and shrewd judgments—not lightly to be withstood by a champion armed with inferior weapons—touching the architecture and the churches in the land. Few indeed were better judges of style and masonry than Freeman, who attributed the glory of Somerset architecture to the profuse wealth of its quarries; and perhaps he was never more happy than when he took his audience to some ancient parish church which had not been overmuch spoilt and defaced by the hand of the modern restorer (the *bête noire* of all genuine archæologists) and then and there gave his theories *sub dio*. For Freeman was no mere cloister student of documents; he loved outdoor exegesis. When asked to give an account of the antiquities of Wells in 1863, Freeman proceeded with his survey of history in a thoroughly *al fresco* fashion.

'Come with me (he said) to Wells Tor-hill on the Shepton Mallet road—not Glastonbury Tor—and then let me discourse with you. Here is the best view of the city of Wells; for

here in one *coup d'œil* can be seen the Cathedral as a great centre, the Palace, the cloister, the Chapter House, the Vicar's Close, the houses of the Canons, the more distant tower of the parish church.'

This view, in Freeman's judgment, was, 'so far as his experience went, either in England or abroad, perfectly unrivalled'; and already Freeman, we know, had travelled much in Normandy and elsewhere with J. R. Green. Throughout his life, as we may judge from his 'Sketches of Travel in Normandy and Maine,' the familiar Somerset architectural parallels and examples were before him. Of Caen he wrote in 1861, 'Around this town are a group of smaller churches such as not even Somerset or Northamptonshire can surpass.' Falaise, appealing in 1892 to his mature judgment, was merely 'a magnificent Dunster.' St Michael's Mount, seen from Dol in 1868, appeared 'to watch over the bay that bears his name, as from his height at Glastonbury he seems to watch over the flats and hills peopled with the names alike of British and of West-Saxon heroes.'

The Perpendicular towers of Somerset always elicited Freeman's warmest admiration. The tower of Wrington church, built by Glastonbury architects, was, in his judgment, 'the finest square western tower, not designed for a spire or lantern, in all England, and therefore possibly in the whole world.' This was his judgment in a paper read in 1851; and this very church tower is said to have been taken as a model for the Victoria Tower of the Houses of Parliament. So subtle and enduring has been the influence of the old Glastonbury builders. Wherever he travelled, Freeman seemed to carry the type of Somerset churches and of Somerset architecture in his mind for reference. For instance, when he saw the church of St Mary Magdalene at Verneuil, it at once recalled the well-remembered features of St Mary Magdalene at Taunton and of St Mary Magdalene at Bishops-Lydeard close by. From an architectural point of view the county of Somerset was a kind of central ground—under the influence, it would seem, of Glastonbury—whence the style could be traced elsewhere. In the two great churches of South Wales at Llandaff, and also at St David's—a cathedral of which Freeman made a particular study in a well-known monograph—the Somerset type could be traced across the

Severn sea. It was also discernible in the neighbouring counties of Devon, Dorset, and Gloucester.

That something akin to Somerset architecture should be found in South Wales is not surprising when we bear in mind their historical connexion and geographical contiguity. The history of Somerset is very closely connected with the history of Monmouth and Glamorgan, and should be studied along with it. Gwrgan or Gurgantus, whom we have already mentioned, was a Welsh prince and *regulus* or chief of lands in the valleys of the Parret and the Brue, the head of a kind of riverine realm extending along both shores of the Severn sea. The 'trajectus,' whether from a bay or landing-place in Monmouth or Glamorgan, was a short and easy one if the mariner availed himself of the tides and winds from the north-west or west. Even the great Alfred, crowned King of Demetia—a fact Dean Milman accepts—showed in his own royal person and prerogative how easily the two sides of the Severn sea could be linked under one rule when Bishop Asser himself acted as his bishop on this side and on that. Further back still, if we accept King Arthur as a real personage, his realm may have been a maritime realm, a kingdom of the Severn sea with three converging points of interest at Tintagel in Cornwall, Caerleon on Usk, and Glastonbury in Somerset.

The Norman conquest of Somerset naturally attracted the notice of Freeman. One of the most notable castles built by the Conqueror to overawe the county was at Montacute in the south of Somerset. The old name of Montacute was Leodgaresburg; and this was a most sacred place in Saxon and British times. Was it not here that St Joseph of Arimathea was said to have been buried? Here also a flint crucifix, together with such relics as a small cross, a bell, and a text of the Gospel, was found by a carpenter in Canute's reign. Harold accepted the tradition; and it was before that very crucifix, found on the Somerset hill of Leodgaresburg and conveyed miraculously by Tofig's kine to Waltham Holy Cross in Essex, that he knelt in prayer on his march to Senlac and there received that mysterious warning from the bowing of the awful form. It was this cross that gave Harold's men their war-cry, and it was in its name that they bore up against the onset of the Norman host.

But with the object, apparently, of doing despite to all these holy traditions of Saxon times and to the holy mount of Leodgaesburg, the Norman conqueror raised up on it a stern keep and castle, overlooking the broad valley of the Parret and not far from the forest of Neroche and the forest of North Petherton, giving it in charge to Robert, Count of Mortain, and making the place a hateful centre of oppression and a seat of the tax-gatherers. As if to wipe out every vestige of tradition, the hill was renamed Montacute by Drogo of Montacute in Normandy.

Freeman points out that the Norman conquest of Somerset, a difficult matter in itself, was simply a preliminary to the harder task of the reduction of Exeter. The path of conquest lay along the old route by way of Ilchester and South Somerset, the route by which the Saxons came to Exeter and South Devon. The chief scene of this conflict, like that of other conflicts in our county, is not far from Langport and the head of the Parret navigation. Exeter had grown in importance during the Saxon régime; it was well fortified, and its siege, had all been united, might have cost William the Conqueror dear. With the fall, however, of this great west-country city the fate of the western counties was sealed; and when King William consolidated his rule in Somerset he set up castles over the length and breadth of the land. There were two great Norman castles and baronies to guard North Somerset, viz. Dunster, held by William Mohun on the extreme west, and Stoke Courcy, held first by William de Falaise the Conqueror's kinsman. To the south there rose the stern keep of Montacute, held, as already noted, by Robert, the Conqueror's half-brother; while at Castle Cary, not far from classic Cadbury, and King Arthur's castle of old, Walter de Douai, a stout and trusty Fleming, was placed to watch over the head-waters of the Cary and the upper valleys of the Parret.

Thus, in 1086, if not earlier, a strong Norman quadrilateral was established in Somerset, with subsidiary posts and castellated forts, all under the Lord of Montacute, the erstwhile Norman administrative centre of the county. Such forts were the castle of Neroche, just six miles south of Taunton, associated immediately with Montacute and

part of the great 'Fee of Mortain'; Richmonte Castle at East Harptre, associated with Castle Cary, held for many generations by the Lovel or Perceval family; Nether Stowey Castle, associated closely with Stoke Courcy Castle, held first by Alured de Hispania and then by the de Candos family. The lord of Montacute was a kind of overlord of Somerset; and the 'Fee of Mortain' was a privileged fee to which the minor owners of castles, such as the lord of Richmonte, paid feudal homage.

As a natural sequel of the Norman Conquest, North Somerset and its tidal rivers, especially the Parret, were made the base of operations against South Wales. No sooner was the Baron de Candos settled at his 'Caput Baronie' of Nether Stowey than he fitted out an expedition and floated down the river Parret, intent on new conquests at historic Caerleon. Yonder, across the Severn sea, in sight of the Quantocks in Somerset, lay those rich valleys of Glamorgan, the wealth of Monmouth that had enticed the Danes, and the infinite capacities of the valleys of the Usk, the Wye, and the Severn. There was an Oweyn Wan glorying in the title of 'Lord of Caerleon-upon-Usk,' the Welsh title of the sons of Gurgantus or Gwrgan. Was he not prince of the seven cantreds of Siluria? We learn from the chronicles of Llanthony Abbey that Robert de Candos, the Nether Stowey baron, won by force of arms this ancient dominion, and proceeded to found, in 1113, the alien priory of Goldcliffe on the cliffs of Monmouth, attaching it to the Norman abbey of Le Bec Hellouin, and endowing it, *inter alia*, with the church of Nether Stowey itself, also with the parishes of Puriton and Woolavington, lying close under the bend of the river Parret. Here lay that ancient 'pill' and landing-place where, probably, Guthrum and his Danes came to terms with King Alfred. It had become part of the barony of Nether Stowey; and it was from this port, anticipating in importance that of Bridgwater, that the first overseas campaigns were probably made down the Parret and one of the first of the Welsh Lord-marcherships created. As a rule we associate these Lord-marcherships with a conquering expedition from Shropshire, Hereford, or Worcestershire, instead of with an overseas onset from North Somerset. But Somerset was always a maritime base, not only for Irish Norman

conquests, with which we are, perhaps, more familiar, but also for Norman attacks upon South Wales.

But the great colonising epoch was that inaugurated by the expedition of John de Courcy, Baron of Stoke Courcy, which had as its first objective the conquest of Ulster. This is, perhaps, the most interesting page of oversea adventures from North Somerset. Such families also as the Barrys, who have left their name in Shurton Barry, a hamlet in Stoke Courcy, and in Barry docks in South Wales; the Cogans, who lived at Huntspill on the Parret; the le Poers, who appear as signatories in many old Stoke Courcy documents; the Percevals of Castle Cary, and many others, rushed impetuously to that new field of conquest. The de Courcy, like the de Candos family, endowed a foreign abbey, viz. that of Lonley in Normandy; and from Dugdale's 'Monasticon' (vi, 1123) we can measure the length and breadth of their conquests by the number of its endowments in Ireland.

Edwardian times witnessed much commercial and martial activity in Somerset. There was constant going to and fro between the Severn sea and Normandy and Aquitaine. Lord Audley, the hero of Poitiers, who held the castles of Heleigh and Redcastle in the north and Nether Stowey in Somerset, resided long in the latter place. Indeed this spot was a favourite abode of the Audleys down to the days of Henry VII, when James, Lord Audley, who led the insurgent Cornishmen from Wells to London, lost the manor, being condemned as a traitor and executed on Tower Hill. It was at Somerton Castle that John II, King of France, lived as a distinguished captive, removed thither from Hereford Castle with a view of being more safely secured. For his reception the old abode of the Saxon kings was 'fitted up commodiously'; and quite recently there was displayed in the Taunton museum the sword of King John, the trophy of John de la Warre, a Somerset knight, who took the king prisoner on the stricken field of Poitiers.

During the wars of the Roses the county of Somerset was noted more for numerous desultory actions than for any decisive battle. One of the notable episodes of the struggle was the destruction of Stoke Courcy Castle by Lord Bonville—a blow from which it never really recovered. This castle had, in the days of King John, been

## THE COUNTY OF SOMERSET



held by the famous Fulk de Bréauté, who had inherited it by his marriage with an heiress. It was important enough to be classed with the castle of Plympton in South Devon, and, no doubt, gathered its strategic importance from its position commanding the mouth of the river Parret, always an important place. It had, however, passed into the hands of the Percy family, the Earls of Northumberland, by a marriage of Eleanor Poynings with Henry Percy—a match favoured by the great Cardinal Beaufort, who was lord of the rich and famous manor of Taunton Dean. In reward for the loyalty of Somerset people to the house of Lancaster it is said that Henry VII rebuilt many of their churches; but there seems to be some doubt about the real motive of this alleged munificence. During the Yorkist predominance, James Luttrell, on account of his Lancastrian sympathies, lost by confiscation the old inheritance of Dunster Castle, which was given to the Earl of Pembroke in 1463. After an interval, however, of twenty-four years, the castle and its domain found their way back to the Luttrells, who hold it still.

The county of Somerset was well represented in the spacious times of Queen Elizabeth and in the stirring events of the Spanish wars. Sir Francis Drake, the Devonshire hero, was well known in West Somerset, and is said to have sought and won a bride at Combe Sydenham. A well-known story tells how Sir Francis, before leaving England on one of his oversea adventures, bade a fond farewell to his affianced bride. 'Be true, dear Bess (he said); I may be absent long, but I will send you a token that I am alive.' Time went on; and the lady, weary of waiting, gave her lover up as lost and engaged herself to another suitor. The wedding day was fixed, and Elizabeth Sydenham was actually walking out of the hall of Sydenham Court when a strange messenger in the shape of a cannon-ball fell from the skies and rolled between her feet and those of the bridegroom elect. This was the token of Sir Francis—the great dragon of the Spanish main. Struck at this undoubted sign of his vitality, the bride refused to go on with the ceremony, and, waiting a little longer, welcomed her old lover back. At Sydenham Court the cannon-ball is still shown, as proof of the miraculous intervention. The Sydenhams,

who gave their name to that place, were a conspicuous Somerset family, and figured largely in the Elizabethan musters and levies as stout defenders of their county and also as captains of hastily raised bands. In the scheme of defence against the Armada, Somerset was united with South Wales and placed under the supreme command of the Earl of Pembroke, thus showing again how intimately its fortunes have been bound up with those of the opposite coast.

Close to Sydenham Court lies Nettlecombe Court, the ancient home of the Rawleigh, Ralee, or Raleigh family, of which it is said that the great Devon knight was a member by original descent. The name of Raleigh is kept alive in the place-name 'Raleigh's Cross' on the Brendon hills, just above Nettlecombe Court, past which the followers of the Devon and Somerset staghounds sometimes gallop when the lonely ridges of the Brendon hills are 'tufted' for a 'warrantable' deer. The name of Raleigh figures prominently in the early annals of Somerset, especially in the neighbourhood of Bridgwater and in North Petherton hundred. Walter Raleigh, Dean of Wells, and grandson of the great Sir Walter, was a conspicuous figure in Commonwealth times, and, being expelled from Chedzoy for his Royalist proclivities, was done to death in captivity, so it is said, by a shoemaker.

Charlinch, a small village near Bridgwater, was the home of the famous Sir Robert Crosse, the companion-in-arms of Sir Francis Drake and of Sir Walter Raleigh. He commanded the bark 'Bond' in Sir Francis Drake's expedition to the West Indies in 1585-6, as we infer from the Privy Council papers; the land forces being under the leadership of Captain Christopher Carleile or Carlisle (described as lieutenant-general of Sir F. Drake), an old and experienced officer of Somerset extraction and a native of the village of Spaxton, close to Charlinch itself. Captain Crosse took part in the Cadiz expedition of 1587, and in 1588 commanded the Queen's ship, 'Hope,' as Drake's vice-admiral. According to Stowe, he 'gave a sign of the valour that was in him,' engaging the 'Maria,' of 665 tons and 24 guns, with a Spanish crew of 172 soldiers and 100 sailors, and sending it to the bottom. In 1591 he was in command of the 'Bonaventure' in Lord Thomas Howard's fleet, and in 1592 served as vice-

admiral of the Raleigh squadron, being the first to board the great carrack, the 'Madre di Dios,' of 1500 tons, with a cargo valued at 150,000*l*. He served again with Raleigh in the Cadiz expedition of 1596, and was knighted there for his bravery. It seems that, after his illustrious career, Sir Robert married a Roman Catholic lady of fortune, sister of a Captain Marchant. The marriage was an unhappy one; and there is still extant a piteous letter from Sir R. Crosse to Sir Robert Cecil, in which he says that 'her property was like to be taken away from her as a recusant, and that he had done his best to make her change her faith, and that my lord of Canterbury had visited her twice, but to none effect.' Later he appeals to past services and asks for some reward, and, this being disregarded, he begs leave at last to quit the country to hide his poverty. The same year (1611) he died in the house of Sir Thomas Mildmay, of Moulesham, Essex—a sad ending to a distinguished career. Spain and the Pope had their subtle revenge at last for Cadiz. If we add to Crosse and Carleile the name of Thomas Palmer, of the Fairfield and Stoke Courcy family, who also went on the Porto Rico expedition, we shall see that here in West Somerset were a group of sailors and Elizabethan heroes who were second to none, not even to the men of Devon, in rendering service to their country in the hour of need.

During the struggle between the two religions in Elizabeth's day the Protestant champions did not have it all their own way in Somerset. At Nether Stowey was born that noted Jesuit, Father Robert Parsons, known under many aliases, including that of Nicholas Dolman, author of the 'Three Conversions of England' and many other works, a man of surprising fertility of genius, who, together with Campion, entered England with the design of conspiring against the Queen and carrying out the papal excommunication. Few adventurers had a more stirring personal history, and, after innumerable hair-breadth escapes, he lived to return to the Continent and to become the head of the English College at Rome. Parsons was said to have been an illegitimate son of the parson of Nether Stowey, his real name being Cowbuck or Cowbocke—a statement which has received some confirmation from recent and collateral evidence in Weaver's

'Incumbents of Somerset' and Hugo's 'Somerset Nunneries,' in both of which authorities 'Cowbuck' is given as an alias of 'Parsons.' This confirms Archbishop Abbot's statement given in Foulis' 'History of Romish Treasons'; and, as George Abbot was at Balliol College with Parsons, it is likely that he knew his history and was acquainted with his parentage.

Another conspirator, more nobly born, was Charles Arundel, a godson of the Emperor Charles, well known at the Court of Queen Elizabeth at one time, and a friend of the Pagets and Throckmortons. He was the owner of South Petherton manor and hundred, and closely connected with Thomas Arundel, of Wardour Castle in Wiltshire. In June 1584 Stafford, the English ambassador in Paris, made a formal demand for the surrender of Lord Paget, Charles Paget, Charles Arundel, Thomas Throckmorton, and Thomas Morgan, as having conspired against the life of the English Queen. Henry III, King of France, refused to give them up; and in the escheat of Charles Arundel's property in Somerset the fact of his transference of allegiance to the French king is mentioned together with his unlicensed residence *in terris transmarinis*. One of Charles Arundel's houses in Somerset was Barrington Court, the old Tudor mansion which it is the present desire of the National Trust to purchase and preserve as a national heirloom. It was inherited by Charles Arundel from the Daubeney family, former Earls of Bridgwater, one of whom, Giles, Lord Daubeney, had married Elizabeth Arundel, daughter of Sir John Arundel of Lanherne, in Cornwall. Perhaps one of the most interesting episodes of Charles Arundel's life was his plot for the invasion of North Somerset. In the State papers is to be found a report by Thomas Rogers to Secretary Walsingham (Dec. 16, 1585) showing how Charles Arundel had gone to the camp of the Duke of Guise with the object 'of furnishing three or four ships of war about St Malo, wherein he and Westmoreland, with Captain Gaze and 600 to 700 men, intended to go secretly into England upon Somersetshire, there to rob and burn and take some gentlemen of account out of their houses.'

West Somerset furnished many men and ships in Tudor days, not only for fighting, but also for exploration. A Bridgwater vessel called 'The Immanuel' sailed with

Frobisher in his search for the north-west passage; and its crew thought they had found gold in Anne Warwick's Straits, bringing back much ballast of glittering mica. Colonisation and enterprise were in the air, and received episcopal sanction and blessing from old Arthur Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, the predecessor of William Laud. Lake was called the Puritan bishop, and is said to have 'occasioned, yea, founded the work of colonisation' in America, breathing into the enterprise a higher principle than that of gain. 'He would go himself but for his age,' declared the old bishop shortly before his death. His enthusiasm recalls the later zeal of Bishop Berkeley and the Bermuda scheme.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, born at Ashton Philips, part of Long Ashton, not far from Bristol, and a member of a very old Somerset family settled at Wraxall, was a sturdy type of colonist. Procuring a grant of the district between the Kinnebec and the boundary of New Hampshire, he named it 'New Somersetshire.' Bancroft, the American historian, praises him thus:

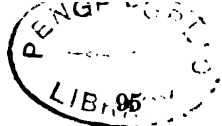
'The nature of Gorges was generous, and his piety sincere; he sought pleasure in doing good, fame by advancing Christianity among the heathen, a durable monument by erecting houses, villages, and towns. The contemporary and friend of Raleigh, he adhered to schemes in America for almost half a century; and, long after he became convinced of their unproductiveness, was still bent on plans of colonisation at an age when other men are but preparing to die with decorum.'

Sir Ferdinando interested himself especially in the suppression of piracy, which was very rife in his days. Among the Plymouth archives there is a letter from him to Mr Robert Trelawny, mayor of Plymouth, dated April 19, 1617, in which he invites all the shipowners of the west country to co-operate with the shipowners of London in concerting measures to put down piracy on the high seas, which had 'in the last few years deprived the kingdom of England and of Scotland of no less than 300 ships with their lading and merchandise, their seamen being reduced to captivity.' For this purpose the merchants of London were willing to subscribe 40,000*l.*—a large sum in those days.

Sir Ferdinando enlisted in his schemes of colonisation

and adventure the help and sympathy of Sir John Popham, the well-known Elizabethan chief justice, whose portrait could be seen, till quite recently, at an old Popham possession, viz. Bagborough House, under the Quantock hills. The Pophams were landowners in many Somerset villages, especially in North Petherton, Porlock, and Wellington. It was Sir John Popham who, writing from Wellington, forwarded the first authentic information about the approach of the Spanish Armada. In his message 'To the Right Honourable my verie singular good Lord, the Lord Burghly, Lord High Treasurer,' he wrote, on Sunday, July 22, 1588, that the Spanish Armada, to the number of 162 sail, had been encountered by an English vessel. This vessel was a Bridgwater trader which had come up the Parret on July 21 from San Juan de Luz. In a small biography of Admiral Blake, written about 1720 by 'one bred in the family,' we learn that this vessel belonged to the Blake family, which had long traded with Spain from Bridgwater.

The name of Blake introduces a new and thrilling chapter in the annals of Somerset. The Blake family were all true sons of the soil of Somerset. For many generations the best known of the admiral's family and his immediate ancestors lived at or near Bridgwater, carrying on their occupation as traders and seafaring men. Bridgwater and the Parret being the usual ports of departure for pilgrims to the shrine of St James of Compostello, it naturally followed that trade and commerce were developed along this route. The Blakes traded with Spanish ports, and, by virtue of their intercourse, knew the Spain of Tudor and Stuart days at first-hand—a fact which has a bearing upon the career of the great Commonwealth admiral. Humphry Blake, an ancestor, accumulated a good fortune, and bought a property at Tuxwell, close under the Quantock hills, improving his position by a marriage with a neighbouring heiress, Sara Williams, who brought with her the adjoining manor of Plainsfield. There the arms of the Blakes can still be seen carved upon a mantelpiece in one of the ground-floor rooms; and in Over-Stowey parish church their monuments abound. Both here and at Aisholt, a remote little parish adjoining Over-Stowey, the Blakes figure as 'generosi,' and as landowners and



patrons of Church livings. The admiral himself was never married, his life being too strenuous for the cares of a family; but through his brothers he is well represented down to the present day.

This is not the place for a review of the life and work of this Somersetshire hero; but, as his career is such a full and many-sided one, we may be permitted to dwell upon it for a little space. The late Prof. Burrows, whose early life especially qualified him to judge, placed Blake's exploits above those of Nelson. Although Blake worked in a less sensational field of action, his death at sea, as he was entering Plymouth Sound, worn out by wounds and disease, is as pathetic and as noble as that which took place in the cockpit of the 'Victory.' And how his life was rounded off by that last gallant action at Santa Cruz, where even Nelson failed, is a twice-told tale. But, not to compare the value of his naval exploits with those of others, we may point to a subtle charm of character in Blake which won the chivalrous attachment of those stalwart west-countrymen serving under and with him. Like Collingwood, this 'general-at-sea' won the hearts of all. A tender piety lay at the bottom of his strong and masculine nature, a real trust and confidence in the justice of the cause for which he fought so well. Some, notably Clarendon, have spoken of Blake's Puritanism as if it soured and narrowed his nature; but the facts are against this charge. As a genial and sympathetic west-countryman, he appealed to that powerful sentiment and *camaraderie* which has achieved so much because founded upon a genuine local patriotism not opposed to, but merging in, the broader sort. In addition, Robert Blake was an Oxford scholar of no mean attainments, and quite able to maintain his thesis against men of extravagant Laudian pretensions. It is no slur upon his honesty to say that a private grudge may have accentuated the public differences, for Laud had persecuted Blake's brother, the churchwarden of St Mary's Church, Bridgwater, for certain little lapses it would have been wiser to overlook, even if he could not, with his somewhat narrow mind, condone them entirely.

There are certain sayings attributed to Admiral Blake which show the man and his particular attitude towards the burning question of the day, one being that 'he would

as freely venture his life to save the King as ever he did to serve the Parliament,' which should sufficiently exculpate him from being at heart a regicide; and sailors may yet have reason to call to mind his wise and historic saying, 'It is not our business to mind State affairs, but to keep foreigners from fooling us.'

As a soldier, Blake might have won a renown as great as that which crowned his naval triumphs. In the early part of the Civil War the general strategy of the Marquis of Hertford and the Royalists, as we learn from contemporary documents, was

'to erect a line of fortresses with garrisons over the isthmus of ground between the South Sea and Severn by way of Bridgwater, Taunton, Lyme, and Langport, it being from Bridgwater to Lyme little more than twenty miles, by which the counties of Devon and Cornwall were blocked.'

By his gallant defence of Lyme and of Taunton, General Blake baulked the plans of the Royalists and held the valley of the Parret. Despairing of making a successful stand 'in the rotten, unhealthy moors,' the Marquis of Hertford was persuaded by the gentry of Somerset to march to Minehead, and, if possible, to transport himself and his forces into South Wales by means of the Welsh 'barques.' The great objective of the siege of Dunster Castle was not the capture of the castle, but the prospect of securing an open sea passage to South Wales. Even after Sedgmoor the Duke of Monmouth hesitated for a moment, doubting whether to turn his horse's head towards Uphill, the old port of the Axe, and so escape to South Wales by ship instead of flying southwards to Beaulieu. The battle of Sedgmoor itself is the last great proof of the recurrent problem of land warfare in central Somerset; and since Sedgmoor and the 'Bloody Assize' there has been peace in these watery plains. Yet the Wellington monument overlooking northwards the fertile vale of Taunton Dean; the Chatham monument of Curry Rivel that dominates the wide lowlands of the south; the statue of Blake beneath the tall thin spire of St Mary's, Bridgwater; the Hood monument commemorating the naval victories of a family highly distinguished in the great Napoleonic struggle—a monument visible almost within the same *coup d'œil* as the Alfred's Tower

at Stourhead—all these remind us that even in these peaceful lowlands, rich in pastures and teeming with flocks and herds, the thought of war can never long be absent from the minds of those who would be at peace.

From a literary point of view the county of Somerset is not especially celebrated. Perhaps there is some truth in Sydney Smith's depreciative remark about the air of West Somerset, as he breathed it when living in the genial atmosphere of Combe Florey, viz. that, unlike the air of the far north, which the Scotch seem to breathe raw and uncooked, it was more or less boiled down in West Somerset. Another saying attributed to a whilom candidate for parliamentary honours in Somerset was that the county was renowned for the fertility of its soil and for the mental sterility of its county gentry. To some extent this may be true; and the type of 'Squire Western' was a familiar one enough in the Georgian age, under whose soporific effect Somerset seemed to have lost its Elizabethan activities. But here and there in the past occur facts and incidents which at all events link the county with the literary life of the nation.

Roger Bacon, the great Franciscan, was a monk of Ilchester, and with Adam de Marisco, a friend of Robert Grosseteste, and a learned doctor of theology, may be claimed as a native of Somerset. At any rate the latter is said by Nicholas Trivet to have come from the diocese of Bath. Nicholas Trivet himself, the author of a valuable contemporary history of Plantagenet and Edwardian days, may have been one of the Trivet family so well known in the neighbourhood of Bridgwater and North Petherton. A very old copy of this chronicle has been preserved at Fairfield House, near Stoke Courcy, the old home of the Palmer and Acland families. These counted amongst their forbears members of the Trivet family, whose badge of three trivets appears not only in Fairfield itself, but also in Dodington church and manor house, and formerly in Stoke Courcy church.

Geoffrey Chaucer held, under the Mortimer family, the fairly lucrative post of forester of North Petherton Park and Forest, being appointed by Alienora, Countess of March, in 1390. It is not certain, however, that he resided in the county; nor can we trace in his 'Canterbury Tales' any marked references to local matters, or

detect in his language any traces of west-country peculiarities. The 'Wife of Bath' may have been a study on the spot; but Bath itself, on the very confines of Somerset, was always a cosmopolitan centre which attracted, from Roman times, all sorts and conditions of men. The numerous plaques and mural tablets, which, in accordance with the laudable spirit of a modern revivalism, commemorate Bath residents, do not carry with them much meaning as memorials of true Somerset celebrities. Fielding, the novelist, was born at Sharpham Park, near Glastonbury, and was married (we believe) in the little parish church of Charlecombe, near Bath; but these circumstances of his life do not give to his works much local colouring. Chaucer's son Thomas was more closely connected with West Somerset than his father, as he not only succeeded Geoffrey as substitutionary forester of North Petherton Park and Forest under the Mortimer régime, but was constable of Taunton Castle. His wife, Maud Berghersh, the daughter of Bartholomew Berghersh, was closely allied to the Mohun family, the lords of Dunster Castle; and he himself was known at Nettlecombe Court, where, in old documents, his signature appears amongst the Trevelyan papers.

In the days of Queen Elizabeth, Samuel Daniel, born near Taunton in 1562, flourished and wrote a history of the Wars of the Roses amongst other numerous works. He was a favourite at Court and tutor to Lady Anne Clifford, afterwards Countess of Pembroke. On the death of Edmund Spenser he was made Poet Laureate by Queen Elizabeth, and spent the evening of his life at a small farmhouse of his own at Beckington, near Philips Norton. In the next century, Oldmixon, a Somerset historian, added to the wealth of Commonwealth literature as one who had personal knowledge and experience of much that he relates. For instance, he tells us in his history how he had seen the Duke of Monmouth ride with grave and staid demeanour towards the battlefield of Sedgemoor on that fatal July day.

But no literary landmark in the history of Somerset is at all comparable to that made and imprinted on the annals of the county towards the end of the eighteenth century by what is known as the 'Nether Stowey' set. The names of Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Southey are

inseparably linked with Somerset. The forefathers of Southey were to be found at Lydeard St Lawrence, on the western side of the Quantock hills; and the biography of the Laureate, written by Cuthbert Southey, reveals not only the close association of the family with Somerset soil, but also the common inspiration which filled the minds of the exponents of a new school of poetry, collected together by a strange and wonderful chance in a small village of that county.

In one sense, and it is a very important one, Tom Poole, the Mæcenas of that brilliant and erratic genius, S. T. Coleridge, occupies a very central position. Although of no great literary attainments himself, he could aid and even stimulate genius. It was the essential goodness of this true Somerset yeoman that worked upon the fertile ground of Coleridge's imagination and evoked his lasting and affectionate regard. Living at a time when the poor were hardly pressed and sometimes wholly neglected, Tom Poole was a social reformer of the best type. Nor did he stand alone. Upon Mendip Mrs Hannah More had already demonstrated the value of a Christian philanthropy of a broad and liberal nature going beyond the bounds of sectarian and theological distinctions. There were difficulties and prejudices in the way arising from a strained ecclesiasticism; and Mrs More had to fortify herself in her good works and in her Sunday-school teaching by an appeal to Bishop Beadon himself, who knew and understood her worth better than some of his narrow-minded clergy. Social reform was in the air, and a better spirit was destined to prevail. Thomas Poole felt the warm impulses of the new philanthropy, and while his cousin John Poole, rector of Enmore, a small parish near Bridgwater, inaugurated one of the first village schools in Somerset, if not in England, he himself followed suit at Nether Stowey. Further, he set on foot a village band which has lasted, with more or less vigour, to the present day. The services of the men who sat and played in the minstrel gallery at Nether Stowey church on Sundays in 1798-1800 were requisitioned for the delight of the villagers on weekdays. Amongst the instruments used was the bassoon, traditions of which still exist in the village; and, as Coleridge must often have heard its imposing

notes at Stowey, it is possible that he had it in his mind when, in the rhyme of 'The Ancient Mariner,' he wrote:

'The wedding guest he beat his breast  
For he heard the loud bassoon.'

Tom Poole also founded a woman's club at Nether Stowey, which still 'walks' to church once a year on the Friday before midsummer's day. In old days it was headed by the band with a rustic herald, bearing on a banner a motto written by Coleridge himself:

'Foresight and union linked by Christian love,  
Helped by the good below and Heaven above!'

At a distance of three miles from Nether Stowey lies Alfoxton, the temporary abode of William and Dorothy Wordsworth in 1797-98. As the inspiring ground of genius, Nether Stowey and Alfoxton must always be considered together. Those well-known walks upon Quantock's 'airy ridge,' and the tour to Porlock and the west, were responsible for much in the lives of Coleridge and Wordsworth. Nor must we forget Dorothy Wordsworth, whose influence was of that subtle and fascinating kind which was well calculated to set aflame Coleridgean enthusiasm and romance. The poetical product of this intercourse is represented technically by the publication of 'The Lyrical Ballads,' but this does not exhaust the tale. The main object of those who wish to purchase the Coleridge cottage at Nether Stowey and to preserve it as a national heirloom is to mark and to give emphasis to a literary epoch in the county of Somerset which, in the realm of poetry and philosophy, takes men far beyond the limits of a shire and binds them together in a common aspiration and love of nature.

WILLIAM GRESWELL.





# Art. V.—THE REDISCOVERY OF ROME.

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9. *Jordan's Topographie der Stadt Rom*. Edited by  
Ch. Hülsen. Vol. I, part iii. Berlin: Weidmann, 1907.
10. *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine*. By  
Mrs Arthur Strong. London: Duckworth, 1907.
11. *Papers of the British School at Rome*. Vols I–IV.  
London: Macmillan, 1902–7.

And other works.

It is not unnatural that the great change in the character of Rome since it became the capital of Italy should have had a great effect upon our knowledge of its archæology and topography. The population, which was 220,532 in 1869, had risen to 345,036 on December 31, 1885, and was in 1906 403,282 for the city itself, and 516,580 for the whole commune (including, that is, the whole Agro Romano, a considerable portion of the Roman Campagna). And not only has this increased population had to be housed, but all the machinery of the government of the country has had to be transferred to the capital. The results have been twofold—an enormous extension outwards, so that the modern city now covers the whole area enclosed by the Aurelian walls, and on many sides, indeed, projects beyond them, except on the south, where vineyards and gardens still flank each side of the Via

Appia; and a great modification of the centre of mediæval Rome, rendered necessary by the exigencies of modern traffic and the necessity of creating large buildings for public and for business purposes.

It is unfortunate that more respect for the remains of antiquity is not shown; there is little doubt that, had the subject not been freely discussed in the Italian and foreign press, and had not the latter taken a vigorous line, a considerable portion of the Aurelian walls on the north of the city would (in defiance of the recommendations of the local archæological authorities) have been pierced with vertical openings at such short intervals that it would hardly have been worth while to preserve the fragments that remained. As it is, several openings which had already been made have been subsequently arched over, so that the line of the wall is not too abruptly broken. Rome and Constantinople are the only great capitals possessing *enceintes* in which their history is epitomised; and every effort should be made to reconcile their preservation with the need of expansion felt by the modern city.

The profound changes that have been produced in the physiognomy of Rome have naturally led to very extensive researches in the subsoil; for drainage and for the secure foundation of modern buildings it has been necessary to go to considerable depths, owing especially to the fact that the ground was largely made ground. The depth to which Ancient Rome has been buried varies 'from 5 to 65 feet,' according to Professor Lanciani; and the burial is not difficult to explain when we remember that the site has been continuously inhabited, and that we can clearly trace from period to period the rise in the level of the city, due partly to the heaping up of rubbish from elsewhere, partly to the natural accumulation of matter by the action of rain and wind, and still more to the material produced by the collapse of the buildings which successively occupied the site. Bearing these facts in mind, it will be easy, even for those to whom Rome is not familiar in its latest aspect, to understand what an opportunity archæological research has enjoyed since 1870.

We may now attempt to estimate in general terms what has been the gain to our knowledge, and how this unique opportunity has been employed by Italian and

foreign archæologists. A comparison between a plan of Ancient Rome constructed in 1870 and such a plan as it would be constructed at the present day will show us the advance that has been made—the confirmation of some previous conjectures, the demonstration that others were erroneous, though founded on the best evidence then available, and the certainty acquired as to the form and character of buildings of which the sites alone were known. We may mention the determination of the line taken by the so-called Servian wall, the real date of which scholars in the main now agree to be the fourth century B.C., owing to the discovery within its circuit of archaic tombs; and we also have a far clearer conception of the distribution of the water-supply, of the drainage system, of the street plan, and of the private houses than has ever been possible hitherto.

Discoveries of inscriptions and of works of art have been no less important and interesting. Among the former we may instance the finding, near the altar of Dis and Proserpine (which was itself discovered in the Tarentum), of two marble slabs recording the celebration of the *Ludi sæculares* by Augustus and by Septimius Severus, both of course contemporary documents. In the former inscription we read the words, *Carmen composuit Q. Horatius Flaccus*,\* not without a feeling that here is one of those points of contact with reality by which archæology is justified, and which redeem it from the reproach which is so often levelled at it, of busying itself merely with the dry bones of knowledge.

Of works dealing with the general topography of the city, we owe the best to the unwearied researches of Prof. Lanciani and Prof. Hülsen, who have been associated with Roman archæology for forty and twenty-five years respectively. Besides innumerable articles and special works, each has published, for the benefit of a wider public, a convenient summary of his researches, and a plan of the city, in which they are illustrated. The plan of Prof. Lanciani deserves special mention, inasmuch as, from its large size (its scale is 1 in 1000) and its wealth of detail, it is indispensable to every student of the minutiae of the topography of Rome. To this

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\* The reference is, of course, to Horace's 'Carmen Sæculare.'

great plan the 'Storia degli Scavi di Roma' (the fruit of years of research in topographical literature, both in manuscript and in print, and of hunting through archives) forms a kind of commentary, for on the former are marked the dates and localities of the excavations with which the latter deals. Prof. Hülsen's 'Roman Forum' is a masterly, and at the same time clear and attractive treatment of the subject in a handy little octavo volume of two hundred pages, with singularly well-chosen illustrations. But there is still lacking his treatment of the city as a whole and of its development, for the last volume of Jordan's work—a literary legacy—does not attempt to supersede or correct the other portions, though they date from twenty years and more back. With Signor Boni's reports on the Forum excavations we shall deal presently.

All these works must naturally rest to a considerable extent upon the archæological reports of the national and the municipal officials, contained respectively in the 'Notizie degli Scavi,' and the 'Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale,' the former dealing with the whole kingdom of Italy, the latter with Rome alone. The longer reports of more important excavations are generally full and clear, though sometimes (and the remark refers in the main to the 'Notizie') there is considerable delay in publication. That prompt publication is not impossible has been shown by the appearance, before the end of 1907, of four reports of the excavations undertaken on the Palatine in the late spring of that year; and, if this system of interim reports were adopted in other cases also, the gain would often be very great. But the short reports of casual discoveries, especially those made in Rome itself in the last few years, are often not illuminating, and, while without interest for the generality of archæologists, are, from their omissions, tantalising to those who make a special study of the topography. One can only hope that either the municipal or the national authorities, or both, regularly note all these discoveries as they are made on a copy of Lanciani's great plan. It would not, surely, be too much to ask that a copy of this plan, regularly kept up-to-date, should be at the disposal of students in some public library.

We have spoken so far merely of discoveries made in connexion with the growth of the modern city; and it must be confessed that all the advantage that might have been gained has not been taken. Such is especially the case with regard to the prehistoric cemeteries on the Esquiline, where, for the period previous to 1877, detailed notes seem to be entirely lacking, while a large plan that was made has unfortunately been lost. If much has been done, and done well, still more might have been accomplished. Criticism, in face of what has been preserved for us, may seem ungracious; but, inasmuch as the opportunity of obtaining the information—which could at the time so easily have been recorded—is now gone for ever, it is not unreasonable to deplore defects in the registration of discoveries. Whether more could have been done in the direction of preserving *in situ* some of the newly-discovered buildings and remains, without prejudicing the necessary development of the modern city, it is useless to enquire.

We may now turn to the far more important additions to our knowledge in those parts of Rome in which archæological research has been consciously and deliberately undertaken for its own sake, and has not merely occurred as an incident in the modern development of the city. Let us first take the discoveries in the Forum. So lately as the year 1869, the excavated portion was limited to the temples of Concord, Vespasian, and Saturn, the portico of the Dii Consentes, the Rostra, the column of Phocas, the front half of the Basilica Julia, and a part of the temple of Castor and Pollux, which was not then correctly identified. It may fairly be said that with regard to no part of Ancient Rome has our knowledge been so much increased. The work of exploration was energetically taken up in 1870, and continued by Rosa and his successor Fiorelli, the first director-general of antiquities, largely under the supervision of Prof. Lanciani, till 1885. In this period of fifteen years almost the whole of the open area of the Forum proper was cleared, also the rest of the Basilica Julia and of the temple of Castor and Pollux, the temple of Julius Cæsar, the Regia, the temple of Vesta and the house of the Vestals, and the course of the Sacra Via of the late Empire; and the Forum thus acquired the appearance which was familiar to

visitors to Rome till about ten years ago. From 1885 onwards the work remained at a standstill; and what was done was confined to the special investigation of details, at the instance of foreign (mostly German) archæologists.

In 1898 began the excavations under Giacomo Boni; and of this it will be convenient to speak a little more in detail. The importance of the results obtained is in a general way known to the world (and more especially to the English public, after Signor Boni's visit to England in June last); but a short description of them by one who has had the advantage of being on the spot from the beginning may perhaps not be unwelcome. It is necessary at the outset to remind the reader of a fact which is in danger of being obscured by the justifiable enthusiasm which these latest discoveries have excited, that Signor Boni has had an advantage which his predecessors had not—that of a free hand. His most remarkable discoveries have been made in the lower strata belonging to the Republican (possibly in part to the regal) period; but Prof. Lanciani had put it on record clearly, the year before Signor Boni's first campaign began, that

‘it is necessary to remind the reader that the excavations of the Forum and of the Palatine have nowhere been carried to the proper depth. We have satisfied ourselves with laying bare the remains of the *late* Empire, without taking care to explore the earlier and deeper strata.’\*

From an historical point of view, Prof. Hülsen is no doubt right in assigning the first importance to the discovery of the prehistoric necropolis close to the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. As he has pointed out, the abandonment of this burial place, the latest tombs in which belong to the sixth century B.C., synchronises in a most remarkable way with the traditional date of the construction of the Cloaca Maxima by the Tarquins, a work which, by draining the hitherto marshy valley of the Forum, rendered possible the use of it as a market-place common to the settlements on the Palatine, Esquiline, and Quirinal. Its beginning, on the other hand, is attributable to the eighth or probably the ninth century B.C. The objects found are almost entirely of

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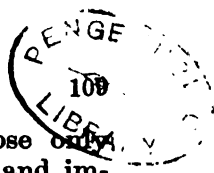
\* ‘Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome,’ p. 240.

native origin, and show a close similarity to those found in the prehistoric tombs of the Alban Hills. Two classes of tombs may be distinguished in this necropolis—cremation and inhumation—of which the former are the earlier, while the majority of the latter are those of children; and, since inhumation continues to be the usual practice in the case of children, even in periods otherwise characterised by cremation, it may be said that the necropolis belongs chiefly to the period of cremation. Further, in more than one case we find a cremation tomb cut through by an inhumation tomb, demonstrating that the latter is the more recent. No radical distinction, on the other hand, can be drawn between the objects found in the two classes of tombs; and the only traces of Greek influence are one or two Proto-Corinthian vases which occur in the latter. The facts connected with the necropolis are, however, comparatively simple, and we are fortunate in possessing Signor Boni's detailed reports of the majority of the graves.

The next discovery with which we have to deal belongs to the earliest period in the history of the Forum, as such, of which we have any knowledge. Signor Boni's excavations had not gone very far when, in January 1899, the learned world was startled by the discovery in front of the Curia of a black marble pavement, which was at once identified with the traditional tomb of Romulus, marked by a black stone (*niger lapis in comitio locum funestum significat, ut alii, Romuli morti destinatum, as Festus says*). It was obvious, however, that this marble pavement—at any rate as it stood—must belong to a relatively late period; and further investigations underneath it led to even more surprising discoveries. The monuments which attracted most attention were a pair of pedestals with a space between them, exactly suited to support statues of recumbent lions (which, we are told, guarded the legendary tomb of Romulus in the days of Varro), and a four-sided *stele* of tufa, slightly pyramidal in shape, about two feet high, on each side of which was an archaic inscription. It is far older than any other Latin inscription preserved to us; it cannot, it is estimated by Prof. Hülsen, whose authority in such matters is of the highest, be later than the fifth century B.C. Unfortunately, at least one-half of it appears to

be wanting; and, since we have hardly any other contemporary specimens of the Latin language with which we may compare it, it has hitherto been impossible to ascertain its meaning. Indeed Mommsen's last pronouncement on the subject was to the effect that only one word in it was certain; but this was important inasmuch as it involved, according to him, the mention in it of a king, a real king, and not his nominal successor under the Republic, the *rex sacrorum*. The freshness of the cutting of the letters is quite remarkable; and one is almost inclined to wonder whether the inscription before us can possibly be a later copy of an older one, though on other grounds this would be improbable. If not, then it can hardly have been exposed to the weather, but must in some way have been protected.

It might have been hoped that light would be thrown upon this and other obscure questions by the character of the objects (the so-called 'stipe votiva,' consisting of statuettes of clay, bone, and bronze, fragments of archaic reliefs in terracotta, and of vases, bones of animals, etc.) found in the layer of river gravel with which the *stèle* and the group of monuments immediately surrounding it were covered, after having been, there seems no doubt, purposely destroyed. The first official report on the subject, indeed, affirmed with all due solemnity that these undoubtedly belonged to the sixth century B.C. Nearly a year was allowed to elapse, during which scholars of all nations busied themselves with the study of the new inscription, interpreting it in various ways, but almost unanimously rejecting the rendering proposed by Prof. Ceci, after five days' preparation, in the 'Notizie degli Scavi.' Then, in April 1900, a summary report, resting, it is true, upon a thorough examination of the finds, appeared from the pen of Dr Savignoni, informing the learned world that some of these objects belonged to the first century B.C.; so that, instead of having a deposit belonging to a single century, we are dealing, it seems, with a group of objects of different epochs, brought from elsewhere, obviously of a sacred nature, and used to cover a group of monuments of peculiar sanctity. This summary report is to be followed by a full catalogue, for which we are still waiting. It can hardly be said that in this case scholars have been treated with the



consideration due to serious investigators whose only object is to arrive at the solution of difficult and important problems, and who, in order to be able to make the attempt with profit, require to have the evidence promptly and fully placed at their disposal.

In the meanwhile it had become clear that further excavation on this site would produce important results. That the tomb of Romulus was in close proximity to the Rostra of the Republican period we learn from Varro; and various attempts have been made to understand the meaning of the remains which have been unearthed at many levels and at many different points on the boundary between Comitium and Forum. The heroic efforts which have been made, notably by Prof. Petersen and Dr Pinza, to create order out of this chaos—as it must indeed appear to most of those who see it—have been partially successful; but the key to many problems that present themselves has not yet been found.

The excavations have made it increasingly clear that it is to Julius Cæsar that we owe the conception—and in fact the actual construction—of the Forum as it was throughout the Imperial period. The various orientations of the older buildings were boldly disregarded, in so far as they disagreed with the shape of the valley which the Forum occupied; and the space was thus employed to the best advantage. The building which has in some recent treatises on the Forum figured as the Græcostasis has lately been correctly identified by Prof. Mau with the Rostra of Cæsar; and the rectangular structure in front of it may belong to any period up to the time of Trajan. The open area upon which the Rostra fronted was to some extent occupied by monuments—the most famous of which was perhaps the *lacus Curtius*, a marsh or pool as to the origin of which there were three explanations, all recorded by Varro. Ovid speaks of it as being in his time already dried up (*Curtius ille lacus, siccas qui sustinet aras, nunc solida est tellus, sed lacus ante fuit*); and it has been found to be an irregularly shaped open space, the pavement having been twice renewed in a different material, while the original form was retained.

The Forum proper was flanked on each side by basilicas. The Julia, on the right, was already to some extent known

before 1870, but its excavation was not finished until later ; while the *Basilica Æmilia*, though its site was certain, has remained buried until this last period of excavations, when, by the munificence of Mr Lionel Phillips, it became possible to acquire the houses that occupied a considerable portion of its site. A further gift by the same gentleman has secured the rest ; and the completion of the work is the first task of the present season. It was found that the building had been terribly devastated by searchers for building material, but fragments enough remained to show its splendour and the beauty of its architectural members. It was a surprise to find that it extended so far in the direction of the Curia that the Argiletum was quite a narrow street,\* only some 20 feet in width ; and no traces were discovered of the famous shrine of Janus at its lower end, the site of which still remains a mystery.

At the end of the Forum opposite to the Rostra was the spot where the body of Julius Cæsar was burnt. This spot, hallowed to his memory, was enclosed in a niche in the façade of the temple in which he was worshipped as a divinity ; and the excavations of 1898 brought to light the actual pavement of the Forum, with the base of a monument erected in his honour upon it. Not far off, under the slope of the Palatine, we may now see the actual fountain of Juturna, as it was at the beginning of the Empire, with fragments of the statues of the Great Twin Brethren (mutilated, no doubt, by the founders of the Christian church, of which we shall speak presently), which stood on a pedestal in the centre of it ; hard by towers their lofty temple. Close by is a huge 'complex' (the word is hardly English, but too convenient not to borrow) belonging, as Prof. Hülsen has shown, to the time of Domitian. It consists of the temple of Augustus (which has been visible since the Renaissance, but has only recently been correctly identified by Prof. Lanciani), now cleared down to the floor level, and of two large courts behind it. The inner portion of this group

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\* The narrowness of the streets of ancient Rome may be best realised in the large model in clay of the whole city which is in course of preparation by M. Bigod, of the French Academy. It must be remembered that the standard width for a highroad in the neighbourhood of Rome is only 14 feet.

of buildings was in Christian times, probably after the middle of the sixth century, transformed into the church of S. Maria Antiqua and decorated with frescoes in which four different periods may be distinguished, the latest and best preserved being those of the middle of the eighth century. The paintings have been carefully studied and admirably described by Mr Rushforth.\* His account in the first volume of the 'Papers of the British School at Rome' will hold the field until the appearance of the official publication, which has been entrusted to Mgr Wilpert, whose splendid work on the paintings of the catacombs of Rome is a guarantee that the subject will be worthily illustrated and discussed.

Leaving the Forum proper and taking our way up the Sacra Via, we may mention the careful excavations of the base of the round temple of Vesta. The house of the Vestals, apart from the structure of the building itself, had been mainly excavated in 1883, when many statues of the Vestal Virgins, and an interesting collection of ninth and tenth century Saxon coins, sent as Peter's-pence to Rome in the time of Edmund I, formed the principal objects of interest. The more recent investigations have resulted in important discoveries (as yet unpublished) as to its architectural history and development, and in the finding of nearly four hundred gold coins in mint condition, belonging to the latest period of the Western Empire. Further on, the pavement of the Sacra Via, of the period of Maxentius, has been cleared away;\* and we may now at our pleasure walk on the actual stones on which Horace met the bore, and try to conjure up the scene. The remains of the road go on right under the foundations of the steps of the great temple of Venus and Rome, erected by Hadrian; and it is possible that the Arch of Titus was originally erected over this road, and only transported to its present site by Hadrian.

The delay (due, it must be said, to the fact that the supervision of the excavations in the Forum and the compilation of reports is far more than one man's work) in the appearance of the official reports in these latter years can hardly be said to be in the best interests of

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\* The pavement itself had no doubt been laid, or rather relaid, at a much later date; but the line of it was that given by Maxentius' architect.

science.\* The Forum is a site of unique importance and, owing to the superposition of remains of several epochs with different orientations, and to the necessity of preserving the buildings of a higher level and a later period, of extraordinary difficulty; and, skilful excavator and interpreter of excavations as Signor Boni is, and devoted worker as he has always been, it cannot be expected—indeed it has not been the case—that his opinions should always command unanimous approval. But this delay will render the task of those who desire to ‘control’ his results, and to have the opportunity of testing his conclusions from evidence on the spot, enormously difficult. The clearness of impression will be lost; the spot excavated will often be covered up again for its better preservation, since the Forum is a place that must be rendered properly accessible to visitors; and—as has been noticed in regard to the far greater delay in the publication of the excavations at Delphi—the reports themselves, while none the less accurate, will not be written with that vividness which they would have had when the discoveries were comparatively fresh.

By the end of the Republic the great traffic problem of ancient Rome must have been the question of access from the Forum to the Campus Martius; and not unnaturally it looms large at the present day also. The space between the Capitoline Hill and the river was and is narrow and crowded with buildings, while this route involves a considerable detour. The only other, and much the nearer road, was between the Capitol and the Quirinal. Julius Cæsar in this, as in other things, pointed out the way; and the construction of his forum was a first step towards the solution of the problem. But here there seems to be a contradiction between the facts, as they have recently come to light, and the consideration of general probabilities; and, as often, the question comes before us, whether we can interpret the facts reasonably, and without doing violence to them, in such a way as to

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\* So far we have had in the ‘*Notizie degli Scavi*’ a preliminary report on the tomb of Romulus (1899), full reports on the temple of Vesta and the Comitium and Curia, part 1 (1900), the shrine and fountain of Juturna (1901), and the prehistoric necropolis (1902–7), not yet complete; also a general account of the excavations in the ‘*Atti del Congresso di Scienze Storiche*,’ Rome, 1904.

reconcile them with what would seem to be *a priori* credible. The difficulty may be shortly stated as follows. Signor Boni's researches have shown, not only that there was a chamber in the base of the column of Trajan (a fact known from the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century, but strangely enough forgotten and denied in the nineteenth), but that the usual interpretation of the inscription on the column, which owes its origin to the translation given of it by Dio Cassius—namely, that it indicates the height of a *mons* or hill which once stood at this precise point and connected the Capitol with the Quirinal—is disproved by the results of his excavations. This fact had already been discovered in 1812, and geologists had denied the possibility of the existence of this ridge; but here, too, the information already gained had passed into oblivion. We are now confronted with the necessity of either finding a satisfactory 'hill,' or reinterpreting the inscription; and the latter is the course which Signor Boni has chosen. But, as several writers have attempted to show, philology seems to be against him; and it appears better, for the present at any rate, to refer the 'hill' removed, the height of which is indicated (not necessarily with absolute precision) by the column, to the neighbouring slope of the Quirinal.

But we are still confronted, it seems, with some serious considerations on the other side. We are to a great extent in the dark as to the topography of this region at the end of the Republican period; but there must have been very considerable difficulties in the way if neither Cæsar nor any of his successors was able to attack the problem boldly and construct a forum in the narrowest point between the two hills. It is natural to suppose that, had this not been an enterprise of the greatest difficulty, it would have been undertaken by Augustus and Agrippa, who were responsible for so many important public buildings in the Campus Martius. Was there always a valley, but only a very narrow one? or was the expense of the site prohibitive? Again, how are we to account for the course of the Via Flaminia (represented by the modern Corso), which avoided taking advantage of the valley, and instead communicated with the Forum by a road which followed the east slopes of the

Capitol? To these and other problems it may be possible to find an answer when and if, in connexion with what we have just described as one of the greatest traffic problems of modern Rome—the formation of an easy connexion between the north and south portions of the city—the sites of the Imperial fora are investigated. At present, with the exception of part of the Fora of Augustus and Trajan, they still lie beneath modern houses.

After the Forum, the Palatine comes next in importance among the sites in the possession of the Government, and thus available for scientific excavation. But, considering that the Palatine was the home of the earliest of the settlements from which Rome afterwards grew,\* we know surprisingly little about its condition in pre-Imperial times. The birthday of Rome was not inappropriately selected in 1907 for the commencement of researches into the lower strata, which, to judge from their beginnings, may, if prosecuted further, lead to results of the highest importance and interest. At present problems of considerable complexity come before us; and the four official accounts which, with laudable promptness, have already been published do not claim to be more than interim reports, subject to amplification or correction when the excavations are continued.

It is obviously impossible, within the limits of the present article, to follow out in detail, or even summarily to mention, the other changes in the state of things which have occurred since 1870. To take only one example, the Pantheon—that sphinx of the Campus Martius, as it has been well called—hitherto admired as an example of the architecture of the early Augustan age, has now been ascertained with certainty to belong to the reign of Hadrian, despite the inscription of Agrippa on the front of the portico. But, notwithstanding the discovery of this important fact, the building still presents an almost infinite series of difficulties and problems.

It will be obvious that, in the course of the researches

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\* The view of the new German school of Roman history that the first city proper was the city of the Four Regions, and that *Roma Quadrata* never existed as the unique nucleus of Rome, but was merely one of a number of villages upon the group of hills upon which Rome grew, has hardly yet been presented in sufficient detail to demand discussion here. See Carter in 'American Journal of Philology' (1907), p. 324.

## THE REDISCOVERY OF ROME



of the last thirty-seven years, an immense amount of archaeological material of all kinds has been accumulated, and so far only partially studied and 'digested,' so to speak. The National Museum ensconced in the Baths of Diocletian is a creation of the last twenty years;\* and the municipal collections have been very largely increased. In both, statuary, paintings, and mosaics form the bulk of the contents. Rome, having been continuously inhabited, is a less favourable place for the discovery of objects bearing upon the private life of the ancients than many a smaller town. But hitherto these have lacked more than a summary list of what is contained in them. Truth to tell, the Italian genius during the last fifty years has not seemed inclined to devote itself to the making of methodical catalogues of collections of sculpture. Those that exist have been, without exception, the work of foreigners; and the catalogue of the sculptures of the National Museum at Naples, just published, is the first production of the kind by Italian scholars. In Rome itself the more important finds have, with some exceptions, been rendered accessible by publication; but this has not always been the case in other towns of Italy, where the museums and their storerooms too often contain much unpublished and uncatalogued material. The justifiable protection of the rights of the discoverer of an object of archaeological interest, or of the scholar who has such an object under his official charge, carries with it the duty of rendering it speedily available for study and discussion by the learned world at large. The first campaign of excavations at Locri in Calabria,† the main outcome of which was the discovery of the only Ionic temple known in Magna Græcia, was followed by two other campaigns in 1890-1; but it is tantalising to learn that the results of these (though, from the brief summary given of them by Orsi at the Historical Congress of 1903, they must be of very great interest) have remained unpublished to this day.

The accumulation of material is no doubt in part due to the fact that the harvest is plenteous and the labourers

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\* The Museo Kircheriano and the Museo di Papa Giulio contain chiefly objects from sites other than Rome itself.

† The term is here used in the modern sense.

comparatively few. Excavations and the publication of the results are in the main (and the tendency has grown stronger during the last few years) reserved by the Italian authorities for Italian archæologists. And this fact has caused some people to wonder what *raison d'être* the foreign schools in Rome have; especially those who are familiar with the conditions in Athens, where excavation forms such a large part of the activities of all the foreign institutions, among which an Italian school will, if the Italian Parliament grants the necessary funds, shortly take its place.

Such a question is not likely to be asked by those who have become familiar with Rome and with the immense fields of study which still lie open. The printed topographical literature of Rome itself begins with the sixteenth century, and its extent is enormous; while other sources of information are only just beginning to be used. Such are the drawings made by Renaissance architects, artists, and antiquaries, and the engraved views and panoramas of the city, which give us priceless contemporary records of buildings which have, since that day, disappeared or been modified beyond all recognition; copies of inscriptions and sketches of statues that have long since been destroyed, lost, or dispersed; and valuable hints as to the origin of the inspiration of the greatest geniuses of Renaissance art and architecture. These are the endless topographical problems which, despite all the labour that has been bestowed upon them, and all the discoveries that have been made, do and will continue to vex the souls of men. There are buildings to be examined and re-examined in the light of comparison with others in Italy and elsewhere, and conclusions, often new and startling to be arrived at from the accumulation of widely scattered pieces of evidence.

The field of classical art, too, and especially sculpture, offers many openings for the student. Not only are fresh discoveries frequent—for the soil of Rome has by no means yet given up all its treasures—but much remains to be done in the study and interpretation of what has long been known, but as yet imperfectly understood. Careful comparisons of statues, busts, and bas-reliefs lead to unexpected and important conclusions as to their date, the subjects they represent, and their signi-

ficance.\* But there is perhaps an even higher mission to be accomplished—the rehabilitation of Roman art in the eyes of the archæological world.

In this respect there have been curious changes of taste. It is strange to reflect that the purchase of the Elgin marbles was bitterly opposed by some of the leading connoisseurs of the day, and only effected, on the advice of Visconti and Canova, at a price which did not cover half Lord Elgin's expenses; while at the same time wealthy English collectors were vying with one another in obtaining sculptures from Roman excavations and collections. Since then Greece has had its revenge. The discovery of many Greek originals has naturally tended to reduce the copies that are to be seen in the galleries of Rome to their proper relative value. But it has done more than this; it has led to an attitude of mind which 'refuses to consider development, which is life, and, while preaching that Roman art is only an imitation of the Greek, yet refuses it merit because it departs from 'Grecian rules' derived from arbitrary preference for one special period of Greek art.'

Mrs Strong, following Riegl and Wickhoff, claims in a recent work, from the introduction to which these words are quoted, that Roman art has an existence, an individuality, and a development of its own. Both she and Mr Stuart Jones follow Wickhoff in maintaining that Roman art did not reach its highest level in the Ara Pacis, splendid in execution as is that monument of the new Empire, but rather in the Flavian period; though Mr Jones differs from the others in assigning the highest merit to the portraiture of that age rather than to its bas-reliefs. In truth, fine as are the panel reliefs of the Arch of Titus, the small frieze of the attic is a poor production; and the lack of conscientiousness in the execution of the decorative coffering of the roof of the archway is a sad disillusion. It may be contrasted with the far greater care taken in the carving of the entablature of the temple of Castor and

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\* The most striking example of this is the discovery by Prof. von Duhn that the fragments of the frieze of the Ara Pacis, now scattered over the museums of Europe, were represented, before their dispersal, in several drawings of the sixteenth century, and the recognition of the monument to which they all belonged.

Pollux, notwithstanding the greater height at which this was placed.

It is true—and more than ever so since fresh excavations, begun in 1903 but unfortunately soon abandoned, have forced archæologists to adopt a different reconstruction—that the composition of the frieze of the Ara Pacis is not without faults, and that there is far more life and movement in the panels of the Arch of Titus. Even here, however, we see that perspective was something which ancient art never mastered. Courageous attempts were made by the sculptors of the column of Trajan; but, as Mr Jones says, it displays ‘a thoroughly Roman determination in attacking problems the solution of which lay beyond the individual capacity of the artist.’ The same writer is probably correct in refusing to recognise, with Wickhoff, ‘a new Western and Roman art rising before our eyes’ in the ‘continuous’ representations of the column of Trajan, and in seeing in it rather the signs of a loss of the Hellenic sense of fitness in ornament. A new development, on the other hand, is produced by the increased use of light and shade in sculpture in the Aurelian period, and the consequent crowding-up of the background with figures. But, whatever be the causes, Roman sculpture from this period onwards shows no progress, but rather a decline; and all Riegl’s ingenuity cannot persuade us of the merits of Constantinian sculpture. Still, it was time, and more than time, that the value and originality of Roman art should be recognised. Its splendid portraiture and beautiful decorative relief are sufficient to maintain its claims; and Mrs Strong’s book, with its reproductions and careful descriptions of some of its finest works, will do a great service.

In all the varied branches of work to which reference has been made, the British School at Rome,\* though it can reckon now only seven years from the date of its foundation, has managed to break fresh ground, and this not merely discursively, but in the form of serious contributions to knowledge; while the diversity of the subjects treated in the four volumes of its ‘Papers’ which

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\* For an account of what was intended by the founders of this School, see ‘Quarterly Review’ for July 1900.

have already appeared will show that Rome has still opportunities for workers in all departments of archaeology and art, and that the innumerable discoveries of the last years have brought such additions to the already existing mass that no student need feel that there is no work for him to do.

Mr Rushforth's paper in vol. i has been already mentioned. Vol. ii consists of a publication by the present writer, in its entirety, of a hitherto unknown but most valuable architectural sketch-book in the Soane Museum in London, originating, it is clear, from the first quarter of the sixteenth century. Many other such treasures must exist in the public and private libraries of the United Kingdom; and it is a matter of congratulation to the School that his Majesty the King has graciously permitted the committee to publish an illustrated catalogue of the great Dal Pozzo-Albani collection at Windsor Castle, which will materially assist the proposal that each country should render its most important archaeological drawings accessible to students. Vols. iii and iv of the papers issued by the school contain the results of fresh research by Messrs Stuart Jones and Wace on historical reliefs already well known, but to many of which their careful and ingenious study has given an entirely new date and meaning. The latter volume also contains articles on subjects so widely separated as the early iron age in South Italy and the history of the corporation of the goldsmiths of Rome under papal authority. Volumes i, iii, and iv also contain instalments of the present writer's work on the classical topography of the Roman Campagna. In subsequent volumes the study of classical MSS. in Italy and researches in the Vatican archives will have their share of attention. Last, but not least, falls to be mentioned a piece of work of a permanent and substantial nature which the school has undertaken—the formation of a full and scientific catalogue of the sculptures in the municipal museums of Rome—the first volume of which will before very long be ready for the press.

So far we have spoken of the city proper. But if Rome itself is full of unknown and partially explored treasures, it is not too much to say that its immediate neighbourhood is still a *terra incognita*. Until late years

brigandage and malaria—terrors real enough fifty years ago, but often even then exaggerated, and now no longer to be feared by the ordinary traveller \*—deterred many from the exploration of the Campagna di Roma; and the earlier topographical books on the subject, with a few honourable exceptions, are characterised by a wearisome repetition of misunderstood and gradually distorted statements made by preceding writers, the source of which it is often difficult to trace.

Prof. Tomassetti, it is true, while discussing in detail the medieval topography of the Roman Campagna, has explored all the more important centres and *tenute* (or farms), and has brought to light a large quantity of information on the classical period. His articles, which now deal with almost the whole Campagna, are indeed indispensable to the student, but unluckily lack indices and maps. Professor Lanciani's great knowledge of the classical topography of the environs of Rome has so far only shown itself in his work on the aqueducts (written in 1880) and in articles in the 'Notizie degli Scavi' and the 'Bullettino Comunale,' though he is said to be about to commence the publication of a systematic map of the Roman Campagna based on the surveys of the Italian staff. The courses of the ancient military roads by which Rome extended her supremacy over the peninsula need careful verification. It is remarkable that upon the Via Appia, the queen of Roman roads, as Statius rightly calls it, we have no later monograph than that published in 1745 by Pratilli, disfigured throughout by a profusion of forged inscriptions worthy of that *importunissimus falsator*, Pirro Ligorio.

A brief allusion must finally be made to one of the latest and widest schemes of study which the School has undertaken. Members of the sister institution at Athens have made research into the earliest civilisation of the Ægean their special field; and it has seemed possible that results of wide extent and importance might be gained in the light of that experience by similar investigations in the western Mediterranean. A beginning has already been made by two visits paid to Sardinia by

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\* Brigandage, indeed, has entirely disappeared, and malaria only prevails in the summer and in certain places.



Dr Duncan Mackenzie and the present writer. That island, remote as it is from the main currents of history, has preserved, even down to modern times, many traces of its earliest civilisation; and both archæological and ethnographical work will be required.

It will be seen that the School, founded, as the first of its rules states, as, 'in the most comprehensive sense, a school of Roman and Italian studies,' is attempting to preserve the wideness of aim which it has set before itself. Recent letters in the public press have expressed the fear of humanists that specialism and research may narrow the broad outlines of classical education. But, as Prof. Percy Gardner in his reply maintained, researchers are already fully aware that there is a great danger of becoming immersed in a multitude of details which, so long as they remain unrelated to a general conception, are of little importance. They know well enough that, to give power and meaning to archæology, it must be studied in connexion with the whole field of ancient life and thought. 'It would be,' one of them has written, 'but a bald definition of archæology to say that it is the study of ancient monuments. Like every other branch of history, its ultimate interest is not the documents with which it deals, but the human story to which they bear witness.'\* But, if archæology is without meaning *per se*, and requires to be studied in a broad spirit, never losing sight of a far greater whole, the students of classical history, literature, and philosophy cannot do without the new material that archæologists and researchers are perpetually placing before them, except at the cost of continuing to believe what the discovery of contemporary documents has already proved to be erroneous. Here an ounce of real fact is worth many pounds of theory. No doubt the difficulty and complexity of some of the problems; the protracted discussions about what seem to be, and sometimes are, points of relatively small importance; the often ill-digested accumulations of innumerable details; the fact that excavation seems to the unlearned to be either a laborious search for broken pottery or a mere unscientific hunt for hidden treasure—all these things have

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\* Lowrie, 'Handbook to Monuments of the Early Church,' introduction.

disgusted many who would otherwise have regarded archæology with greater benevolence. But is even so well-recognised a study as textual criticism entirely free from reproach on this side? Has not archæology at least an equal claim to be considered a science dealing with reality? If classical scholarship is to hold its position in England, it cannot rest only on the study of books, when the actual visible remains of classical civilisation are before us.

Surely it needs no pointing out that it must add enormously to the interest and vividness of the study of the history of the Roman Empire that we should have contemporary portraits of the emperors before us, contemporary bas-reliefs depicting the most solemn occasions of their reigns, contemporary inscriptions recording their deeds in peace and war. Is it nothing that we can now see the actual spot on which the body of the great Julius was burnt; or traverse the Sacra Via of Horace's day and read his name as composer of the 'Carmen Sæculare' in the official record of the games; or contemplate the now famous sculptures of the frieze of the great altar that celebrated Augustus' victorious return from the West in 13 B.C., and the establishment of the Pax Augusta? The feeling that comes over us in presence of these fragments of the ancient world is not merely sentimental, but something far deeper, which seems to invigorate and give reality to the literature of antiquity.

Scholars of other nations have long seen that the great discoveries of the last century have produced, and will continue to produce, a radical change in the way of looking at and studying the life of the ancients. In England we are somewhat slow to perceive this truth. Archæology, though its position has much improved of late years, can hardly be said to be a career as yet. Would that it were! For then the British Schools at Athens and Rome would be assured of that material and moral support without which their work, which is not merely the training of specialists, but the spreading far and wide of a real interest in the studies to which they are devoted, cannot be fully accomplished.

THOMAS ASHBY.





Art. VI.—A GRAND TOUR IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1. *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona, beschrieben von Antonio de Beatis.* Edited by Ludwig Pastor. Freiburg i. B., 1905.
  2. *Leo von Rozmital: Reise durch die Abendlände in den Jahren 1465, 1466 und 1467.* Edited by J. A. Schmeller, in *Bibl. des Litter. Vereins in Stuttgart*, vol. vii. Stuttgart, 1844.
  3. *Arnold von Harff: Pilgerfahrt in den Jahren 1496 bis 1497.* Edited by E. von Groote. Köln, 1860.
  4. *Andanças é Viajes de Pero Tafur.* Coleccion de Libros Españoles raros ó curiosos, vol. viii. Madrid, 1874.
- And other works.

It was pleasant to travel with a cardinal of royal blood in the early sixteenth century. The Cardinal of Aragon, moreover, grandson of King Ferrante of Naples, though pious and clean-living, was not uncomfortably ecclesiastical or ascetic. He and his ten gentlemen all wore alike secular costumes of rose silk striped with black velvet. The cavalcade numbered thirty-five mounts, increased to over forty-five by grooms and musicians annexed in France. One mule carried the plate and crockery, another his eminence's bed, neatly packed in two bundles, while an advance-guard of two cooks saved the refined Italians from many a barbarism in the parts of Germany. Luigi d'Aragona suffered from gout, as might have been expected, but he was no mere sybarite. Peter Martyr of Angleria found in him his most stimulating patron, and he had a cultivated curiosity for works of art, antiquities, musical instruments, and scientific inventions. Thus his chaplain, Antonio de Beatis, might congratulate himself upon visiting ultramontane countries in such sympathetic company. Posterity may also congratulate the Cardinal upon his chaplain, for a grand tour in early days has rarely had a livelier diarist than Antonio.

The editor, Dr Pastor, rightly brings into line the journals of two companions of the great Bohemian baron, Rozmital (1465-7), and that of the Castilian knight, Pero Tafur (1435-9); for they covered much the same

ground, and are therefore useful for comparison. In some respects, however, the closest parallel is the exactly contemporary description of Charles V's journey to Spain by Vital, whom Antonio must actually have seen at Middelburg. Our diarist disclaims any profound knowledge of Latin, nor could he make profession of literary Tuscan. Being thus reduced to his native Apulian idiom, he writes as naturally as would a sensible tourist of to-day, while his art of seeing and making see selects just those salient features of a city or a nation which interest alike the historian and the traveller.

The Cardinal started from Ferrara in May 1517 and returned thither in the following January. His route lay over the Brenner to Innsbruck, and thence by Augsburg, Ulm, and Nuremberg to Constance. The Rhine conveyed him to Cologne; and the Netherlands were reached by way of Aix and Maastricht. After some five weeks in Low-Country cities the party made for Calais, Boulogne, and Rouen. A visit to Paris was followed by a journey to Caen and Mont Saint-Michel, whence the way led through Rennes, Nantes, and Angers to Tours, Amboise, and Blois. Lyons having been reached by Bourges, a wide sweep was made through Savoy and Dauphiné to see Chambéry, the Grande Chartreuse, and Grenoble. From Valence the Rhone was followed to Avignon and Arles. Marseilles was quitted for a pilgrimage to Sainte-Baume; and, finally, a rough ride along the Riviera brought the travellers to Genoa, and thence to Milan, at that time, to Antonio's dire disgust, in French occupation.

Antonio was peculiarly fortunate in the personages whom he met during these nine months. At Innsbruck were the two young queens, as he calls them—Anna, the *fiancée* of Ferdinand, and his sister Mary, who became Queen of Hungary. The former was a girl of fourteen or fifteen, full of life and gaiety, with sparkling eyes, and a complexion which seemed all 'milk and blood.' Mary, younger by four years, was dark and not, to Antonio's taste, pretty. In Augsburg the Cardinal consorted with the wealthiest German financier, Jakob Fugger; and at Mainz he caught a glimpse of the wildest German free-booter, Franz Sickingen. The Emperor Maximilian was unfortunately just missed, and thus we lose a companion picture to Luigi da Porto's life-like sketch of eight years

earlier. The reason was the necessity of hurrying on to catch the young King of Spain, who was on the point of sailing for his new dominions.

Charles was found at Middelburg. Antonio saw him first at mass and heard the chanting of the royal choir, the best church music then in Europe. Afterwards a papal nuncio presented a brief conferring the cardinalate on the boy-bishop of Cambrai, whose speedy translation to the primacy of Toledo was a primary cause of Castilian revolt. Among the bystanders were Pescara, future victor of Pavia; John of Brandenburg, who was to console Ferdinand's widow, Germaine de Foix; and the fascinating Count Palatine Frederick, whose incipient love-affair with the King's sister, Eleanor, had been roughly smothered the year before. At a formal audience Antonio saw the Court at closer quarters. His judgment of Charles is unusually favourable for those early days, when he was commonly reckoned a negligible quantity. The face was long and thin, and, unless he thought about it, the lower jaw dropped and the mouth fell open. Yet the expression was attractive and extremely dignified; and these are the precise characteristics on which Charles' visitors dilated in later years. The lank, straight legs were 'incomparably beautiful'; and the Cardinal, an expert in horsemanship, pronounced Charles to have an admirable seat, befitting one who, as was later said, would have been the best light horseman in the Spanish army had he not been Emperor. Charles was punctual in his religious duties, attending daily one plain and one choral mass. He dined alone and in public, but not sumptuously, and, remaining at table, gave gracious audience to all comers, while the Catalan Bishop of Badajoz, interpreting in all languages, explained that the King could not as yet reply. The Cardinal talked long in Spanish with Margaret of Burgundy, whom Antonio thought not ugly, but of a truly imperial presence, lightened by that charming smile to which her portraits bear invariable witness. Like other men of taste, he found the King's sister Eleanor most bewitching.

A month later Antonio saw the French Court at Rouen. Francis the First's amorous trespassings were already notorious, but he paid creditable outward respect to his young wife Claude, who was small, ugly and lame

in both legs. Far handsomer was the King's mother, who was tall, plump, rosy, and lively. She seemed to be about forty, so she might be regarded as 'excellent stuff for more than another ten years.' She was always with the King and Queen, and was absolute ruler of the State. Francis was of fair height and good appearance, in spite of his big nose; but the Cardinal thought his legs too slight for so large a body. He was active and very genial, delighting especially in stag-hunting. On the Feast of Assumption he confessed and communicated before touching for king's-evil, which was believed to dry gradually after the king's touch and the sign of the cross. The Cardinal rode with him to a game of tennis, and then took part in a dance, but was prevented from hunting by an attack of gout in both feet, which tied him to Rouen for ten days. Such were the drawbacks of royal hospitality.

Other notabilities met in France were Lautrec, the ill-fated Duke of Bourbon, and Maximilian Sforza, the recently dispossessed Duke of Milan, now a satellite of the French Court. Antonio despised this prince, and contrasts him with his brother Francesco, whom he had met in Tirol, and who was literary, strenuous, and very sensible. More interesting than all was Leonardo da Vinci, who was visited at Amboise shortly before his death. The septuagenarian artist showed the Cardinal's party three of his pictures—a St John the Baptist and a Virgin with Saint Anne, both now in the Louvre, and a Florentine lady, who cannot with certainty be identified, painted life-size for the late Giuliano de Medici.

'It is true (says Antonio) that, owing to a certain paralysis having affected his right hand, no more good work can be expected of him. He has, however, trained a Milanese pupil (presumably Francesco Melzi), who works very well. And, though Messer Leonardo cannot colour with the softness of old, yet he serves to make sketches and to teach others. This gentleman has written on anatomy in rich detail, and with pictorial illustration of limbs, muscles, nerves, veins, joints, intestines, and all that can be discovered in the bodies of men as well as women, such as none other has yet approached. This we saw with our own eyes; and he told us, indeed, that he had dissected more than thirty bodies, male and female, of all ages. He has also written on the nature of

water, on various engines, and other things, an infinity of volumes, all in the vernacular, which, if ever published, will be full of profit and of pleasure.'

A little later Antonio saw Leonardo's 'Last Supper' in Milan, already, after the lapse of only twenty years, showing signs of damage 'from the dampness of the walls, or some neglect or other.' This is by many years the earliest definite notice of deterioration. It is not mentioned by the Frenchman, Pasquier le Moine, who, some two years earlier, had admired the realism of the detail: 'To see the bread you would say that it was natural and not artificial; the wine, the glasses, the dishes, the table-cloth, and the viands are in like case, and so too the figures.' Antonio confirms the story that these figures were painted from the life after notable Milanese personages of the period.

Other well-known masterpieces Antonio saw actually in the making. Maximilian's monument in Innsbruck Cathedral was not completed before 1580; but the gigantic ancestors who stand on guard along the nave were already being cast in the Mühlau foundry. Eleven of the intended twenty-eight statues were finished, while some of the 128 small figures of saints, which were being made in Innsbruck itself, were also seen. This fixes the date of the twenty-three statues now shelved in the Silberkapelle, and proves that they were part of Maximilian's original design. In Brussels, too, the factory was visited where sixteen pieces of tapestry were being woven for the Sistine Chapel, at a cost to Leo X of two thousand golden ducats each.

The catholicity of Antonio's taste in art is remarkable. On visiting Ghent he thought the great Van Eyck the most beautiful work in Christendom, for modelling, colouring, and the chiaroscuro—if it may so be called—of the Adam and Eve, then at the extreme right and left of the picture, but now long since removed. He could naturally appreciate French renaissance architecture, as at Gaillon or Le Verger, because, though the fusion of French and Italian art was chemical rather than mechanical, the Italian element was always present. But he could equally admire German and French Gothic, distinct from each other and from the Italian Gothic, even of Apulia. It is not, however, always easy to follow

the humours of his taste ; they may have varied with his master's gout, which Antonio perhaps shared, for he inveighs against the cobbled streets of Avignon as being bad to ride and worse to walk, and very ruination to the feet. He extols the richly carved façade of Rouen Cathedral and its two fine towers, one still unfinished, but at Saint-Ouen he mentions only the treasury. Bourges he thought most beautiful, though it was not cruciform like most modern churches ; but Angers he condemns as ugly, for it resembled a long, narrow chapel without aisles. Nantes and Bayeux both appealed to him, while the church of St Stephen at Caen, which had been recently restored, he thought the best planned building which he had seen in France. Notre-Dame at Paris had no charm for him, in spite of its size and situation. In Germany he praises Speyer and Ulm, and is especially delighted with the masonry of Strassburg Cathedral tower, the stones being all riveted without a grain of mortar. Nothing could be less like Strassburg than the round Romanesque cathedral of Aachen, yet this is highly commended as small but exquisite. Among Netherlandish churches Antwerp and Malines are singled out ; and, although municipal architecture is seldom mentioned, the town-hall of Louvain is praised for the delicately carved foliation of its façade.

While at Bourges, Antonio draws a striking distinction between Italian and ultramontane monumental art. Neither in Germany nor France had he seen the superb and elaborate tombs of Italy with canopies rising high against the church walls. The monuments, on the contrary, were flat, resting on the ground, with the figures either in high or low relief. Yet he had seen many fine French tombs subject to Italian influences. He fully describes, for instance, that of the Duke and Duchess of Brittany at Nantes, the figures in alabaster resting on a black marble base, which, he says, for a modern work was truly fine. At Saint-Denis the figure of Charles VIII, unlike those of his predecessors, which were in half-relief, was on its knees ; while the magnificent monument of Cardinal Amboise at Rouen might certainly be thought to answer to Antonio's ideals. He had, however, probably in his mind's eye the glorious Gothic sepulchres of Naples, rising tier upon tier to the equestrian statue at the apex.

After all, for him no foreign cathedral could compare with the triumph of Italian art, the Certosa of Pavia, the most beautiful, lustrous, and fascinating church that he had beheld in all his travels. And, as for tombs, here was Gian Galeazzo Visconti to the life, with his little beard of a very few long, crimped hairs in the most fantastic fashion that nature could have produced. In Pavia itself was Saint Augustine's sepulchre, with an infinity of figures so exquisitely carved in alabaster that no modern master could approach it. Experts held it to be among the finest things in Italy; of foreign lands there was no need to speak, for what could not be found in Italy it were vain to seek elsewhere.

If the Certosa were Europe's most splendid church, Antonio was convinced, on reaching Milan, that Ludovico Moro's castle was its most sumptuous residence. Yet every other country had its own show-places, in the description of which the diarist is of first-rate importance. In Augsburg Jakob Fugger himself played cicerone to the splendours of his palace, the street front frescoed with bright colours and gold, the walls inlaid with marble, the copper roof, the rooms furnished some in German, some in Italian fashion. He showed also the Fugger chapel in the Carmelite church, with its own organ, mosaic pavement, and brilliant paintings; the altar was enriched by figures after the antique, the oak choir-stalls with prophets and sibyls in marvellous relief. The financier took care to state that this chapel had cost 23,000 florins. But this he could well afford, as he could handle 300,000 in cash without touching his invested capital. He boasted that he had financed the nomination to every see in Germany, and some of them twice or thrice. Some 10,000 workmen were employed in his Hungarian and Austrian mines; and he was making handsome profits, though the rents were greatly raised.

At the ducal palace at Brussels Antonio was chiefly taken by the deer park, the maze, and the tennis court, 'in which they play with racquets (*ricchette*), and extremely well.' The Nassau palace was reputed the masterpiece of the German type. Upon the huge central court opened halls and rooms panelled in oak with a wavy grain, like satin. Among the pictures were those of Hercules and Dejanira, fine figures entirely naked,

and a 'Judgment of Paris' with the goddesses exquisitely painted. There, too, were fantastic panels with landscape, seascape, and skyscape, shell-fish and cranes, men and women black and white, birds and animals of every sort, all so natural and quaint that nobody, without seeing them, could possibly conceive them. Much cooking was needed in this hospitable household; and therefore in mid-kitchen was a wall with a fireplace on either side, and both could be used at once. Also there was much drinking; and therefore a mammoth bed of twenty-six palms' length by thirty-four was kept always ready with its full complement of pillows, sheets, and counterpanes, for the count liked to see his guests drink; and, when they were too full to stand upon their feet, he had them thrown upon this bed.

The most delightful features of the palace of Blois were the library and the gardens. One Pacello, whom Charles VIII brought back from Naples, had planned the latter, and now, as head-gardener, received high wages in the form of benefices. Here were grown all fruits of the Terra di Lavoro, small figs which, however, rarely ripened, oranges and lemons planted in tubs, and removed in winter to a covered orangery. The vegetables and salads, the endives and crinkled cabbages, were as fine as could be bought in Rome. The garden was entered by a corridor, which was ornamented with the head and fore-quarters of stags, made of wood but with real horns, and with wooden figures of Louis XII's favourite hounds and hawks. The galleries which encircled the garden served as a riding-school, and the Cardinal highly appreciated the stud, especially a dozen small Sardinian horses, a present from the King of Spain. These had beautiful mouths and were marvellously versatile, ambling like jennets, curvetting like chargers, or padding along soft and sure as Highland ponies.

Of all foreign palaces the most notable was Gaillon, built in the heyday of the early French Renaissance, and costing Cardinal Amboise the enormous sum of 700,000 francs. He bequeathed it to his see, but it lay heavy on his conscience, and he is said to have cried upon his death-bed, 'Would to God that the money spent on Gaillon had been given to the poor.' The façade and the fountain may still be seen in Paris, but otherwise Gaillon has



almost perished, and Antonio's description is the more precious.\* The park of Gaillon was six miles round, protected by lofty walls. The square garden was cut by paths into yet smaller squares, each enclosed by wooden lattice-work painted green. There were a few trees, but it was planted mainly with box, rosemary, and flowers. The shrubs were clipped into the form of horsemen, ships, animals, and birds, while the flower-beds portrayed the royal arms and certain ancient letters. On one side, covered by fine wire-netting, was an aviary with stream and fountain, trees and shrubs, all for the pleasure of the birds. In the centre was an elaborately carved fountain, with a Cupid on its summit spouting water, and above it an octagonal pavilion of oak, enriched with blue and gold, each facet having its own half cupola. There was, too, a garden chamber for summer slumber, with windows of exquisite glass in its eight sides. An open colonnade led to a grass lawn from which a drawbridge gave entrance to the great court, with its fountains plashing high above huge marble monoliths and all its doors and windows decorated with heads in classical style. In the balconies, which overlooked the park, were statues of Charles VIII, Louis XII, Anne of Brittany, the Cardinal himself, and many courtiers, while the chapel contained statues of all the house of Amboise. The richly furnished rooms, upholstered in velvet, damask, and brocade, the painted windows which cost 12,000 crowns, all contributed to make Gaillon the stateliest palace that Antonio had yet seen. Yet there was a fly in the Italian's amber. The fine library, as that of Blois, contained books with King Ferrante's arms, sold, in her necessity, by the unhappy Queen Isabella, while side by side were others looted from Ludovico Moro, painful reminders of barbarian victories.

A taste for scenery is always worth watching in old travels. No modern tourist forgets his first sight of the lakes by the St Gothard Hospice and the parting streams of Reuss and Adda. Similarly Antonio, though, like his contemporaries, he does not dilate upon Alpine beauties, was impressed by the two lakelets at the top of the

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\* The 'Memoirs of the Duc de Luynes' contain a full account of Gaillon in the eighteenth century, vol. vii, pp. 34-40.

Brenner pass and by the tiny streams of Sill and Eisack running respectively north and south from the watershed. All travellers have felt bound to notice the falls of Schaffhausen ; but ordinarily the scenes which pleased Antonio were more humane. He could imagine, *salva honestate*, no more pleasurable sight than the meadow outside Nuremberg, with its close-clipped turf and the five rows of limes, unknown to Italy, with their pale, sweet-scented flowers. The soft beauty of Lake Constance touched him ; but, above all, the reach of the Rhine from Mainz to Cologne, the banks covered with vines, the thickly planted towns and villages, and on the hills the knights' ancestral castles. As Tafur before him, he thought this the most beautiful river scene within his knowledge. At Breda the storks' nests on the thirteen trees around the church, all full of young, and the parent birds quite tame, were a lovely thing to see. On the house-tops too were nests of the aforesaid storks, who flew away each year to return to the self-same spot ; nor did any citizen do them hurt. To all Italian travellers, Dante perhaps included, the tide of the North Sea was wonderful. 'We rode,' Antonio writes, 'half a mile out at sea along the sand, it being ebb-tide at the turn, which does truly seem a marvellous thing.'

Few more graphic accounts have been given of Mont Saint-Michel, the rounded mountain of natural rock planted on the sand, or, at full moon, in two leagues of water, and thence diminishing into the form of a pyramid or a diamond, with houses packed from base to summit like the overlapping tiles of a cupola, and, rising above all, St Michael's Church, with its tower so high that the view extended, so natives said, from England to the Pyrenees. 'And indeed,' adds Antonio cautiously, 'it is so high and conveniently placed that, granted the visual power, this might easily be believed.' The church itself was then not large, but the present choir was being built, which would be no small addition.

We are accustomed to picturesque description of the junction of the Rhone and Saône, yet very graceful is Antonio's metaphor of the swifter stream cleaving the more sluggish as a fine swimmer or a dolphin parts the waters of the sea ; and, again, his skilful touch in comparing the ill-omened lighthouse fortress of Louis XII

at Genoa to a falcon above its prey. The whole journey along the Riviera affords examples of the quick eye and terse expression. Antonio sees precisely what the modern traveller would now wish to have seen. He anticipated Lord Brougham's admiration for Cannes, a hamlet of a few houses, but offering lovely views and a charming climate. Very pleasant were the islands off the shore, on the larger of which was a monastery strongly fortified against Moors and pirates, already a scourge of the Riviera. He was, indeed, in a mood for appreciation, for the Bishop of Grasse royally entertained the party with fish as big as it was good. At Fréjus he admired the Roman aqueducts and theatre, not yet much injured; at Antibes the amphitheatre, the road paved with large white flagstones, and the arch with the (to him) illegible inscription, all ascribed to Hercules, who, said the Romans, visited those parts.

From Nice to Genoa there was not a palm's breadth of good road, nor anything but steep mountains and precipitous rocks. Yet he did not fail to admire Eza, a mere group of houses perched upon bare rock high above the sea, and, on the descent, the contrast of the olives and the carob trees, growing in infinite quantities almost to the mountain's base, and still so striking a feature in the landscape. At Bordighera the traveller revelled in the plains covered with olives, figs, and vines. Then came San Remo, half upon the mountain-side and half upon the sea, with the thickest, biggest, and most fruit-laden orange and lemon trees that he had ever seen. There also was such a quantity of palms that the town provided France, Germany, Florence, and Rome, for not yet had the Bordighera sailor's cry of 'water on the ropes' secured for his native town the monopoly of palms for the use of St Peter's. The palms, indeed, were scarcely pretty, for, then as now, they were tied up tight to keep them fresh; nor was their fruit of value.

From Savona to Genoa the riders had to keep their eyes upon the road, or rather the tortuous path, which it was the most dangerous thing in the world to ride, for precipices yawned beneath it. Yet the abundance of grain and the softness of the air made it all a paradise; and Antonio could note the characteristic walled terraces whereon the vines were planted, so that torrential rains

might not wash earth and vines into the sea. Tafur, who saw these shores from the sea, also thought them the most beautiful thing on earth, so thickly were they studded with houses that from Savona to Genoa it seemed one long city.

Antonio's quickness of eye is the secret of his fondness for bringing together distant objects and places in comparisons which resemble the travel-sketches of E. A. Freeman. The plain of Augsburg recalled that of Apulia, the paving of Malines that of the Campo di Fiori. Antwerp is compared in size to Bologna; Ghent has a circuit three times as large as Naples. The castle of Tarascon not unnaturally reminded him of the Neapolitan stronghold of the Angevins, the Castel Nuovo. Marforio is utilised to measure the size of the Saint Christopher in Notre-Dame. The tower of Strassburg Cathedral was higher than the Torre del Asinello at Bologna, the cupola at Florence, the campanile at Venice, or indeed any other tower in Italy, but he had never, perhaps, seen the highest, the Torrazzo of Cremona.

Frontiers always interested Antonio. After describing the defences of the Chiusa, the Venetian boundary, shrunken since 1516, he shows that Germany, ethnologically, only began at St Oliver, five miles north of Trent, whereas the line has now been pushed ten miles backwards to Salurn. Maastricht bridge, which became so important in the coming wars, divided the town, of which the Counts of Flanders were suzerains, from the temporal lordship of the Bishop of Liège. Of the bridge of Avignon, the Pope only owned forty of the 461 feet. Along these forty feet a Jew could safely walk; but, if he overstepped them, he could be killed at sight. On crossing the Var, Antonio heads his page with *Bella Italia*, but he confesses that the nationality of Nice is dubious, its derivation being *ni za ni la*—neither here nor there—while its very eagle has one leg lifted in an attitude of suspense.

Like a modern tourist, the diarist noted that the lords of Monaco acknowledged no sovereign upon earth. He describes their masked batteries of bronze guns, their navy of one heavily armed *fusta*, which levied a duty of 2 per cent. on all small vessels passing eastward, their army of 186 effectives, now reduced to 126, the solitary

instance of a retrenchment of bloated armaments. Hard by, the Genoese Bank of St George owned Bordighera. Antonio calls this a huge pawnbroking establishment; but really it was a combination of joint-stock bank and colonial company.

At the conclusion of each section of his journey Antonio draws up a summary of national characteristics; and these are of real value for social history. He treats Cologne as the entrance to the Netherlands, and hence pauses here to render his account of Upper Germany. On reaching Picardy he describes the Low Countries, while the crossing of the Var is followed by his impressions of France. The picture of Germany is the portrayal of substantial well-being; and indeed this diary is printed as a supplement to Janssen's 'History of the German People,' to confirm his favourable view of German society previous to the Reformation. Protestant writers have doubtless too readily accepted the grievances of the insurgent peasants in 1525 as photographic pictures rather than political pamphlets. On the other hand, the diarist's route lay through prosperous districts of southern and western Germany; he only saw peasant life from his waggon, while the wealthy cities gave the Cardinal's party of their best.

Facilities for transport in Germany and the Netherlands were greater than in Italy, for the roomy four-wheeled waggons had four times the capacity of the Lombard carts. A voyage down the Rhine in the large boats with their high deck coverings, pictured in the contemporary engravings, must have been one long picnic. Inns were excellent; and, even where there were no vineyards, good red and white wines, flavoured with rosemary, sage, and elder, were always found, though in the Netherlands they were dearer. This was here an advance in civilisation, for Tafur describes wine as often scarce; and once he would have been a total, if involuntary, abstainer had not an abbess with an ample cellar invited him to dinner. Beer was universal, but best in the Netherlands, where it was brewed in infinite quantities. Water was put aside by Tafur as painfully bad, while Antonio discards it as soft and brackish. Long afterwards Montesquieu puzzled the natives of Upper Germany by asking for a drink of water.

Meat was plentiful throughout Germany, and veal absurdly cheap, for a calf could be bought for about ten shillings at modern value. Both Antonio and Tafur relished the Rhine salmon. Fresh fish were unfailing, for every host kept live fish in a tank with water running through it. Near the water-gate at Constance was a sphere set in the wall, whereon, under each month, were painted the seasonable fish—a convenient guide for house-keepers. In Flanders fresh-water fish were replaced by the salted kinds, not to speak of whelks and oysters, small but abundant. Cabbages in Holland were so huge that a man could scarce carry more than one; they were salted for use in winter when snow covered the gardens. Germans only appreciated cheese when rotten; and no Italian could touch the highly esteemed but strongly odoriferous green cheese flavoured with vegetable juices. One cheese in the Netherlands was, however, eatable; it resembled *raveggiolo*, goat's milk cheese. The tourists only tried the native dishes twice, just to taste them, for Germans had a bad habit of cooking with butter instead of oil. Far superior was French cookery, with its thousand sauces and flavourings, its appetising soups and pasties, its shoulder of mutton roast and garnished, which would tempt one away from the most delicate of other meats, the poultry, the rabbits, the pheasants, partridges, and peacocks, the fattest venison that ever was seen, for it was forbidden to hunt wild creatures except in season.

From Cologne northwards the hitherto universal stove, prettily fitted with a tin washhand-stand, gave place to open fires. The change from the heated sitting-rooms to the bedrooms, where, in the coldest weather, one had to undress without either fire or stove, was extremely trying. Germans, however, did not mind it, for directly they were in their feather-beds they became as hot as fire. These beds, with *duvets* also made of feathers, were very big, and had the enormous pillows which travellers still have such difficulty in adjusting to their figures; the peculiar German bow seems traceable to the relation of these pillows to the back. The mattress was somewhat hardened by a certain mixture rubbed on either side as a specific against fleas and bugs. Antonio certainly was not bitten, but he sceptically ascribes his immunity to the cold climate. The feather-beds were the final cause of

innumerable geese, sometimes four hundred in a flock. Comfortable as the beds were, the habit of putting as many in a room as it would hold was unpraiseworthy. In France they managed better, having two beds only, one for master and one for man. Readers of the 'Sentimental Journey' will recognise this type of room. On the other hand, the simplest sanitary furniture was complete and clean, whereas in France the fireplace served all purposes, and that without any shame.

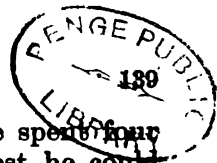
In the Netherlands high praise is given to cleanliness of person, dress, and house. In every room there was a mat to wipe one's feet, and the floors were sprinkled with sand. Beds were smaller than in Germany, but frame-work and canopy were beautifully carved of oak imported from Russia, and quite unlike the Italian. This was also freely used in building. In large cities many houses were built of stone, but in those of brick faced with wood the tawny colour of the oak, its satin-like grain and its skilful carving, rather pleased than hurt the eye. The gardens too were very pleasant, full of roses, lavender, and pinks; the pergolas were covered with vines, but the fruit ripened too late for use, and in consequence the wine made in Lower Germany was mere gooseberry.

In spite of superiority in cooking, France was inferior to her neighbours in general civilisation. Even in Paris, Rouen, and Tours, houses were usually of wood, or lath and plaster, and could not compare with the stately mansions of Ghent and Bruges. Moreover, even the wooden houses of Upper Germany were commodious and very graceful, with richly-carved projecting windows looking up and down the street, covered with tiles painted with the owner's arms and figures of saints, with iron bars of red, green, blue, and yellow across the stout woodwork of the door. France had fine churches in her towns; but Antonio admired the steep German roofs and sharp steeples with the variegated lustrous tiles, the incomparable painted glass, and, in the Netherlands, the bizarre gargoyles and string-courses. The pulpits and lecterns were usually of brass imported from England; the chimes rang out to announce the approaching hour, and often even the half-hours were sounded. Each family had its appropriated pew, so that the churches were full of benches with a narrow passage up the

middle, just like an Italian lecture-room ; the choir alone was reserved for the priests.

Of the religious upheaval immediately at hand, Antonio gives no hint. The churches were always full, and both men and women attended frequently and devoutly, all saying their prayers upon their knees. They did not stroll about, or talk business, or flirt, as was common in Italy. Giuliano de' Medici, it may be remembered, was murdered while walking about during mass ; and San Bernardino had denounced the use of church for conveniences of flirtation. Near every town and village were high crucifixes with the thieves hanging on either side, a sight conducive not only to religion but to wholesome fear. Very frequent too were the little shrines with crucifixes, the two Marys and emblems of the Passion ; other saints, indeed, were rarely represented in German art without some such symbol. Of French religion little is said, save that in the larger churches there was fine concerted music, and that the six or eight choristers had their heads shaved like friars, and wore copes of red cloth with hoods, like so many Italian canons. The French method of burial was indecent, for even noble and wealthy people were buried outside the churches, and not even in enclosed graveyards, just as if they were Jews. In Germany only the rich, it is true, were buried in church, but other folk were laid in closed cemeteries and had crosses or slabs with inscriptions or coats of arms in bronze and buckets for holy water attached.

Moral character naturally followed the religious lines. If all the gold of the world were thrown about a Netherlands inn, nobody would touch it ; when visitors left valuables in their rooms, they were voluntarily restored. But at Gaillon Antonio's own purse was stolen from his saddle-bag ; and so he feels compelled to speak the truth about these wretched French who had played him such a trick. More than once he notices the contrast between gentry and people. The former were well made and handsome, but the common sort were of mean appearance, and as cowardly and vicious as could be imagined. There was this excuse that, whereas the gentry were free from every impost, the peasantry were treated like dogs or slaves, and taxed to the uttermost. Very pleasant



was a French noble's life, for in his turn he spent four months at Court, receiving pay; for the rest he could live in his castle among the woods, hunting and spending little, having no occasion to 'fray his velvet,' as the saying went. French nobles had, indeed, cause to thank God more heartily than any others, for, once born a gentleman, there was no chance of starving or of plying degrading trades, whereas few Italian nobles lived like real gentlemen, even if they had the means.

Love of pleasure infected Frenchmen of all conditions. They thought of nothing but living cheerfully, and were so much given to eating, drinking and love-making that it was hard to imagine how they could do any work. The lower classes pitifully lacked the military training which Antonio, like Machiavelli and Vettori, so greatly admired in Germany. From childhood Germans were trained to arms; and in every city and village there was a ground for matches with crossbow and firearms on holidays, and for drill with pikes and other weapons. Antonio had not only seen Maximilian's fine artillery at Trent and Innsbruck, but had visited the magnificent armoury at Nuremberg, with its big guns and small, its curious equivalent for *mitrailleuses*, its stores of ammunition, even its horses ready for the guns. There, too, he saw the great magazines of fuel and grain, maintained so that even during a lengthy siege the iron industries would not suffer.

Germany had her moral scourge in the brigand nobles, whose numerous castles gave shelter to malefactors of all classes; and life would be impossible unless justice were severe. Everywhere could be seen wheels and gallows, the latter sumptuously ornamented not only with carving, but with hanging men and women. Justice was also laudably active in France, where the innumerable gallows were always found 'well furnished.' There was, perhaps, not much to choose between the two countries. Brigands ensconced upon the highroad had forced the travellers to take a circuitous route to Ulm, under an Augsburg escort; and they were detained at Avignon for fear of Gascon mercenaries returning from Leo X's campaign against Urbino. On other dark sides of German life, such as the drinking, of which Æneas Sylvius gives such terrible pictures, Antonio does not

touch. Nor does he mention the mixed bathing described by Rozmital's companions and Tafur. This was one of the sights of Bâle, where the respectable Tafur visited the baths with a pious baroness on a pilgrimage. He threw in coins for which her damsels dived. 'Men and women,' he concludes, 'think no more of bathing together, stripped to the skin, than they do in Spain of going to church.'

The Ritter, Arnold von Harff, had found women prettiest in Milan, noblest in Cologne, most extravagant in Venice, and blackest in the kingdom of Moab. Antonio also, for a chaplain, took an intelligent interest in women and their dress. He says that in Upper Germany they kept their crockery cleaner than their persons, and wore the commonest clothes, too short and skimpy to hide their legs. They went barefooted, or, if they had shoes, were stockingless. The girls on feast-days wore crowns of flowers; but their elders, fearing cold, had quilted caps over their braided hair. They were pretty and pleasant, by temperament cold, but in practice somewhat wanton—at least so Antonio's more adventurous comrades told him. The ladies were elegantly dressed; and their spotless veils, drawn up into high peaks, or, in mourning, hanging like weepers down their backs, gave a very dignified appearance. Skirts were usually of black serge, rarely of silk. These ladies were particularly polite to foreigners of position, rising and curtsying as they passed. How different it was in Genoa, where young girls stood in groups till quite late, chattering to their friends and taking no notice of distinguished passers-by! Constance bore off the palm for pretty women, and here, curiously enough, Tafur had met the loveliest girl that he had ever seen, or could hope to see, loveliness that he had thought impossible in a human form; if only she were as good as she was beautiful she would have a large share in paradise.

In the Netherlands women were finely made, and had pink and white complexions, innocent of rouge or other artifice. Their teeth were, however, as in Germany, undeniably bad, which is ascribed to immoderate use of beer or butter. Butter and milk were also held responsible for the prevalence of leprosy. In this respect Tafur is more modern, for, like Dr Williamson, he believed that leprosy was caused by improperly cured fish.

French women were unquestionably plain, and in Picardy downright ugly. A passing commendation is given to the now notorious beauties of Arles; but at Lyons, for a French town, the ladies were most beautiful. 'Lyons itself, its men and its women, have some indescribable touch of lovely Italy, so that I judge it to be the handsomest town in France.' Dress was singularly uniform, except that in the Île de France it was of finer material and superior cut. In the colder districts petticoats were quilted with lamb's-wool, and close caps, tied under the chin, were worn beneath the hats, and, in rainy weather, hoods covering the head and back. In Court circles ladies danced divinely and in the most perfect time with the music. Women were more employed abroad than in Italy. It was scarcely laudable that, as in the Netherlands, they should have charge of the altar and the relics; but then they were so pious and so honest! They sold in the markets, worked in shops like men, and in inns kept the accounts and managed everything. In France, also, they plied all kinds of trades, and even shaved gentlemen with much delicacy and dexterity.

For travellers the etiquette of the embrace was an essential study. In France it was correct to kiss the chambermaid as a token of courtesy and esteem. Not so in Germany with the three or four young and pretty maids besides the hostess and her daughters. Here politeness required the visitor to shake hands and then take them round the waist, giving indeed a hug. It was customary, too, to invite them to drink; but here propriety must intervene. Ignorance of etiquette led occasionally to lamentable consequences. During the Wars of Religion a young French officer, crossing the German frontier, was nearly beaten to death for kissing his hostess, doubtless as a mark of courtesy and esteem. Yet in Switzerland, writes Felix Faber, handsome girls with pretty figures were kissed by all and sundry. North of the Channel kissing was universal. Æneas Sylvius appreciated this pretty habit of the Scottish women, who, indeed, took the initiative. In Rozmital's travels we read that an English hostess and her daughters always kissed their guests instead of shaking hands.

Many hints on manufactures may be gleaned from

Antonio's journals; and the information on smaller local specialities is often fresh. Thus at Brixen the Cardinal bought an organ, at Waldsee flutes and all manner of wind instruments. Malines was famous for archery outfits; Genoa, not only for the finest velvet, but for coral ornaments. At Saint-Antoine de Bienne were purchased the best boxwood combs and little images of bad silver, with the saint's bell, his 'Tau,' and the notorious pig. Every pilgrim to Mont Saint-Michel carried home a coloured scarf, with shells stitched thereon, and a copper horn, which he blew all the way. Paris was chiefly remarkable for the infinity of minor trades carried on by both sexes in open shops. Antonio was unlucky in visiting Antwerp just as the Dutch traders had left the fair. For this, and for that of Bruges in its palmy days, recourse must be had to the admirable description of Tafur, who says that Antwerp surpassed Genoa, Frankfurt, and Medina all combined. Antonio describes at length the processes of pickling hemp and flax in Holland, in course of which the girl picklers would tie the legs of passers-by to the frames on which the hemp was laid, and so exact contributions for their annual feast.

Cultivation also attracted the diarist's roving eye. He admired the Netherland hops, trained on poles like vines in Italy, and the pear and apple orchards of Normandy. Perry and cider he thought pleasanter than beer, though not so wholesome; while hops, in spite of bitterness, made beer most refreshing. In northern France oil was made from walnuts, as there were no olives. Mention is made of the Bon-chrétien pear (Buon Cristiano), and of the winter Bergamot (Bergamuto) found at Genoa. The muscatel grape was cultivated at Antibes, and black figs and raisins were as delicious at Avignon as at Naples. Antonio noticed the practice of chalking fields in northern France, and the plantations of tall, straight oak near Bourges, grown clear of underwood on approved modern principles. Near Montélimar could be seen fields of lavender for the supply of lavender-water for France and Germany. Nor are more ordinary crops forgotten, nor sheep and cattle, the small red cows of Germany and the familiar black and white herds of Holland, the dappled sort being the prettiest beasts a man could wish to see.

England is represented in the diary by Calais only.

Most impressive were its huge walls, its deep ditch and counter-ditch, its canals regulated by locks, which could flood the country four miles round. The solitary gate was open only during day; if the King himself arrived after supper he must sleep outside; the Governor must never leave the walls. The garrison were the tallest, best-proportioned, and handsomest of mankind; and flattering conclusions are drawn as to English physique in general. Their practice with the bow was marvellous; and one of the King's archers could pierce 'a pipe full of wine from rim to rim. Sir Richard Wingfield, a gentlemanly man who knew Italy, was Governor; and the Cardinal stood godfather to his child. A passage was taken for England, but Wingfield dissuaded it, as the sweating sickness was killing five hundred people a day in London.

Antonio's views on England would have been welcome. We should have known whether the ladies still wore, as in Rozmital's time, the longest tails in Europe; and whether the men continued to be faithless, astute, and ever compassing the death of foreigners. He could have remarked on the novel sight of fields surrounded by hedges and ditches, whereon none might trespass, on the strings of pack-horses instead of carts, on the wealth in sheep, and the astounding quantity of hares and rabbits around Salisbury, on the phenomenal skill of English sailors in climbing masts. Sandwich, in Rozmital's time, must have tried the powers of the Seven Sleepers, for all night long watchmen with fifes and trumpets shouted the direction of the wind, so that traders might leave their beds, board their ships, and steer for their respective fatherlands. The feelings of Rozmital's suite towards England were doubtless tempered by misfortunes. On their first attempt they were all but wrecked, and on their final return to Guernsey had a terribly rough passage. English men-of-war, moreover, had the nervous or impulsive habits of more modern navies, for two galleons, mistaking their vessels for enemies, *tormenta explodere coeperunt*.

EDWARD ARMSTRONG.





**Art. VII.—OLD-AGE PENSIONS.**

1. *Report from the Select Committee on Aged Deserving Poor.* Commons Paper 296 of 1899.
2. *Pauperism, and the Endowment of Old Age.* By Charles Booth. London: Macmillan, 1892.
3. *Old Age Pensions and Pauperism.* By C. S. Loch, Secretary, London Charity Organisation Society. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1892.
4. *The State and Pensions in Old Age.* By J. A. Spender, with an introduction by A. H. D. Acland, M.P. London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1892.
5. *Provident Societies and Industrial Welfare.* By E. W. Brabrook, C.B., Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies. Edinburgh: Blackie, 1898.
6. *The Case for Universal Old Age Pensions.* By John Metcalfe, with an introduction by Charles Booth. London: Simpkin Marshall, 1899.
7. *The German Workman: a Study in National Efficiency.* By W. H. Dawson. London: King and Son, 1906.
8. *Old Age Pensions in Theory and Practice, with some foreign examples.* By W. Sutherland. London: Methuen, 1907.

And other publications.

ONE of the greatest problems in civilised society is the administration of charity. One of the greatest necessities in civilised society is the practice of thrift. 'Man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn,' as Burns said; but man's inhumanity is not the only injury he inflicts on society. He creates poverty for himself even when he has it in his power to avert it. The care of the destitute is, no doubt, a proper function of the State, but it is a function the exercise of which involves the State in much danger. We may be all socialists now, in a sense, but we are not all communists; and socialism does not necessarily imply the spoliation of the rich for the aggrandisement of the poor. While most people favour the general principle of providing superannuation allowances for those who have not been able to make provision for themselves, many look askance at the proposal from fear of the effect such provision may

have upon the morals of the people and upon the future efficiency of the nation. To reduce the masses of the people into the condition of recipients of charitable doles cannot be beneficial either to them or to the State. Thus, while all rational persons may approve of the general principle of provision of annuities for the aged poor, no rational person should endorse any scheme that will destroy national thrift, for that implies national decay.

It is probable that the general idea of old-age pensions has hardly an enemy. Most people support the proposal in theory, and only wish that it were possible to reduce it to practicable shape. There are difficulties about the money and doubts as to the effect it may have upon the national character; but the thought of the numbers who see old age approaching, with no hope but the workhouse, inclines most persons to put difficulties and doubts on one side and to listen eagerly to any fresh suggestion. No one has more warmly advocated old-age pensions, or been more confident of the possibility of them, than Mr Joseph Chamberlain. The present Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, talk like men who have not gone far beneath the surface of the question. Mr Asquith, it is true, went so far as to speak of it as one of 'the most extreme urgency'; but 'urgency' has many meanings. The late Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said that the only possible plan was a universal plan. Alternative schemes involve the contribution by the pensioner of some part of the fund from which the pensions are to be drawn; and the economic weakness of such plans is that they appear to exclude from the pension the very class that stands most in need of it. Thrift is not necessarily a virtue within the reach of every one. Not to have saved money is not always tantamount to extravagant living; there are earnings which leave no margin beyond the actual necessities of life, and classes with whom the money for those necessities is never within reach.

The Poor Law of 1834 was intended to act as a deterrent in the case of the aged in the same manner as in that of the able-bodied, but it was expected to act through family affection. Out-relief was not to be given,

and the gloom of the workhouse was not to merge into the mild comfort of an almshouse. Theoretically, under the Poor Law, persons over sixty-five are in precisely the same position as persons under that age, but in practice guardians recognise that it is almost impossible for a man over sixty-five years of age to get work. Therefore they treat applicants over that age as infirm, and as eligible for outdoor relief without a labour test. Outdoor relief, however, depends upon the general policy of the guardians. In some Unions aged people must enter the House; in others the Poor Law is used to provide what are virtually old-age pensions. Outdoor relief for the aged is, in fact, an established policy, but is unsatisfactory for many reasons, though its administration might be improved were the same supervision exercised in all towns as is the rule in some. In many large centres of population it frequently goes to the wrong persons. Moreover, the weakness of the whole system of out-relief is that the condition of assistance under the Poor Law is destitution. To give out-relief to the aged who have not saved practically puts a premium upon thriftlessness. But here again we come to the difficulty of insufficiency of margin suggested above. It is hardly fair to demand that every married man shall save enough to keep himself and his wife, and yet be ready to share his savings with his parents.

Information as to the extent of aged pauperism in England and Wales was contained in the Report of the English Local Government Board for the year 1904-5. On September 1, 1903, the total number of paupers over sixteen was 490,513, of whom 284,265 were over sixty-five. The paupers over sixty-five formed 58 per cent. of the total number of paupers over sixteen, and 18·3 per cent. of the total population over sixty-five. That pauperism increases with old age is shown in many ways, but even official figures do not represent the full extent of aged pauperism. There are a considerable number of persons over sixty-five years of age who are excluded by their income from the sphere of the Poor Law. Again, Poor Law figures refer only to a single day, and they might be considerably increased by the total number of persons who have received relief at any time during the preceding twelve months. In an ordinary year probably

## OLD-AGE PENSIONS



one in five of the population over sixty-five years of age may be obliged to seek public assistance at some time on the ground of destitution. It is true that legal pauperism could be greatly reduced if guardians refused to consider applications, but that fact is not of great importance. The great mass of poverty, as partly expressed in the number of legal paupers, would still remain; and it is this mass of aged poverty, not the prevalence of legal pauperism, which is the evil to be confronted. The demoralising influence of out-relief, as it at present exists, lends some weight to the demand for a system of old-age pensions.

The essence of Mr Charles Booth's suggestion\* was that a pension of 5s. a week should be granted to every one over the age of sixty-five who chose to apply for it. The plans first put forward by Mr Chamberlain in 1892 would make the pension contingent upon a contribution by the beneficiary. This raised the objection that, unless the contribution was to be merely nominal, a large number of persons would be excluded from benefiting by the pensions. Then, as to the guarantee of character that Mr Chamberlain suggested; if it goes beyond the simplest external tests it will reintroduce all the uncertainty which attaches to the grant of out-relief. Against Mr Booth's proposal it may be argued that the national character is weakened if the State provides for some classes what other classes provide for themselves; but against this again it is arguable that there is as much danger of character being crushed by hopelessness as of its being undermined by indulgence. A serious doubt is whether, under Mr Booth's design, the result would be commensurate with the outlay. The cost of providing 5s. per week for every one over sixty-five years of age would be not less than 26,000,000*l.* and probably a great deal more. This might be somewhat reduced by the sums saved on poor relief, for, under Mr Booth's scheme, out-relief would theoretically come to an end; and, so long as indoor paupers remain in the work-house, their pensions would be drawn by the guardians. The outlay might not reduce the nation to poverty, but

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\* 'Pauperism and the Endowment of Old Age,' part 2, chap. iv. See *ib.* for Mr Chamberlain's scheme.

the question remains whether it is wise to impose such a burden for such a purpose.

A universal plan, such as Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman desired, must be very costly ; for, if old-age pensions are to be given as a matter of right, every one who contributes to the national revenue will have a claim to one. Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman hoped that there would be many who would not make the application ; but it will be due to all who have paid taxes in any form, and it is probable that the number of those who will not take 5s. a week when it is offered them will be very small. Further, at whatever age a man or woman becomes entitled to a pension, the greater part of a lifetime will have passed before that age is reached, and all the circumstances that now demand the intervention of the Poor Law will still demand it, so that little or no compensation can be looked for in the reduction of the present cost of poor relief.

It must not be forgotten that the practical alternatives are not an old age of healthy independence, and an old age pauperised by a pension. Let us assume that at present one in five of the whole population over sixty-five years of age in England and Wales is in receipt of relief from the Poor Law. But the proportion among the working classes is much larger, and represents a mass of aged poverty eking out an existence, partly by charitable doles, partly by the assistance of friends or relations. Upon this army of poor the present Poor Law system of England and Wales, and to a large degree that of Scotland, works with a bad effect. The condition of Poor Law relief is destitution. The temptation to thriftlessness is incident, because, in Unions where out-relief is given, those who do not save are no worse off than those who do. Of paupers over 60 years of age in the British Isles, seventy-one per cent. in England and Wales receive out-relief. This fact alone commends the appeal of an old-age pension scheme to sober observers. But the practical difficulty always remains of deciding the method to be taken. The various proposals which have been put forward consist, as we have said, first, of schemes which would make the pension contingent upon a contribution on the part of the beneficiary as practical proof that he has made some effort to make provision for his old age ;

and next, of schemes that would give every one over sixty-five or seventy years of age the right to draw a certain sum per week on making application.

The contention that a national pension system should be universal is thus stated by Mr Metcalfe :

'In the first place, because any but a universal pension would pauperise all who got it, just as outdoor relief does now, which is admittedly a most foolish thing to do. In that case every third working man over sixty-five would be looked on as a pauper. And what is more, the most deserving poor would still avoid the help they needed so much, and those who clamoured loudest would carry off the pensions, leaving the quiet ones to suffer in silence. Again, only by a universal pension could the real terror be taken out of life ; the terror which damps the courage of the whole body of working men, whenever they think over the subject of what will become of them in old age ; for who among them can be sure of avoiding poverty and the workhouse?' ('The Case for Universal Old Age Pensions,' part i, pp. 43, 44.)

Of course the evils that Mr Metcalfe anticipates can be avoided by a judicious system of discrimination ; but it is part of Mr Metcalfe's 'case' that not even criminals should be wholly excluded, because the pension would be 'an offer, and a gracious one,' from that society with whom the criminal had been at war. This is a view more utopian than economic.

Mr Metcalfe's proposals are practically the same as Mr Charles Booth's, though made independently. What Mr Booth essayed to do was to show that the amount of old-age pauperism, though not so great as has been sometimes asserted, is very serious. Indoor relief under the Poor Law (he urges) lacks humanity ; and outdoor relief encourages improvidence. It may be so, but the serious consideration remains that extended outdoor relief in the form of universal pensions would destroy providence altogether in an average community. Parsimonious and provident persons there will always be in any community ; but the average man is only made thrifty by the calls of necessity. Yet Mr Booth argues that, to be effectual, a pension system (at 65) must be universal and compulsory, or the improvident 'would still trust to the rates.' Does it make him less improvident to trust to the State ?

Into the financial aspects of Mr Booth's scheme for an universal pension of 5s. per week at age 65, we need not enter at present, since the country is not prepared (as yet) even to consider a universal scheme. Our point is that to make pensions universal would not be to make men provident; and the nation requires thrift. But, as Mr Acland says, the question is a question of poverty and not merely of pauperism.

'It demands a study of the aged poor—their resources, their manner of life, their character, their antecedents. The points on which we need to satisfy ourselves are such as these. Is extreme poverty a general condition among the aged members of the working-class? and, if so, is it due to any obviously preventible causes, such as vice, improvidence or the like, which a pension scheme cannot touch? And, supposing we satisfy ourselves that the evil is real, and that it is not, generally speaking, due to the fault of those who suffer from it, we must go on to ask whether there is any ground for treating the poverty of old age differently from that of other periods of life, and whether we can take any action which will not repeat the evils of ill-organised charity or indiscriminate out-relief, and will neither undermine self-respect nor injuriously affect existing associations for self-help. Further than this, we must know what relation any scheme that may be proposed will bear to the Poor Law; and, above all, what effect it will have upon the character and fibre of the nation as a whole. Here we have questions of fact, questions of human nature, and questions of national policy.'\*

In the work from the introduction to which we have quoted these words, Mr Spender contends (p. 145) that any universal scheme without contributions, or any compulsory scheme with contributions, must necessarily supersede out-door relief after the pension age. And, as it would be practically impossible to maintain two separate forms of State bounty provided wholly or in part out of taxation, he goes on to argue (p. 160) that the only method of dealing with the problem is to adopt 'a uniform pension to all persons on attaining the age of 65, without any previous contributions.' Yet he admits that voluntary schemes with State aid might be devised that would be a valuable help to the thrifty, and that it is

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\* 'The State and Old Age Pensions.' Introduction by Arthur H. D. Acland, M.P., p. xix.

open to doubt how far a voluntary scheme could be used as a stepping stone to a universal scheme without contributions. This doubt recurs in connexion with Mr Asquith's scheme.

The idea of national pensions is no new one; it is older even than Canon Blackley's famous scheme.\* In 1773 a Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, the object of which was to provide annuities for the poor on the security of the rates. This Bill was drafted by Dr Richard Price, a Nonconformist minister, and was supported by Edmund Burke. It was a voluntary scheme in respect of the workmen; the pensions were to be guaranteed and supplemented out of the poor rates; but the measure was not carried. Fourteen years later another scheme was put forward, under which every male and female in the country between the ages of 20 and 30 was to be compelled to subscribe to a common pension fund—2*d.* per week to be the contribution of males, and 1½*d.* per week that of females. Between these ages subscription was to be compulsory, but persons between 30 and 50 could join the association voluntarily. The contributions were to provide sick benefits at 6*s.* per week, and meagre annuities of 1*s.* per week after the age of 65, and 1*s.* 7½*d.* per week after 70. Incapacitation at any time of life would entitle to an allowance of 3*s.* 6*d.* per week. These were the minimum rates; but provision was made for increased subscriptions to secure larger benefits. This scheme, introduced by Lord Rolle, also came to nothing.

Tom Paine, author of 'The Rights of Man,' had a plan for ameliorating the conditions of men by creating a national fund to pay to every person, on reaching the age of 21, a sum equal to 15*l.*, to enable him or her to begin the world; and also 10*l.* on reaching the age of 60, and annually thereafter during life, 'to enable them to live in old age without wretchedness, and to go decently out of the world.' More practicable than any of these was a proposal put forward in 1806 by Dr F. Colquhoun, on the system of a National Friendly Society, with thirteen different classes of contributors from 1*s.* per week upwards, and seven different kinds of insurance or benefits.

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\* 'The Blackley National Provident Insurance Scheme,' by the Rev J. F. Wilkinson. (Swan Sonnenschein, 1887.)

Various other proposals were made to lessen the burden of the old Poor Law, which had become very oppressive ; but in 1834 the Poor Law was reformed ; and the change in the management of poor relief gave a great stimulus to friendly societies.\*

Let us now refer to Canon Blackley's scheme, which may be regarded as the beginning of the modern movement. He proposed originally that every individual in the nation should be liable by law, after reaching the age of 18 years, to contribute, either in one sum or in instalments, 10*l.* or thereabouts, to a National Sick and Pension Benefit Society, which would secure to him or her, when prevented by sickness from earning his or her usual wages, a sum of 8*s.* a week until 70 years of age, and after 70 years of age a cessation of the sick pay, but a pension for life of 4*s.* a week. This fund, he proposed, should be paid into and distributed by the Post Office under proper certification, thus giving to every contributor the advantage of claiming his sick pay or pension at whatever spot in the United Kingdom might be most convenient to himself. The money was to be invested under the authority of a central Board, elected, if desired, by the contributors themselves, but restricted in the power of investment by special parliamentary directions. Canon Blackley afterwards dropped the sick benefit and lowered the pension age, but he adhered to the principle that the original contribution should be collected, along with, or in the same manner as, the rates and taxes from 'people who have means.' As to people of no means, earning their own living, his proposal was that every employer of labour should be required to deduct the instalments of the contribution from the wages of all employes over 18 years of age, and to pay them into the Post Office to the credit of each employe until the whole sum necessary to entitle to a pension had been received. Of course the friendly societies denounced the Blackley scheme as one of compulsory insurance, as unsound and unjust in principle, and as more calculated to retard than to promote habits of thrift among the people.

A Royal Commission in 1893, presided over by Lord Aberdare, and a Departmental Committee in 1896, headed

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\* See 'The State and Pensions in Old Age,' chap. vii, *passim*.

by Lord Rothschild, in turn grappled with the subject. Lord Rothschild's Committee, in especial, was appointed to go very closely into the social and financial aspects of all the schemes that might be submitted, but could only point out the objections to all without being able to recommend the adoption of any. The Select Committee of 1899, presided over by Mr Chaplin, had the benefit of the reports of, and the evidence taken at, the two previous enquiries, and also heard fresh evidence. This Committee came to the conclusion that the needs of the aged deserving poor will not be met by any scheme for old-age pensions alone, but that there will have to be an improved system of poor relief as well. As Poor Law administration is not within the scope of the present article, we confine our attention to the Committee's conclusion as to pensions, formed after considering seven different schemes submitted to them, and examining various provident systems already in existence in this country and in other countries. They decided against any scheme on the German pattern which would require contributions from the pensioners from an early age (as in the Blackley schemes), and would make such contributions compulsory by law. The Chaplin Committee concluded that in this country such a system 'would be opposed to the wishes of the very class whom we desire to assist.' They reported, however, that 'it is practicable to create a workable system of old-age pensions for the United Kingdom,' though they did not formulate one; and they laid down the general lines upon which a scheme should be framed. Their opinion was that any person, to be entitled to a pension, must be a British subject of 65 years of age; that he must not, within the last twenty years, have undergone penal servitude or imprisonment, or have received poor relief, other than medical; that he must not possess an income of more than 10s. a week, and must have endeavoured to the best of his ability, by his industry or by the exercise of reasonable providence, to make provision for himself and those immediately dependent on him. Here we have Mr Chamberlain's test for 'reasonable providence,' which he thought should be established either by membership of a friendly society, or by some evidence of savings.

The specific recommendations of the Chaplin Committee may now be summarised. They are as follows:

that a pension authority be established in each Poor Law Union of the country; that this pension authority consist of not less than six, nor more than twelve, members appointed by the Guardians from their own number; that this committee, once appointed, be independent of the Guardians, and may increase its numbers by adding representatives of other public bodies; that the common fund of the Union bear the cost of the pensions, to which fund contributions be made from Imperial services, proportioned, not to the amount distributed in each Union for pensions, but on the basis of population, and not to exceed one-half of the estimated cost of the pensions; that the amount of the pensions be not less than 5s. nor more than 7s. per week, at the discretion of the committee, according to the cost of living in the locality, and payable through the Post Office; that the pension be awarded for three years and be renewable, but may be withdrawn by the pension authority if circumstances should, in their opinion, so demand (Report, pp. x-xii). The Chaplin Committee made no attempt to calculate what their scheme would cost the country. This they left to some other body or heaven-born financier to work out.

If we turn to foreign countries, we find that only two have adopted a definite and general system of old-age pensions. These are Germany and Denmark. In Russia pensions after a certain number of years' service are granted to the workers in the Government mines from a fund to which the men contribute during employment. In Belgium there is a state-aided but purely voluntary superannuation fund, into which any person over 18 years of age may pay money with the object of acquiring an annuity for himself or for some dependent; and the friendly societies are assisted by small annual state grants voted by the Chambers. There are also special miners' relief funds established by royal decree. In France there is a system of compulsory insurance for seamen and miners; and the State undertakes to assure the payment of annuities in old age to all classes of the community who care to make the necessary payments through the 'Caisse Nationale des Retraites pour la Vieillesse,' to which some financial assistance is given by the State. Italy has established a national pension fund, out of which annuities are to be paid to workpeople

in the case of old age or incapacity; but this also is a voluntary system.

The German system is one of compulsory thrift. By the law of 1889 and subsequent enactments, all wage-earners must deposit weekly a certain portion of their wages, to which the employers must add another portion; and, when the pension falls due, it is supplemented by 2*l.* 10*s.* per annum out of the State funds. The workmen's contributions are small, averaging less than three-pence per week. The pensions vary according to the term over which the contributions have extended, up to a maximum of 9*l.* per annum and 2*l.* 10*s.* from the State.\*

The Danish system, established in 1892, is different. It provides relief in old age to all necessitous persons of good character. The recipients have to make no direct contributions. The amount of the pension is not fixed by law, except that it must be sufficient for the actual needs of the applicant. The receipt of this pension does not impose electoral disabilities. The applicant must be over sixty, and must be unable to provide the necessaries of life for himself or his dependents; his poverty must not be the result of his own fault; and he must not have undergone any criminal sentence or have been convicted of vagrancy or begging.

The Australasian colonies, however, have gone further. In New Zealand, according to a law of 1898, amended in 1905, every British person of the full age of 65 (but neither Maoris nor Asiatics), who has resided in the colony for 25 years, not guilty of any offence dishonouring him in the public estimation, is entitled to a pension of 26*l.* a year. But for every 1*l.* of income above 34*l.* possessed by the recipient, the pension is reduced by 1*l.*, with other deductions in respect of any property he may have. Persons with a net yearly income of over 60*l.*, or with accumulated property of over 260*l.*, are not eligible; and all applicants must be of good moral character, and have led sober and respectable lives for at least five years before making the application. The law applies to both sexes; and the pension may be reduced, suspended, or withdrawn in the case of misconduct. There are no contributions required from the

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\* 'The German Workman,' by W. H. Dawson, chap. xv.

recipients; and the money to pay the pensions is drawn out of the Consolidated Fund.

In New South Wales a scheme came into operation in 1901, based on that of New Zealand, under which persons over 65 have the right to pensions of 26*l.* per annum, diminished by 1*l.* for every 1*l.* of income above 26*l.* possessed by the recipient and by 1*l.* for every 15*l.* of property he owns. Persons under 65 and over 60 are entitled to pensions if incapacitated by sickness or accident; but debility due to age is not considered an incapacitating sickness. In Victoria a pension of not more than 10*s.* a week is granted to all who have been earning not less than 8*s.* a week and have made reasonable efforts to support themselves. The Victorian pension age is 65; but a claimant of that age may be refused, or may have his pension reduced, if he is physically capable of earning his living in whole or in part. The first Victorian Act (1901) fixed the maximum pension at 10*s.* a week;\* but a later Act reduced this maximum to 8*s.*, and decreed that sons should contribute to their parents' pension if the Court considered they were able to do so. Recently the Victorian Parliament has restored the maximum to 10*s.* Pensioners must have been resident in the State for twenty years. In Victoria, in 1906, there were 67,500 persons over 65 years of age, and about 16 per cent. of these received pensions. The amount paid was 186,957*l.* In New South Wales and New Zealand relatives are not compelled to contribute to the support of pensioners. While 39 per cent. of those eligible get pensions in New South Wales, and in New Zealand 33 per cent., only 16 per cent. receive them in Victoria. The constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia imposes on the Commonwealth Government the duty of providing for invalidated and aged persons. The Labour party think they have discovered a means in the Surplus Revenue Bill recently introduced into the House of Representatives, and declare that the surplus revenue should not be retained as a sort of nest-egg for the future financial requirements of the Treasurer. The Labour party (now in a majority) proposes that the payments throughout the whole Commonwealth shall begin in 1909, out of surplus revenue anticipated in that year.

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\* Appendix A, p. 210, in Mr Sutherland's book.

Mr Asquith's scheme, as drafted in the original Government 'Bill to Provide for Old-age Pensions,' provides that:

'1. (1) Every person in whose case the conditions laid down by this Act for the receipt of an old-age pension (in this Act referred to as statutory conditions) are fulfilled, shall be entitled to receive such a pension under this Act so long as those conditions continue to be fulfilled, and so long as he is not disqualified under this Act for the receipt of the pension. (2) An old-age pension under this Act shall be at the rate of five shillings a week; provided that where any persons are living together in the same house and any two or more of them are entitled to such a pension, the pension shall in each case be at the rate of three shillings and ninepence a week. (3) The sums required for the payment of old-age pensions under this Act shall be paid out of moneys provided by Parliament. (4) The receipt of an old-age pension under this Act shall not deprive the pensioner of any franchise, right or privilege, or subject him to any disability.

'2. The statutory conditions for the receipt of an old-age pension by any person are: (1) The person must have attained the age of seventy; (2) The person must for at least twenty years up to the date of the receipt of any sum on account of a pension have been a British subject, and have had his residence, as defined by regulation under this Act, in the United Kingdom. (3) The means of the person, as calculated under this Act, must not exceed twenty-six pounds five shillings a year.'\*

Then follow conditions for calculating the income of the applicant, and for the formation of local pension committees and appointing pension officers, much on the Chaplin plan. The scheme as drafted also contains the following reservations:—

'3. (1) A person shall be disqualified for receiving or continuing to receive an old-age pension under this Act, notwithstanding the fulfilment of the statutory conditions;

(a) While he is in receipt of any such parochial or other relief as disqualifies for registration as a parliamentary elector, and, until Parliament otherwise determines, if he has at any time since the first day

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\* In Committee this clause was modified by the introduction of a sliding scale grading the pension according to the income of the recipient; and also abolishing the differentiation in the case of two or more persons living together.

of January, nineteen hundred and eight, received, or hereafter receives, any such relief: (b) If, before he becomes entitled to a pension, he has habitually refused to work or habitually refrained from working when he was physically able to work, or if he has been brought into a position to apply for a pension through his own wilful act or misbehaviour. (c) While he is detained in any asylum within the meaning of the Lunacy Act 1890, or while he is being maintained in any place as a pauper or criminal lunatic: (d) During the continuance of any period of disqualification arising or imposed in pursuance of this section in consequence of conviction for an offence.

'(2) Where a person has been, before the passing of this Act, or is after the passing of this Act, convicted of any offence, and ordered to be imprisoned without the option of a fine, or to suffer any greater punishment, he shall be disqualified for receiving or continuing to receive an old-age pension under this Act while he is detained in prison in consequence of the order, and for a further period of ten years after the date on which he is released from prison.' \*

The amendments proposed by the Labour party to reduce the age limit and delete the income limit, and the stipulation as to paupers and the character test, were in effect proposals to make the scheme a universal one.

As to the provisions of the Bill with regard to proof of age, proof of non-pauperism, proof of non-criminality, and proof of marriage, no great difficulty need exist. But those experienced in the administration of the Poor Law anticipate great difficulty in connexion with the proof of income or want of income. Unless the applicant's own statement is to be taken without question, this presents the most difficult point in the whole scheme. Investigations will have to be effective; but the promoters contend that these must not be conducted from a Poor-law official standpoint, and must not be inquisitorial. Such conditions are calculated to encourage deception. The machinery proposed to work the scheme is merely

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\* In Committee this clause has been amended to the effect that a person shall be disqualified for having 'failed to work according to his ability,' provided, however, that he shall not be so disqualified 'if he has continuously for 10 years up to attaining the age of 60' contributed to friendly or other societies or trade unions in accordance with 'regulations made under this Act.'

## OLD-AGE PENSIONS



another Poor-law system. The feeble and bed-ridden will be worse off than the Poor-law recipient who gets his dole taken to him, with exemptions from taxes, with free medical attendance and medicines, with nutritious diet and even clothing.

Let it not be forgotten that to base a scheme of national annuity upon pauperism as it exists is to accept that pauperism as inevitable. Mr Loch denies this, and holds it proved by the administration of certain Unions that the proportion to population of paupers over 60 can be reduced appreciably. The statement that 42·7 per cent. of the total population of persons over 60 in the country are paupers was based on the returns of certain rural Unions which have a large and unnecessary old-age pauperism, which Mr Loch affirms could, without difficulty, be very greatly reduced in the course of ten or fifteen years. Pauperism is, to a large extent, caused, perhaps, by the administration of the Poor Law; and the demand for Poor-law relief in towns is no doubt due to a large extent to intemperance and misconduct. A national pension scheme would not remove such causes.

'To reduce or prevent the old-age pauperism of the country no national pension scheme is necessary. What is necessary is to carry out the remedial measures which the Poor Law Commissioners of 1832, who had an altogether exceptional opportunity for judging of the issues, proposed. The most important of these is to make out-door relief the exception, and above all, to give no out-door relief to the able-bodied, whether men or women. When this rule has been adopted, pauperism of all kinds, indoor, outdoor, able-bodied and not able-bodied, has decreased, and with it the pauperism of old age, the pauperism over sixty. The people to whom outdoor relief has been refused have not been forced into the House, but have, in fact, provided for themselves, or been provided for by their relations and others both while able-bodied and in their old age.' ('Old Age Pensions and Pauperism,' p. 40.)

So writes the secretary of the Charity Organisation Society, and his remarks are well worth consideration. Yet what he says does not cover the whole ground. A national pension system is desired not merely for the relief or prevention of pauperism, which can be relieved otherwise, but for the relief of all persons impoverished by old age.

The nearest approach to Mr Asquith's plan is the system in vogue in Denmark. There, relief is provided for necessitous persons of good character. The recipients have to make no direct contributions, and are not subject to electoral disabilities. But a pensioner's poverty must not be the result of his own fault; and he must not have undergone any criminal sentence or have been convicted of vagrancy or begging. In New Zealand and Australia the applicants must have resided in the colony for a defined period, and not have been guilty of crime or misdemeanour. In New Zealand they must be of good moral character and have led sober and respectable lives for at least five years before making the application. And in all the colonies, as we have seen, there is a property disqualification, and also a qualification grading the pension on a sliding scale in proportion to the property or yearly income of the applicant. In Mr Asquith's scheme there is no test of thrift or reasonable providence, but only a vague provision against chronic laziness. The Chaplin Committee recommended that the person entitled to a pension 'must have endeavoured to the best of his ability, by his industry, or by the exercise of reasonable providence, to make provision for himself and those immediately dependent on him.' Any scheme that does not encourage the provident, thrifty, and independent will do more harm than good. Mr Asquith's scheme discourages the deserving by providing for the undeserving.

The Charity Organisation Society drew attention to certain points of the Asquith scheme in a letter to the 'Times' (June 2, 1908) which we summarise. The legislation proposed commits us to a non-contributory scheme of pensions, and will have an influence on the funds available for necessitous old age. Pension societies will reconsider their position; and voluntary funds always tend to disappear when their object is undertaken by the State. The policy of the Charity Commissioners has for many years favoured the establishment of adequate old-age pensions with the funds formerly wasted in doles. This practice will now come to an end, for hitherto it has been a maxim of the Commission that funds under its control are not to be applied to purposes undertaken by the rates or taxes of the country. In many

recent trust deeds executed by large industrial firms and companies for the establishment of pension funds for their workmen, a clause has been inserted absolving the employers from further contribution if they are called on to contribute to the same purpose through the rates and taxes. All this money will be diverted into other channels. There can hardly fail to be a general relaxation of the efforts of relations and friends who at present cheerfully undertake some portion of this burden; and the pressure to replace the deficit by larger grants from the public Exchequer must inevitably increase.

A more important consideration is how the new policy will affect the character of the poor. If personal responsibility can be abolished without fear of a disastrous relaxation of economic discipline, there is no intelligible reason, say the chairman and secretary of the C.O.S., for confining this principle to the treatment of old age. There are many other risks to which the same measure may be applied; and an irresistible agitation will be set on foot to increase the amounts, and to multiply the occasions on which public money must be expended.

'If, because it may be difficult for a poor man to maintain his independence in this or any other vicissitude of life, we are, therefore, to withdraw the whole series of life's obligations, as at present understood, from the individual, and to make the State responsible for their discharge, the whole training ground on which men have hitherto been forced to acquire habits of economic competence is closed, and a momentous change in the discipline and education of the nation must inevitably follow. This is a step in a much larger revolution, for which the country is by no means prepared, and the beginning of a change which all who regard character and thrift as necessary contributory elements in the comfort and happiness of the people should strenuously resist.'

In his work on 'Provident Societies and Industrial Welfare' Sir Edward Brabrook confirms these observations, and indicates the prudential objections to a State pension system (chap. viii). The friendly societies do not specifically provide pensions for old people, but they make provision for sickness. But, as with age there is usually a long sickness, these friendly societies are actually giving old-age pensions.

With the object of providing for old-age pensions the  
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State might give a bonus as an encouragement to societies which already carry out to some extent the work of providing for old age. In 1907 the friendly societies had some 42,000,000*l.* sterling, an increase of 10,000,000*l.* in seven years. In 1870 there were only 1144 central courts having scales of payments; but now all the courts have adopted that system. The various provident trade organisations and agencies of the United Kingdom, including the friendly societies, have invested in land 25,000,000*l.* sterling; in lands, buildings, and mortgages, over 100,000,000*l.* Mr Chamberlain advocated co-operation between the State and the friendly societies, and Mr Chamberlain was right.

Mr Asquith gave the figure 272,000 for the paupers who will not benefit by his scheme. The approximate number of paupers of 65 years and upwards in receipt of outdoor relief on one day in 1907 was 271,000. The number over 70 years of age would of course be much less, and the great bulk of these may qualify for the pensions. But then there is indoor relief. In a House of Commons Paper (No. 113 of 1904) it is shown that of 96,000 inmates of workhouse institutions over 60 years of age, about 61 per cent. were unable, owing to physical or mental infirmity, to take care of themselves. The Select Committee of 1903 on the Aged Pensioners Bill instituted an enquiry in twenty-one representative Poor-law Unions in England and Wales, and found that, apart from those who could not satisfactorily take care of themselves, only 14 per cent. of the inmates over 65 years of age could live on a pension outside the workhouse with relatives, and only 10 per cent. were willing to do so. The approximate number of paupers of 65 years of age and upwards in receipt of indoor relief in one day in 1907, without counting the insane in asylums, may be put at 96,000.\* The assumed deduction from possible pensioners of 272,000 paupers is too large. There would be little if any saving in the rates. Outdoor relief would disappear only in some cases where the recipients are over 70 years of age. The total amount of outdoor relief distributed in the United Kingdom in 1904-5 was about 4,000,000*l.*; and

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\* 'Local Government Board Memorandum on Old-age Pensions' (1907), Table IV, Series E.

it was estimated that, in regard to England and Wales, about 50 per cent. of the total amount of out-relief was distributed to persons aged 65 years and upwards. If we assume the same proportion to the United Kingdom, about 2,000,000<sup>l</sup>. are distributed in out-relief to those over 65 years of age. Mr Asquith's scheme, at the age limit of 70 years, could not lighten the burden of the ratepayer by more than a million, if so much.

As to the ultimate cost, there is no precedent from which we can learn. Germany works on contributory lines, and only gives a grant-in-aid from the revenues. Denmark has to spend little on national defence and can impose more restrictive conditions than Mr Asquith contemplates. There can be no comparison between the case of our Colonies and that of the United Kingdom. Their populations are small; they have no external responsibilities, and have no cause to spend money on national defence. They are, moreover, in the vigour of youth and have not yet accumulated a deposit of old age. We may educate our children, but we are not bound also to spend more on keeping them when they are old. The State enforces education for its own good and pays for what it compels. But the State does not compel the poverty which overtakes men of 70. The duty of maintaining them rests primarily on their families. All that is true; but nevertheless, as the State is concerned to take care that no one shall perish from actual want, it may also take reasonable care that none who are unable to help themselves shall suffer from privation.

In Germany two-thirds of the wage-earners are insured against sickness, one-third of the cost being borne by employers; and in the case of old-age and infirmity thirteen out of every sixteen wage-earning workpeople have a right to a small pension in case of permanent incapacity or on reaching the age of 70. All wage-earners over 16 years of age who earn less than M.2000 (say 98<sup>l</sup>.) per annum are compelled to insure. Certain other classes who do not earn more than M.3000 (say 147<sup>l</sup>.) are permitted to join voluntarily; and there are certain exceptions. The number of persons insured against old age and invalidity in 1906, was estimated at 14,000,000, of whom 110,969 were in receipt of the pension and 23,000 of invalidity benefits. The receipts, including profits

from investments, but excluding the State contribution of 2,397,000*l.*, were 10,550,000*l.* The employers contributed 4,182,500*l.*, and the workpeople the same amount. The average old-age pension is 7*l.* 18*s.* 1*d.*, and the pension for invalidity a few pence over 8*l.* The expenses incurred amounted to 6,569,000*l.*, and the accumulated funds amounted in 1906 to 65,078,000*l.*\*

Mr Sutherland, in the work cited above, outlines what he calls a practicable pension scheme in which he lays down the proposition that in no case ought any pension to be granted where it is not really needed. Therefore he would form an income limit, as Mr Asquith has done; and he would exclude chronic paupers and persons convicted for 'crimes, drunkenness, or bad conduct in general'—rather a vague classification. His main object, however, is to rule out 'chronic paupers who have led useless and lazy lives.' As for lunatics and infirm indoor paupers, he would treat them as pensionable, and pay over the pension to the institutions in which they are confined; a simple expedient, but implying the continuance of the Poor-law system concurrently with a pension system. He would have the pensions on a certain sliding scale as to age and necessity, and would divide the cost between the local areas and the State. In effect this would be a system combining State aid and poor-rates.

We prefer the general idea of the scheme suggested by Lord Avebury, Sir Edward Brabrook, Sir Arthur Clay, and others in a letter to the 'Times' on September 3, 1907. This is a scheme on a contributory basis, neither financially burdensome nor inconsistent with precedent. Under a statute of 1819, incorporated in the Friendly Societies Act of 1896, the Government is empowered to receive from friendly societies the money derived from the contributions of their members, and to allow on such contributions a fixed rate of interest during the continuance of the lives of the contributors. Lord Avebury proposes to apply and extend this principle to enable the contributors to become beneficiaries of the fund accumulated, not at death, but in the form of old-age pensions, payable in proportion to the contributions made before the age

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\* See 'The German Workman,' by W. H. Dawson (P. S. King and Son); also 'Old Age Pensions,' by W. Sutherland (Methuen).

of 65 or some later age. Under such a system the deposits should not be withdrawn until the pension becomes due, nor applied to any other purpose than that of the pension. It might be extended so that contributions might be received, not merely from friendly societies, but through the agency of authorised bodies from any individual, and from employers making contributions on behalf of their workmen.

The present minimum rate of interest on deposits is fixed at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. under the Act of 1896. But in 1819 interest was granted at the rate of 4*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*, in 1828 at the rate of 3*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.*, and in 1850 at the rate of 3*l.* 0*s.* 10*d.* per cent. If the minimum rate of interest only were allowed, a payment from the age of 20 of 1*l.* a year, or about 4*d.* a week, would ensure a weekly pension of 7*s.* 4*d.* at the age of 65, or 14*s.* 9*d.* at the age of 70. If 1 per cent. above the minimum rate were allowed, the corresponding pensions would be 10*s.* 4*d.* and 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* per week respectively. The cost of administration is estimated at 3 per cent., which might either be made a charge on the pensions or might be included in the estimates for the civil service. Any deficiency incurred should be annually voted by Parliament, as, indeed, is the case at present in contracts entered into under the Friendly Societies Acts. It is easy to suggest difficulties; but this scheme is reasonable, quite economic, and capable of extension, and it provides a substantial benefit for the right persons, and would help all who wish to help themselves. It would also relieve the Government from responsibility for the soundness of friendly societies, as the money deposited with the Government for the purpose of ensuring pensions to the contributors would be applied only to that purpose, and could not be recovered by the Friendly Societies for any other purposes.

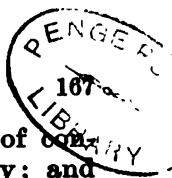
When we come to consider the all-important subject of national defence, the question suggests itself whether it is not possible to draw together the two most urgent social problems now before the country. These are the protection of our Empire and its trade, and the provision for old age without forfeiting the independence and self-respect of the recipient. Hitherto a pension has been assumed to mean a salary earned by services rendered

to the State or to some employer. If a pension has not been earned, it is charity. The independent working man resents the idea of falling back on charity, though he is willing to accept a State pension. Why not let him earn his pension by helping to safeguard his country? Every member of the State should be ready to contribute to its security before claiming the right to be pensioned by it. It might be made a condition of such a claim, in the case of a male citizen, that he should attain a fixed standard of military efficiency by the time he has reached the age, say, of twenty-one, and should have maintained that standard for a definite period. A citizen who has fulfilled these conditions, and has thus fitted himself for the duty of home defence, might, on attaining the age of sixty-five, be entitled to a pension of 1s. a day; and this pension might even be proportionately increased if he had placed himself at the disposal of his country for active service abroad in case of national emergency. The basis of the pension fund would be on an estimated scale of pay during training up to efficiency and then accumulated; but that is a detail of actuarial management. There would be neither compulsion nor charity nor loss of self-respect, but a principle of patriotism and providence. It would not be conscription but voluntary military service for future reward.

This is not a mere question of militarism to be derided by the demagogue. It is a question for the working classes themselves. The commercial and industrial prosperity of the country depend on the efficiency of our national defences. If these are weakened, trade will decline. Industrial employment will diminish, poverty will increase, and the national expenditure on poor relief will go up while the national revenue goes down. Therefore capital will emigrate, and the mythical wage-fund on which the working classes depend will become a vanishing quantity. He who would draw a pension from the State should at least be willing and ready to serve the State.

We object, then, to all schemes like Mr Asquith's, not because they involve the principle of State-aid for the destitute aged, but because they offer merely an extended system of outdoor relief upon a non-economic and unjust basis. Whatever the cost of a pension system

## OLD-AGE PENSIONS



is to be, it should not be laid upon any one class of contributories. The State is the whole community; and State-aid implies the consideration of all classes. The German pension system is the most equitable in existence, and it is a reasonable application of State socialism. Its conditions and methods are not all, perhaps, adaptable to this country; and even in Germany there is, we believe, some discontent at the irritating habits of officialism. But the principle could be adapted without slavish imitation of the methods. It is a contributory system, lightened for the pensioner by the assistance of his employer and the State. Of course it would not apply to persons not in actual employment as wage-earners; but provision could be made for receiving the contributions of such persons through the local pension authorities.

Another method of providing a pension fund would be by imposing a pension tax to be assessed and collected in the same way as the poor rates and school rates. This would at least reach every householder, though it would be defective in this respect that it would not reach every wage-earner. That being so, to be economically just, a pension scheme based on taxation alone ought to be universal, with the exception of lunatics and incarcerated criminals. A discriminating scheme cannot be equitable if it is non-contributory.

Since these lines were in type the Old-age Pensions Bill has passed its third reading in the House of Commons. As it may be assumed that the Upper House will not be able radically to amend the measure—for instance, by turning it into a contributory scheme—still less to reject what is practically part of the Budget, the country is definitely committed to what must ultimately develop into an expenditure of from 25 to 30 millions a year. Apart from the detrimental effects upon national character which a system of State-doles will in all probability inflict, this enormous drain on the national resources will coincide with unprecedented demands upon the State-purse for the primary purposes of national defence. The prospect is sufficiently alarming. Let us only hope, though we can feel no confidence, that this measure will not prove the first step towards national disaster.





# Art. VIII.—CANADIAN PROBLEMS AND PARTIES.

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese Immigration.* Ottawa, 1885.
  2. *Report of the Royal Commission on Chinese and Japanese Immigration.* Ottawa, 1902.
  3. *Report of W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., Royal Commissioner appointed to enquire into the methods by which Oriental labourers have been induced to come to Canada.* Ottawa, 1908.
  4. *Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party.* By J. S. Willison. Two vols. London: Murray, 1903.
  5. *L'Indépendance Économique du Canada Français.* By Errol Bouchette. Arthabaskaville, 1906.
  6. *Canada's Century.* By R. J. Barrett. London: 'The Financier and Bullionist,' 1907.
  7. *The Race Question in Canada.* By André Siegfried. London: Nash, 1907.
  8. *La Terre pour Rien.* By Jean du Saguenay. Paris: Bloud and Cie., 1907.
  9. *La Colombie Britannique.* By Albert Métin. Paris: Armand Colin, 1908.
  10. *Sixty Years of Protection in Canada (1846-1907).* By Edward Porritt. London: Macmillan, 1908.
- And other works.

LORD STRATHCONA's optimistic prediction that, by the end of this century, Canada's population will equal that of the United States to-day, attracts attention, not only to the present sparsely-settled condition of Canada, but also to the necessity of its exercising great care in the selection of its new settlers if it is to profit by the experience of the United States. For a century Canada has endeavoured to attract settlers to develop its rich agricultural resources. The formation of the Dominion in 1867 permitted the unification of the sporadic attempts of the individual colonies into a general immigration policy. Notwithstanding Canada's endeavours, many of its immigrants simply made Canada a port of call on their way to the United States. Not only was Canada not holding the immigrants; it was also losing its native-born population to the United States. This was not a new phenomenon. Industrial stagnation in Canada and

the attraction of the greater mass of population of the United States had steadily drawn off Canadians, with the result that, during the last half-century, Canadians and their descendants have contributed 2,200,000 to the population of the United States. These conditions were responsible for the slow rate of increase of Canada's population—from 3·4 millions in 1871 to 5·3 in 1901.

It was not until 1896 that a new condition manifested itself. By this time the United States Government land available for homesteads had become limited in amount; while the increase in value of the already settled land rendered it difficult for the farmers to obtain farms for their sons. The Canadian Government instituted an active advertising campaign in the United States and in Europe, which attracted attention to Canada in general and to the North-West in particular. Energetic propaganda and good economic conditions brought over a million immigrants to Canada in the period 1897–1907.

The desire has been to obtain settlers who will either go to the land or engage in various forms of unskilled labour. In the Government lands in the North-West an extremely generous policy has been pursued. By the payment of a fee of \$10.00 and the subsequent performance of settlement and cultivation duties on the land for at least six months a year during a period of three years, a 'homestead' of one quarter-section (160 acres) may be obtained. While it has been the aim of Canada to introduce agricultural labourers, farmers, and others who will not compete with those engaged in the skilled trades, it has happened that a considerable part of the immigration from Great Britain has been from the cities. Many of these immigrants are but little fitted to engage in farm labour; in addition, many prefer to settle in the cities. Indirectly the attraction of this class of settlers is due to Canada's vigorous advertising campaign. More directly it is attributable to the seductive appeals of steamship agents. The influx of city-dwellers has brought up questions concerning the quality of the immigration. In 1903 the Department of the Interior, which has charge of immigration affairs, said, 'In carrying out the policy of the Government with regard to immigration, the question of number has always been of secondary importance.' It must, however, be recognised that there

has been a large influx of persons who are unfit either economically, physically, or morally. Many of the new arrivals have been practically destitute. The British Welcome League of Toronto, between March and November 1907, assisted 5200 immigrants; 28 per cent. of these were penniless, and nearly 50 per cent. were just on the border line. Canada makes justifiable complaint of the practice which from time to time prevails in England—for example, the work of the Metropolitan Aid Society during 1907—of sending criminals to Canada with a view to letting them have a fresh start there. With the humanitarian motive of such action there can be no quarrel; but Canadians are opposed to Canada being regarded as a reformatory. In his last annual address Dr Bruce Smith, inspector of prisons for Ontario, said :

‘Every jail I have visited within the past six months has had among its prisoners persons who have been only a few months in the country. Some of them have spent most of their lives in English prisons. Several have admitted that they had been discharged by English magistrates on condition that they would emigrate to Canada.’

Though in this respect special complaint is made of English immigrants, the complaint applies to newcomers from the continent of Europe as well. In various Canadian cities recent arrivals from southern Europe have proved lawless. The complaint, it is true, does not apply to newcomers alone. The foreign-born are 20 per cent. of the population of Ontario, and furnish 38 per cent. of those committed to prison. A considerable number of defectives and degenerates among the British immigrants have already found their way into the lunatic asylums of Ontario. Part of the apparent preponderance of criminality among the foreign-born is no doubt due to age-classification. There is a larger proportion of adults among immigrants than in the population in general; but, while this affords a partial explanation, it does not lessen the seriousness of the criminal influx, and serves to show how great is the care which should be exercised in the selection of immigrants.

The legislative regulations in regard to immigration are found in the Dominion legislation of 1906. This prohibits the landing of the following: feeble-minded,

idiots, epileptics, insane, or those who have had an attack of insanity within the past five years; deaf, dumb, blind, or infirm, unless they belong to a family accompanying them or settled in Canada, and able to give satisfactory security for their permanent support; persons affected by loathsome or contagious diseases; paupers and beggars; criminals, prostitutes or procurers. In addition, the landing of any specified class of immigrants may be prohibited. A further provision is that any immigrant who, within two years after entering Canada, becomes a public charge, commits a crime involving moral turpitude, or incurs imprisonment, may be deported. Since 1906 the supervision has been more rigid. A large number of the immigrants coming to Canada come on assisted passages, through the instrumentality of various aid societies in England. Many of these have found difficulty in obtaining employment. To provide against hardship to these immigrants, the Government has decided that, for the present year at least, no immigrants coming on assisted passages shall be allowed to land in Canada unless they have first been approved by the Canadian immigration officials in Great Britain. In addition a temporary administrative regulation has been adopted, whereby every immigrant on landing must have at least \$25.00 in his possession, unless he either has work in sight or has friends upon whom he can depend.

It is an important question how far Canada is able to assimilate the new population. In 1901, 57 per cent. of the population consisted of settlers from the British Isles or their descendants, including under this heading settlers of such extraction from the United States. In the decade 1897-1907, 66 per cent. of the immigrants came from Great Britain and the United States. Many of the immigrants from the latter country are returned Canadians; practically all are of British or North-European extraction, and have been subjected to an English-speaking environment and to governmental methods based on those of England. All are English-speaking. The immigration returns speak well for the persistence of the best type of British and North European stock.

In the immigration to Canada 54 nationalities are represented. No attempt is made to obtain settlers from southern Europe; nevertheless three-fourths of the

immigrants from Europe come from southern countries. This element is difficult to assimilate; it also adds greatly to the problems of congestion of population in cities. Already 37 per cent. of the population of Canada are to be found in cities and towns. Still, the greater homogeneity of the Canadian population makes the problem less difficult than in the United States.

The question of Asiatic immigration is of especial interest to British Columbia. Though the Chinese began to come to British Columbia about 1858, it was not until the late seventies that any organised opposition to their entry manifested itself. In 1878 British Columbia adopted a policy under which no Chinese were to be employed on the public works of the province. In the same year a British Columbia statute, which imposed special taxation on Chinese residents, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the province. In 1879 a committee of the Dominion House of Commons held that, if the Chinese were permitted to take part in the construction of the Canadian-Pacific Railway, there would be a large influx of Chinese from the United States; but merely recommended that Chinese immigration should not be encouraged, and that the Chinese should not be employed on public works. Nevertheless, in 1883, British Columbia complained that more than one-half of the Chinese immigrants were employed in the construction of the Pacific section of the Canadian-Pacific Railway. The growing opposition to the Chinese was seen in two statutes passed by British Columbia in 1884. One of these declared that it was unlawful for a Chinaman to enter the province. Entry was punishable by a fine of \$50.00, or in default of this by six months' imprisonment. The second Act required each Chinaman resident in the province to pay an annual license fee of \$10.00. The latter of these Acts was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the province in 1884; the former was disallowed by the Federal Government in 1885.

In the meantime the Dominion had appointed a commission to investigate the matter. While this body found that Chinese labour was necessary to the proper development of the province, and that by undue restriction of such immigration the development of trade relations with China would be hindered, it held that there should

be some restriction and recommended an entrance tax of \$10.00. Disregarding this specific recommendation, the Dominion Government imposed, in 1885, an entrance tax of \$50.00. This did not end the complaints, and petitions came in yearly to the Dominion Government urging further restriction and even prohibition of Chinese immigration. In 1900 the tax was increased to \$100.00. In the same year a new commission was appointed, which substantially accepted the British Columbian contention and recommended the imposition of a tax of \$500.00. This recommendation was adopted in 1903. One-half of the sum received from this tax is paid to British Columbia.

The Commission of 1884 held that the danger from the Chinese was problematical; the fact that they came to British Columbia showed that there was a real demand for their labour. To the contention that they were not desirable because they took money out of the country, it was replied that they left the result of their labour, and that this was essential to the development of the country. The Commission of 1900 held that they subjected white labour to detrimental competition. While the Commission of 1884 did not find any general opposition to the Chinese, the Commission of 1900 held that the opposition, instead of being limited to the labouring class, was general. It should be noted, however, that the Chinese population had increased both relatively and absolutely. While in 1871 the Chinese formed one-twelfth of the population of British Columbia, by 1901 the proportion had increased to one-eighth.

The strong local objection to the Chinese is attributable to the preponderance of labour influence. In the sparse population of British Columbia the massing of labour in mining and other industries gives it a political weight in excess of its proportion of the population. In British Columbia, as in California, the influence of the labour vote is so pervasive that those who believe that Chinese labour is essential are forced, through self-interest, to acquiesce in the more clamorously expressed sentiment. In British Columbia, as in California, where labour is in the saddle, there is a desire to maintain the monopoly advantage which is given by the remoteness of these districts from the regular sources of labour supply.

The coming of the Japanese dates from about 1896. While the Chinese do not, to any considerable extent, compete with skilled white labour, there is some competition in the case of the Japanese. From the standpoint of political assimilation the problem is apparently much simpler; for the Japanese are quick to learn English, and show more readiness than the Chinese to become naturalised. At the same time it is questionable whether they are in reality any more desirous than are the Chinese to become permanent residents. So soon as the Japanese influx began, British Columbia imposed prohibitions on their employment in public works as well as in the construction of railways aided by the province. The imposition of such restrictive legislation led to federal disallowance on the ground that it interfered with Imperial policy. The Commission of 1902, in speaking of the Japanese, remarked (p. 397),

'that, while in some respects they are less undesirable than the Chinese, in that they adopt more readily our habits of life and spend more of their earnings in the country, yet in all that goes to make for the permanent settlement of the country they are quite as serious a menace as the Chinese.'

At the same time it was of opinion that no action on the part of Canada was necessary.

The desire of Canada to participate in the trade of Japan led to the treaty relations of 1905. Under the treaty the subjects of either country were granted full rights of entry into the territories of the other. At the same time there was an understanding that Japan would regulate the influx of Japanese labourers into Canada. The anti-Japanese riots in Vancouver, in September 1907, were instigated by agitators from the neighbouring State of Washington, but were also due to a sudden influx of Japanese. During the ten months ending October 1907, 8125 Japanese landed in Canada. This was about twice the number of Japanese resident in British Columbia in 1901. The situation was, however, less alarming than was at first thought. Only some 1600 came to Canada from Japan direct. The remainder were either destined to the United States or came from the Hawaiian islands. The seeming departure from Japan's restrictive policy regarding migration from Japan was due to the action

of the Japanese Government in permitting, about April 1907, arrangements to be made whereby some 900 Japanese came to Canada to work for companies in British Columbia. Before permitting these labourers to come, the Japanese Government satisfied itself that there were *bona fide* agreements with employers in Canada for the employment of these labourers. As Mr King, the Canadian commissioner who investigated the matter, remarks, 'if there was a change in the policy of Japan, it was not one which could adversely affect the interests of this country without a Canadian citizen or a Canadian corporation first placing upon it the seal of his or its approval' (p. 20). The influx from the Hawaiian islands, which the Japanese consul at Vancouver did his utmost to discourage, was wholly due to speculative ventures of Americans resident in those islands. Deducting the immigrants due to these special conditions, as well as those going to the United States, it will be found that the net immigration was 750, at least 300 of whom were Japanese returning to Canada. Mr King's investigation entirely acquits the Japanese Government of attempting to evade the spirit of the restrictive policy which it had agreed to adopt in regard to immigration to Canada.

Canada's essay in the field of diplomacy, in connexion with the mission of the Hon. Mr Lemieux to Japan, has been successful in obtaining from Japan agreements to provide against any large numbers of Japanese going to British Columbia. It must at the same time be recognised that Japan showed singular broad-mindedness in agreeing, without waiving its treaty rights, not to insist upon these when they would involve disregarding the conditions prevailing in Canada from time to time.

The Hindu migration to British Columbia has sprung up since 1904. The incoming of 2200 Hindus in 1907 added to the already complicated situation in British Columbia. For it is manifest that, if the Japanese as allies of Great Britain demanded special treatment, the presumption in favour of free entry seemed to be wholly in favour of the Hindus as British subjects. The sudden increase in Hindu immigration was due to the distribution throughout certain of the rural districts of India of glowing accounts of the rich opportunities for employment in British Columbia—accounts which, in some in-

stances, led the Hindus to borrow their passage-money at rates of 15 and 20 per cent. Coupled with this was the activity of certain steamship agents who were desirous of profiting by the commission on tickets sold, and that of various agencies in British Columbia interested in bringing in low-priced unskilled labour.

In the delicate negotiations which have taken place, the British Government has frankly recognised the right of Canada to defend its own interests in matters connected with immigration. In substance it has been provided that no contract-labourers from India shall enter Canada. Canada also insists on a continuous passage from the country of origin on a continuous ticket. It cannot, however, be said that the problem of Asiatic immigration has been solved. At first it was hoped that the general regulation that immigrants should possess at least \$25.00 would prove sufficiently restrictive. Recently, however, a special regulation directed against the Hindus, without mentioning them by name, has provided that such immigrants must possess on landing at least \$200.00. It is also to be noted that, notwithstanding a heavy entrance tax, 1200 Chinese entered British Columbia in 1907.

In 1899 Mr Chamberlain, while protesting against legislation especially directed against the Japanese, recognised that the desire to obtain a large and thoroughly British population was justifiable. While a sharp distinction has been made between immigration from southern Europe and that from Asia on the ground that, while the former may be assimilated, the latter either will not or, as a matter of public policy, should not be permitted to be assimilated, in reality they are parts of the same question—that question being whether such assimilation, whether of Asiatics or of southern Europeans, is in the best interests of Canada. The days have gone by when the right of entry of foreign peoples into a country can be decided on high humanitarian grounds. It is a question of national self-interest. A restrictive policy should be pursued in the case of the south European immigration as well. To this should be added an illiteracy test. A lesson should be taken from the experience of the United States, over 50 per cent. of whose immigrants from southern Europe are illiterate.

We come next to the racial differences long existing in Canada. Thirty per cent. of the population of the Dominion are of French extraction. Ever since the cession of New France to England, the French-speaking element of Canada's population has given rise to much discussion. It was not without heart-burnings that the English-speaking people of the Canadas saw the adoption of a policy which led in lower Canada to the rule of a French majority. How keen the opposition was is shown in Lord Durham's statement: 'I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single State; I found a struggle not of principles but of races.' The history of the struggle whereby loyal acquiescence in the principles of representative government, regardless of race, was obtained had its most significant development when Sir W. Laurier became Prime Minister of Canada. Nevertheless, it would be idle to deny that racial antipathies exist to-day. M. Siegfried asserts that

'The dominant race suffers the presence of the French because it cannot do otherwise, but it sets up its own tongue, religion, and form of civilisation against theirs. An open warfare is in progress, the bitterness of which it were useless to seek to disguise' (p. 2).

In the province of Quebec the urban population is little less than in that of Ontario—39 per cent. and 42 per cent. respectively. At the same time the French Canadian *habitants* still cling to the soil, remaining in the care-free self-contained life of the small farm. The simplicity of their wants would satisfy Thoreau himself; but their enjoyment of the amenities of life is keen. Among the educated classes there lingers a belief in the superiority of professional life. To participate in public life is the general ambition; and the educated French Canadian shows an aptitude for, and desire to participate in, public affairs which might well be imitated in the other provinces. In the preparation for public life the pen and the robe go together. The struggles of Sir W. Laurier's earlier days of combined law and journalism are characteristic of many who have attained less prominence. The eloquence of the public speaker finds a ready acceptance. The racial aptitude for striking phraseology and correct expression is intensified by the classical

education which still dominates the Catholic colleges of Quebec. French Canadians have made their mark in finance and in business as well. The leaders are constant in their endeavours to make Quebec great, industrially. In his first speech in the Legislature of Quebec, Sir W. Laurier said, 'It is a duty, especially for us Canadians of French origin, to create a national industry.' More recent expression of this is found in the pages of M. Bouchette, who says (p. 21), 'We are beginning to comprehend how necessary it is for us to learn how to develop our resources, all our resources, natural and national.' There is a demand for an education which will be more practical. What it has done for technical education is one of the claims which the present Liberal Administration of Quebec advanced for its re-election.

The difference of language tends to keep the French Canadian apart from English-speaking Canadians. Where he comes in contact with them he shows great aptitude for learning English; but the English-speaking Canadian, outside of Quebec, shows little interest in French. To him it is a cultural qualification, not an asset. If he were more ready to learn French, he would more readily understand the French Canadian. Undoubtedly English, as the language of commerce, tends to become increasingly prominent; nevertheless, French will continue to be spoken, for, in Sir W. Laurier's fine phrase, 'so long as there are French mothers, the language will not die.' The French Canadians are tenacious of their language and of their race; but the large increase in European, and especially in English-speaking, immigration tends to lessen their influence. The French Canadians have clung to the eastern sections of Canada; and the real centre of French power is still in the valley of the St Lawrence. Nor is there any likelihood that this condition will change. The desire to protect the French language and traditions against the possible encroachments of English-speaking settlers has led Mr H. Bourassa, a grandson of Papineau, to break from the Liberal party and form the Nationalist party. In the recent provincial election in Quebec, Mr Bourassa and his following were successful in obtaining a number of seats.

At times there are dreams of French Canadian

nationality—dreams which are concerned rather with the maintenance of the French type than with the establishment of a separate nation. The writer who hides his identity under the pseudonym Du Saguenay, says, 'The French Canadian nationality is built up of an attachment to the Catholic religion and of a knowledge and pride in a glorious future which will be the expansion of a France in America, generous and chivalrous, characterised by a wondrous beauty in the midst of the materialistic domination of the sovereign dollar' (p. 21). More truly characteristic is the statement of Sir W. Laurier: 'Whilst remaining French, we are profoundly attached to British institutions. I am British to the core.' Mr Bourassa's political position makes his words even more striking:

'The more I analyse the vital parts and the lusty members of this admirable political creation (the British constitution) with its nerves of steel and its rich blood, the more my admiration of England has grown. I was always glad enough to be a British subject, but now I experience the full pride of my British citizenship.'

The attachment of the French Canadians to Great Britain is an attachment of the head, an intellectual appreciation of the benefits of representative government which have been obtained under the ægis of British rule. French Canadians have, it is true, a sentimental attachment to the land of their remote nativity. But this attachment to France is an attachment to a country which has practically disappeared—pre-revolutionary France. It is in this sense that Mr Bourassa asserts that the French Canadians are more truly Canadian than the English Canadians; for, while the latter have the sentimental ties of birth to a fatherland they know, the former have now no fatherland across the Atlantic. But such a statement is too sweeping. The English-speaking districts of Canada are settled by no band of exiles yearning for return to the mother-country. Their real interests are in Canada, the only land that many of them have ever known.

The development of Canada has caused much discussion of its duties in regard to Imperial defence.

While certain trends of opinion on this question have been, perhaps rightly, attributed to the presence of the French Canadians, this is by no means the sole cause. When the question of sending the contingents to South Africa arose, Sir W. Laurier was much criticised because he momentarily hesitated to act without obtaining the assent of Parliament. In the light of calmer scrutiny it can now be seen that this was the constitutional position. As a matter of fact, Sir Wilfrid went much further than a previous Administration presided over by Sir John A. Macdonald. In 1885, during the Soudanese war, the offer by New South Wales of a fully-equipped body of troops led the Secretary for War to intimate to the other colonies that aid would be received if offered. Canada replied that it was willing to permit recruiting in Canada at the expense of the British Exchequer. This was declined with cold courtesy.

For a long time it has been the established policy of Canada not to make direct contributions to the British army. This was the often-expressed resolution of Sir John Macdonald. Sir Wilfrid's position was simply that the participation of Canada in Britain's wars depends on the assent of the Canadian Parliament. Sir C. Tupper took the same line when, in a speech delivered at Quebec in 1900, he expressed himself as strongly opposed to any regular contribution to the permanent military defence of the Empire.

Not a little criticism has been directed against Canada because of her unwillingness to make direct contributions to the British navy. Canada has constantly taken the position that in developing her own resources she is in a real sense contributing to the upbuilding of the Empire. This was the policy to which Sir John Macdonald gave his hearty support. Stirring appeals to Imperial sentiment as defined by those making them, and attempts to befog the issue by telling Canada that she should be ashamed of not making direct contributions to the support of the army and navy, are wide of the mark. Canada's real interests, as well as her Imperial obligations, are best ensured at present by the development and diversification of Canadian resources. In addition to the development of transcontinental railways, Canada is protecting the fisheries on the Atlantic and on the Pacific

coasts. She sees to the protection of fisheries on the Great Lakes. She has assumed the expense of maintaining the dockyards at Halifax and Esquimalt. She is also developing a naval militia. Sir W. Laurier said at the annual banquet of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association in 1907:

'In time of need the blood and treasure of every Canadian would be at the command of the King; but in time of peace I claim we should follow our own interests, and not be drawn into the vortex of European militarism.'

Canada's attitude is not one of opposition to aiding the Empire, but of belief in doing it in her own way by having under her own control the money she appropriates for this purpose. The whole matter, as the attitude of Australia also shows, depends upon the full acceptance of what is implied by a system of representative government.

The question of communications is the greatest single question in Canada to-day. Both the Intercolonial and the Canadian Pacific railways were the outcome of political motives. The former was the essential condition of the entrance of the maritime provinces into the Dominion. The latter was part of the price paid for the entrance of British Columbia; at the same time it has had great colonising importance. Its construction, aided by generous governmental assistance, was a piece of splendid daring. The astute management of this enterprise and its persevering efforts to attract traffic to itself have won great and well-merited success. Still it must be remembered that even in 1901 the country west of the Great Lakes, which contains 80 per cent. of Canada's land area, had only 1 per cent. of her population. The north-western wheat-fields have necessitated new railways still further north. The Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern, which are receiving governmental aid, are the answers to these new demands. The expansion of settlement and traffic which have taken place since 1901 furnish the reason why the Grand Trunk undertook in 1903 the enterprise which it had refused twenty-three years before. The Canadian Northern, which began in a humble way in 1895, was aided in the first instance by the provinces of Ontario and Manitoba;

later, as it extended its lines into what are now the provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta, the Dominion aided the enterprise. The Canadian Pacific is steadily expanding its network by the construction of branches.

In 1853 the 'Toronto Leader' said, 'From all the circumstances Canada is destined to become, in a few years, the greatest wheat-exporting country on the continent of America.' This expectation has not been realised, so far as eastern Canada is concerned; but the centre of hope has moved to the west. The competition in wheat in America promises to lie between the extremes of the continent—between Canada and Argentina. What the limits of the wheat area are it is impossible to say. The Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern will, on their way to the Pacific, pass through Peace River Valley, on the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, more than five hundred miles north of the main line of the Canadian Pacific. This district has great wheat-growing possibilities. It is asserted that wheat can be grown here, a thousand miles north of the international boundary. Estimates concerning the wheat-growing possibilities of the North-west vary from 110,000,000 to 812,000,000 bushels. Not only are the various products of the farm important; in coal, lumber, petroleum, and mining there are great possibilities. The resources of British Columbia are especially rich.

Railway expansion has opened up new areas which, while they have great possibilities in mixed farming, are at present given up to wheat. The Canadian Northern, on its way through the valley of the North Saskatchewan, opens up a district which, practically unsettled less than six years ago, now causes its railway to be known as 'the line of a hundred wheat stations.' With this westward movement new transport problems arise. Much of the produce of the Further West will eventually be unable to stand the cost of the long haul to the head of Lake Superior, and will have to find an export outlet on the Pacific coast. It is to the Hudson Bay route, however, that the people of the North-west look with most confidence. Fort Churchill (on Hudson Bay) and Montreal are practically the same distance from Liverpool. If this route is feasible, it would mean that the products of the North-west would, in their movement to the sea,

have their rail journey shortened by a thousand miles, while the ocean portion of the journey to Liverpool would be practically the same as at present. The Dominion Government has decided to open this route by building a railway to Fort Churchill. As a grain centre Winnipeg now stands second in North America. It is exceeded only by Minneapolis.

In the eastward movement of the grain, the services of the banks are very important. Unlike the United States, Canada has banks of relatively large capitalisation. While the legal minimum is \$500,000, the general practice is to have at least \$1,000,000. The branch banking system enables the surplus deposits of one district to be readily invested in another. Under the American system a surplus of deposits in the smaller banks tends to move funds to New York, thereby facilitating speculation through periodic expansion and contraction of credit. In Canada the organic connexion between the parent bank and its branches prevents extreme fluctuations in discount rates. While in the United States discount rates may vary as much as 10 per cent., according to the district concerned, the rates in the Canadian North-west are rarely more than 2 per cent. in excess of those prevailing in eastern Canada.

The bond-secured note circulation of the American system is safe but inelastic. The recent depression in the United States, when currency was at a premium of 3½ per cent., shows how difficult it is to expand note issue rapidly to meet emergencies. In Canada the amount of the note issue is limited only by the unimpaired paid-up capital of the bank. At the same time the notes are amply secured, since they are a first charge on the assets of the bank, including the double liability of the shareholders; they are also insured by a mutual arrangement whereby each bank is required to keep with the Government an amount equal to 5 per cent. of its circulation during the previous year. This fund is available, in case of need, to redeem the notes of any bank which may be unable to meet its obligations. The fact that the Canadian banks have no fixed minimum reserve enables them to pursue a more liberal discounting policy than is possible in the United States. Within the limits set

by capital, a safe and elastic note issue is available in Canada.

While the note system has the cardinal advantage of elasticity, the expansion of the grain production of the North-west necessitates changes. This is emphasised by the industrial depression which Canada, in common with the United States, has been experiencing. In 1907 Mr Walker, then general manager and now president of the Bank of Commerce, warned Canadians to prepare for a period of depression. Whatever affects the United States adversely will, of necessity, have some influence on Canada. In addition, Canada has been lavishly building for the future. In business development there has not been, in many cases, a sufficient maintenance of fluid capital. In the fever of speculation capital has been lost in various mining enterprises. The Cobalt silver mines, for example, are now a well-established mining camp; and for years to come much wealth will be obtained from this source. For a time, however, much capital may be locked up in enterprises which are not immediately productive. In addition, capital has been lost through blind speculation. In Canada it is a time of stock-taking, and for the present there is a curtailment of business. The demand for labour has undoubtedly slackened. At the same time there are already signs of improvement. The banking situation has been improved by increases in deposits. There will be a large influx of American immigrants this year, which will add greatly to the capital resources of the North-west. The most important factor is that of the crops, which promise to be excellent.

In the North-west the short wheat crop of 1907 was unfortunately affected by frost. To assist in sowing operations this year, money was advanced by the Dominion to the North-west. Last year the curtailment which the banks had to make, in order to render the financial condition safe, made it difficult to obtain money to move the crops. The Government, being asked for assistance, agreed to advance, against a deposit of securities, \$10,000,000 to the banks. The funds so obtained were to be lent at not less than 4 per cent. Under this arrangement some \$5,300,000 were temporarily borrowed from the Government. The money so lent was taken out of the reserve held against the Dominion notes, the

Canadian convertible Government currency. This was simply a temporary expedient. Bank-note expansion has not kept pace with business expansion. While the banking capital has increased by 60 per cent. in the period 1890-1907, the foreign trade has increased by 160 per cent. and the western grain production by 540 per cent. On account of the relatively slow increase of banking capital, legislation has been introduced to permit an emergency note circulation equal to 15 per cent. of the combined paid-up capital and rest. To limit this emergency circulation to the time of crop movement, a tax of 5 per cent. is to be imposed which will, through loss of profit, stop the circulation when the need is past.

The transport system of the North-west may be likened to a funnel converging at the ports at the head of Lake Superior. From these ports the western products move eastward by rail or by water. From an early date Canada has been active in improving the waterway afforded by the Great Lakes and the St Lawrence. Of the \$116,000,000 which she has spent on her canal system, \$94,000,000 have been spent in the last forty years; over seven-eighths of the total expenditures have been made on the route from Lake Superior to Montreal. Not only is Canada desirous of carrying her own products eastward, she is also a competitor with the American transportation routes for the carriage of American traffic. At the foot of Lake Superior are two canals, one Canadian and one American. Through these canals there passes, in a season of nine months, three times the traffic passing through the Suez Canal in a year. The traffic of the lower lakes is even greater. The total freight tonnage, east and west bound, passing Detroit on Lake Erie exceeds 70,000,000 tons.

The great outlet and inlet for the foreign trade of the Dominion is Montreal. In point of total imports and exports it is the third port of North America. To the steady improvement of the route from this point to the sea the Government is committed. The channel is being deepened throughout to a minimum depth of thirty feet. Improvements have been made in pilotage and safety appliances. Montreal is 445 miles nearer Liverpool than New York. It is the aim of the Canadian Government still further to improve this advantage.

Next to the question of communications comes that of the tariff. Almost all that can be said against Protection in Canada is contained in Mr Porritt's book. His examination of the documentary material is thorough; his analysis is searching. At the same time he lacks a human contact with his subject. Canadian tariff policy and its results cannot be studied as through a telescope directed towards Mars. The value of his analysis is also marred by a too polemical tone.

The attitude of the two Canadian political parties on tariffs is to a great extent a matter of emphasis. Both accept the principle of Protection. The 'betrayal' which Mr Porritt lays at the door of the Laurier Administration in 1897, is in reality, as M. Siegfried points out, a readjustment of policy which the Liberals began to adopt about 1893. It is impossible to arrive at any understanding of the tariff needs of Canada without recognising the influence which the tariff policy of the United States has from time to time exercised upon Canada. Canada is a land of diversified resources; in so far as governmental aid can assist in the development of these resources, such intervention is justifiable. In Canada the tariff is one factor in the development of the country; and for this development it must be recognised that a price must be paid. The tariff is also complementary to the transport policy, for it has been Canada's desire that her traffic should move on east and west lines instead of north and south. On Canada's frontier stands the United States, manufacturing for a large market, in many instances producing commodities which are consumed in Canada. Free admission of American products would soon reduce Canada to the position of an industrial appanage of the United States—a position which Canadians cannot accept with the same complacency as Mr Porritt. While he criticises the Liberal administration for its concessions to Protection, the way in which it has stood out against demands for wholesale Protection may be gathered from the 1907 report of the tariff committee of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association.

'We feel that the Government has either not realised how essential it is in the case of many industries . . . that they should receive adequate protection; or, if they have realised it, they have not had the courage to put such a policy into force.'

Part of the agitation which culminated in the national policy of 1879 was due to a feeling of irritation against the tariff policy of the United States in so far as it affected Canada. In the period between the signing of the treaty and its termination, the United States had passed from moderate protectionism to the high duties of the war-tariff. This undoubtedly evoked sentiment hostile to the treaty. It was also contended by the United States that Canada received undue advantages. They wished Canada to grant the same privileges to the United States as one of their States granted to another. Political rather than economic motives were prominent in the opposition to the treaty. The movement for federation was in progress; and there were many who professed to see in this a movement which, through giving Great Britain a firmer foothold on the North American continent, was inimical to the United States. The day has not long passed when the United States looked on Canada either with contemptuous indifference or as a weak country to be coerced into bargainings to the advantage of the United States. Mr G. S. Boutwell, who, in a long political life, was Governor of Massachusetts, representative and senator from that State, and Secretary of the Treasury from 1869 to 1873, once said :

'The fact of the annexation of Canada to the United States, whether the event shall occur in a time near or be postponed to a time remote, depends probably on our action upon the subject of reciprocity. . . . It is apparent also that a policy of free intercourse would postpone annexation for a long time, if not indefinitely.'

For years Canada continued to desire reciprocity. At the outset she abstained from retaliation in the hope that, through conciliatory policy, reciprocity might once more be obtained. But, so far back as 1869, a feeling of resentment made itself felt in the statement of Sir John Rose, then Finance Minister, when, after reciting the unfair discrimination to which Canada had been subjected, he said that this could not continue, and that a time might soon come when Canada would require to have a national policy of her own. A still more important sign of change was Sir John A. Macdonald's statement in 1876 : 'The United States should be dealt with as they have

dealt with us . . . if they do not grant us reciprocity, we should give them reciprocity in tariff.' Attempt after attempt has been made by both political parties to obtain trade concessions, but in vain. Now the point of view has changed. When Sir W. Laurier said 'there will be no more pilgrimages to Washington,' he spoke the thought of Canadians generally. This change of view is in part attributable to Canada's expanding trade, and to the fact that the United States is increasingly dependent on Canada for various raw materials; in part to a widespread irritation against the not too scrupulous diplomacy which has overreached Canada when Canadian interests have been at stake. Canadian tariff policy towards the United States to-day is based on enlightened safeguarding of its own interests. Mr Porritt says that 'the United States has never varied from the position that, if Canada desires reciprocity, she must be willing to make concessions to American manufacturers' (p. 183). This statement is disingenuous, for in 1874 and in 1898 Canada was prepared to grant limited reciprocity in manufactures.

The benefits of the preferential tariff have been belittled on the ground that Canadian imports from the United States are greater than those from Great Britain—in 1906 \$175,000,000 and \$64,000,000 respectively. Part of the reason for this is to be found in the free list. While the free list importations from the United States are \$86,000,000, from Great Britain they are only \$16,000,000. The articles brought in free of duty from the United States are either articles for consumption, e.g. anthracite coal, or raw materials to be worked up into finished commodities. There is no real competition between the two countries in free list importations. In the dutiable list there is effective competition between the two countries in cottons, tin, and iron and steel manufactures. Of the imports from Great Britain approximately one-half are textiles. The general feeling in Canada is one of acquiescence in the preference. From the Canadian standpoint it has given a valuable return, not only because the prominence it has obtained has increased Canadian exports to Great Britain, but also because the lower rates of duty on British goods have reduced general taxation by about 3 per cent. and have also been effective in reducing the prices of articles com-

peting with these. Regarding the question of a *quid pro quo*, the attitude of the Liberal party is that this rests with Great Britain. Canada is willing to accept a preference, but will not demand it.

The intermediate tariff, which is about 10 per cent. less than the general tariff, is intended to be used as an instrument of negotiation to obtain trade openings for Canada. The trade between Canada and France is not one of large dimensions. Canada imports from France \$7,200,000, while she exports \$2,100,000. In the imports the most important items are textiles, spirits, and wines. In general the imports are expensive commodities, destined, to a considerable extent, for luxurious consumption. Of the exports, cattle, breadstuffs, fish and fruits constitute 84 per cent. In the treaty which now awaits the legislative sanction of France, the terms are more liberal than those of the former treaty of 1894. Canada grants concessions on 98 articles, receiving in return the minimum tariff on 152 articles. To cite some of the more important items, Canada obtains concessions on a considerable number of agricultural products, fish, fruits, lumber, and machinery; while it grants concessions in wines, fruits, machinery, and textiles. In some instances the concessions are below the intermediate tariff and even below the preferential. In the latter case, however, the preferential will be placed on the same footing. The only item in which preferential tariffs will really be affected is that of textiles. Here there will be some competition in the finer commodities. The French concessions in regard to machinery promise to be of considerable importance, especially in connexion with the export of agricultural implements. The only important objection to the treaty in Canada comes from the wine manufacturers. A similar objection was made in 1894.

In that year Canada granted 'favoured nation' treatment to France, Algeria, and the French colonies, while she received such treatment only in the case of the articles on which she had granted reductions of duty. In the new treaty the 'favoured nation' treatment is limited to the articles in the schedules on both sides. Formerly France limited its concessions to direct shipments, while Canada granted concessions no matter what route was taken. Under the new treaty there is a reciprocal arrangement

limiting the concessions to direct shipments. The fact that the concessions are limited to direct shipments will undoubtedly give strength to the movement, which has already sprung up in Nova Scotia, in favour of limiting the preference to goods entering Canadian ports direct. From the standpoint of Canada's relations to the Empire, it is significant that, while in 1895 the Marquis of Ripon gave instructions that the negotiations of treaties of commerce by the Colonies should be carried on through the British representative in the foreign country with which the negotiations took place, in the treaty under consideration the negotiations were carried on by Canada's representatives, British assent being given when the agreement had been reached.

Of the European countries with which negotiations may be carried on under the intermediate tariff, Germany will probably be the next. Under the surtax imposed by Canada on German goods, in reply to Germany's discrimination against Canada, Canadian imports from Germany have been reduced by half. The large German imports of breadstuffs would afford a basis for negotiation. Since Canada's imports from Germany are to her exports to that country as four to one, the way would seem to be clear, through treaty negotiations, to terminate the war of tariffs.

In 1879 the Conservative party adopted Protection; in 1897 the Liberal party adopted it in a modified form. The Conservative to-day favours 'adequate' protection, which is, apparently, to be construed as higher protection. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association, while stating that it favours a preference, asserts that the preference should be effective only after 'adequate' protection has been granted. This is really a flank attack on preference. Against any attack on preference or movement for higher protection the great body of the farming community, who are restive even under the present tariff, is arrayed.

It was not until after 1867 that any considerable development of labour organisation took place. In the labour organisations the individualist wing is in the ascendant. Though the socialist movement is negligible politically, it is active in propaganda. In 1903 a socialist

Labour party was organised in British Columbia. It is only in this province and in Ontario that the socialists have any real foothold. The foreign-born element in Toronto facilitates the socialist propaganda; in addition to an English branch, there are Italian, Finnish, Jewish, and German branches of the socialist organisation. In the recent provincial elections the socialist candidates in Toronto polled about 2000 votes.

The Laurier Administration has to its credit an enlightened and progressive body of labour legislation. In 1900 there was organised, on the initiative of Sir W. Mulock, a Department of Labour, of which he was the first Minister. The excellent work of this department has been continued by the Hon. R. Lemieux. In 1901 a voluntary Conciliation Act was passed. The tentative proposal, in 1902, favouring compulsory arbitration in labour troubles on railways, was replaced in 1903 by an Act providing the machinery for voluntary conciliation and arbitration in such cases. The most recent statute, the Industrial Disputes Act of 1907, is limited to labour disputes in mines and industries connected with public utilities. Before a strike or lock-out in such an industry takes place, there is to be, on application of either of the parties concerned, an investigation by a board of three, one appointed by the employer, one by the men, and the third, a chairman, appointed by these two, or by the Government if an agreement cannot be obtained. The purpose of the Act is, by enlightened publicity, to prevent the trouble coming to a head. While the award is not binding on the parties, it is believed that a free ventilation of the matters in dispute will probably lead to a settlement. In the period March 1907–February 1908, proceedings under this Act have led to a settlement in 28 out of 30 cases.

The provinces may charter corporations; the Dominion has still wider powers. While in the United States the lack of a federal corporation law intensifies the difficulties of corporation control, Canada has no such difficulty. The regulation of financial and of industrial corporations is effected through publicity. In the case of the banks there is no government inspection. The recent winding-up of two banks has caused some demand for a system of governmental inspection of banks analogous to that

existing in the United States. Apart from the practical difficulties of applying such a system to a branch banking system, the Government holds that the security given would be illusory, and that it would impose on the Government obligations regarding the character and standing of the banks which it is not desirable that it should assume. In the case of insurance companies, there is more approximation to the American practice of regulation.

The developments since 1867 have tended to centralisation of power at Ottawa. This is especially true in the matter of railway regulation. The subsidies in aid of local railways have helped on this tendency. In addition various transportation enterprises of distinctly local interest, e.g. electric street railways, have obtained charters from the Dominion, partly because of the better standing given in the financial markets by such charters, partly because wide privileges may be more readily obtained in such cases from the Federal than from the local governments. In Canada there are not the sharp delimitations of power which have made railway regulation so difficult a problem in the United States. In 1903 Canada enacted legislation placing privately owned railways under the regulation of a railway commission. This body has control over all questions affecting rates. It may not only declare a rate unreasonable; it may also declare what rate shall be reasonable. It has a power of regulation in regard to safety appliances and other details similar to that exercised in England by the Board of Trade. Its decisions cannot be overruled by the Courts. The only method of revision is through the action of the Governor in council; this provision was inserted to preserve the supremacy of Parliament in railway matters.

The Conservative party favours nationalisation of railways, telegraphs and telephones. It is only of recent years that clear-cut opinions on the question of government ownership have manifested themselves. When the Intercolonial Railway was built, the Liberals were opposed to government ownership; the Conservatives drifted into government ownership of this railway. When the Canadian Pacific was chartered, Sir John Macdonald favoured government ownership, but gave

way to the fears of his colleagues. In the last ten years the movement for government ownership of public utilities has obtained great favour in provincial and in municipal circles. Manitoba has purchased the lines of the Bell Telephones Company in that province; in Alberta a similar policy has been pursued; and Saskatchewan is moving in the same direction. Saskatchewan owns a coal mine, Ontario a silver mine. In the North-west there is government insurance of the crops against damages from hail. In Ontario especial impetus has been given to the movement by the desire of various municipalities to obtain cheap electric power for manufacturing purposes from Niagara Falls. The movement for municipal ownership is partly due to corporation abuses, partly to sentimental motives. In 1905 a large amount of information favourable to government ownership of telephones was collected by a committee presided over by Sir William Mulock. Since his retirement from the Cabinet there has been no renewal of this movement. Private ownership of railways is so firmly established as not to be a question of practical politics. Under the dominating influence of Sir W. Laurier the Liberal party has definitely decided for private ownership with government control. It is this question which affords the sharpest line of cleavage between parties in Canada; and their attitude towards it will have much influence in determining the forthcoming general election.

S. J. McLEAN.





# Art. IX.—LADY LOUISA STUART.

1. *Some account of John, Duke of Argyll, and his Family.* By his great-niece, Lady Louisa Stuart. Printed for private circulation. London, 1863.
  2. *Gleanings from an old Portfolio containing some correspondence between Lady Louisa Stuart and her sister Caroline, Countess of Portarlington, and other friends and relations (1778–1813).* Edited by Mrs Godfrey Clark. Three vols. Privately printed, 1895.
  3. *Lady Louisa Stuart: Selection from her Manuscripts.* Edited by the Hon. James A. Home. Edinburgh: Douglas, 1899.
  4. *Letters of Lady Louisa Stuart to Miss Louisa Clinton.* Edited by the Hon. James A. Home. Two series. Edinburgh: Douglas, 1901–03.
  5. *The Life of Sir Walter Scott.* By J. G. Lockhart. London, 1837.
  6. *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.* Edited by her great-grandson, Lord Wharncliffe. London, 1837.
  7. *The Letters and Journals of Lady Mary Coke.* Four vols. Privately printed. Edinburgh, 1889.
- And other works.

To most people, we fear, Lady Louisa Stuart is only a name. An occasional reader of Lockhart may remember her as a correspondent of Sir Walter Scott, and may even identify her as a daughter of that Lord Bute who was George the Third's Prime Minister. Only a few are aware that she was one of the best of English letter-writers, equal to her more famous grandmother, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, though of a very different type. This scanty fame is largely due to herself, for she had an old-fashioned gentlewoman's dislike to notoriety, and in her lifetime refused to publish anything beyond the most meagre specimens of her work. Her relatives piously respected these scruples after her death, and it is only within the last generation that any of her letters have seen the light. Even now her writings are not easy to come by. In her own lifetime she contributed the well-known 'Introductory Anecdotes' to Lord Wharncliffe's edition of her grandmother's letters. Her account

of John, Duke of Argyll, and his family, which contains the brilliant sketch of Lady Mary Coke, was published privately a few years after her death and reissued, also for private circulation, in the 1889 edition of the 'Letters and Journals' of Lady Mary. In 1895 her kinswoman, Mrs Godfrey Clark, issued privately three volumes of her letters, mainly to her sister, Lady Portarlington, and various members of that family. These letters cover the period from her childhood to the age of fifty-six. In 1901 Mr James Home earned the gratitude of lovers of good literature by publishing a selection from her letters to her friend, Miss Clinton; and in 1903 he issued a second series. The letters included in these volumes begin about the age of sixty and extend to the age of seventy-five. Lastly, there is Mr Home's small volume of selections from her manuscripts, which contains the sketch of Lady Mary Coke and some unpublished letters to and from Sir Walter Scott.

This is a slender basis on which to found the claim we make for her, but any reader of the volumes will admit that it is sufficient. Apart from her natural gifts, she led the kind of life which in itself makes for good letter-writing. For three-quarters of a century she was the intimate of the whole fashionable and intellectual society of her time. Born two years after Quiberon Bay, when Prince Charlie was still hopeful of the conquest of England, she lived long enough to see the opening of the Great Exhibition of 1851. She brought down into our own time a memory not merely of another age, but of another civilisation. And through it all she carried a quick sympathy, a strong and shrewd understanding, a candour to which all cant was abhorrent, and a kind of gracious old-world simplicity. To the student of her time she is important as a Tory fine lady who was also a woman of brains. The cultivated world was for the most part under a Whig domination, but her point of view, as befitted her father's daughter, was from the other side, the reverse of the medal of which Holland House was the face. Her learning and accomplishments would have been remarkable at any time, and they were doubly notable in a day when the cult of 'sensibility' was at its height, and a fine lady was either a political *intrigante* or a paragon of silliness. But indeed it is idle

to talk about her 'day,' for she lived through so many. She carries us from Lady Sarah Lennox to Lady Palmerston, from Richardson to Thackeray, from Horace Walpole to Charles Greville, from Pope to Tennyson, from hoops and bag-wigs to crinolines and pantaloons. There is a type of woman who is specially made by Heaven for a long life, because she has the true receptive mind which can profit, and make the world profit, by the processes of time. The late Lady John Scott was such a one, and Lady Louisa was another. She saw a thousand fads rise and perish, ideals change, pretentious movements advance and decline; and her experience only widened her humanity. Being too wise for cynicism, she grew rich in sympathy.

The younger children of the third Lord Bute and the daughter of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu had a dull childhood; and Louisa, the youngest, had the dullest of all. After the five sons came six daughters in a row, four of whom married as soon as they left the schoolroom. Lady Lonsdale, Lady Macartney, Lady Percy, Lady Augusta Corbet and Lady Caroline Dawson were their married names; but only with the last had Lady Louisa much in common, and to her most of the early letters are addressed. Lord Bute had retired from politics, embittered by a treatment which, though explicable, was not wholly excusable, and had settled down at Luton to botany and gardening. His wife, a woman of great sweetness and strength of character, and almost the only being in the world with whom her strange mother never quarrelled, had fallen into ill health, and was in the first stage of a malady which made her an invalid for the rest of her life.

Lady Louisa's lonely girlhood was brightened, as in her grandmother's case, by a precocious fondness for books. At the age of ten she entertained her cousin, Lady Mary Coke, with a French novel she had written, and produced likewise a prose tragedy called 'Jugurtha.' In her veins ran a strange mixture of blood. From Pierrepont and Wortley stock she drew her love of letters and her intolerance of the commonplace, while the Campbell strain in her Scots descent gave her shrewdness, common-sense, and, as she was pleased to think, a capacity for wholesome wrath. In one of the 'portraits,' which young

ladies about 1780 used to amuse themselves by writing, she describes her girlish character. 'Her heart is good, her disposition sincere, candid and friendly. She has much pride, particularly concerning her birth and family; but, though apt to swell with satisfaction at a recollection of her own dignity, is utterly unable to maintain it in a proper manner. Of a temper easily incensed, yet what is called good-humoured, commonly in high spirits, and a great lover of mirth.' Like all romantic girls, she lived in a fanciful world of her own, peopled by her favourites in history. 'Wallace, Bayard, Epaminondas, Scipio were the characters I lived with; whence I derived about as much relish for sober truth as if I had been solely used to contemplate Orondates or Sir Charles Grandison, and inflamed my imagination in a higher degree.' Sometimes her fancies flew to the other extreme, and she had cravings for a studious retirement. She would forswear gaiety and be 'a learned lady.' It was all a little too like her grandmother to be quite pleasing to her family. They remembered that Lady Mary Wortley had also been 'a rake at reading,' and thought gloomily of that disastrous wooing which began over a copy of 'Quintus Curtius.' But the girl was far too wholesome to be long the prey of fads; and it was one of the griefs of her later life that her relatives could never realise that she had long ago forsworn the affectation of *bel esprit*. Not for nothing was she half a Scotswoman.

Her home was mainly at Luton, but her happiest days were when the family moved to Wharnccliffe in Yorkshire, which Lady Bute had inherited. The very moderate wildness of the 'Chase' gratified her romantic instincts; she liked Yorkshire cleanliness and simplicity better than the heavy splendours of Luton; and the north-country air was good for her health. When she was twenty-six she went to Scotland to visit her endless Scottish relatives, staying at Dalkeith, Bothwell, Douglas, and Buchanan, visiting Glasgow (which she thought little of), and even making an expedition to Loch Lomond. One result was a life-long friendship with the Duchess of Buccleuch, the daughter and heiress of the last Duke of Montagu, who was deeply loved by the few friends and kinsfolk whom she did not terrify. Lady Louisa was still under the bondage of eighteenth-century taste, and

found it necessary to apologise for her tolerance of the moors of Douglassdale.

‘You know I can endure a black mountain with more patience than most people, so upon the whole I do not think the situation so disagreeable as it was described to be, but you must read this with allowances for my particular taste.’

From Loch Lomond she wrote to the Duchess of Buccleuch that she had been fêted by the neighbours, and thought to have remained for good.

‘But alas! all my conquests prove married men; and, indeed, I got into such a scrape by producing an old ballad rather disgraceful to Sir John ye Grame, whose broadsword I had the honour of handling, and who lived, an’t please your Grace, in the year twelve hundred and something, that I am not sure if I should now stand any chance, were the main obstacle removed.’

The visit was the first of many; for to the end of her life she was in the habit of making long tours north of the Tweed, at first out of a clannish duty to her relatives, and later out of a romantic enthusiasm for the land which Sir Walter Scott had made classic. Though a Stuart born, she was a stern critic of Scotland. She detested Presbyterianism, and had no love for the reputed national characteristics. She disliked the accent and the manners, the towns (except Dalkeith), the inns, the farmhouses and cottages, and much of the scenery. To cross the Border into Cumberland was for her to return to civilisation and decency. Scotch fashions (she says) are ‘the vulgarest edition of English ones.’ Of Kelso she wrote, ‘Every view of the town is charming, but the inside *fort à l’Écossais*, that is very nasty and filthy.’ On the subject of the cottages she cannot keep her temper. ‘The nastiness of the doors and the dung-hills beside them, and the filthy old witches that come out! And the girls with their nasty hair streaming, and nothing on their heads or feet!’ It was very different with the north of England.

‘They are such clean, substantial, good sort of people, so truly the honest English character, and I like the simple, hearty custom of their always speaking a kind, blunt word to you as they pass, man, woman and child. “Good morrow”

or "Good e'en," "A fine day," "A cold night," always something or other (so they used to do in my beloved spot in Yorkshire). There is something of ancient manners in it; one human being acknowledging another with benevolence, that is much more agreeable to me than their being respectful.'

Her judgment is not to be wondered at, for from the letters written on these visits we guess that the writer had a dreary time. Bad roads and indifferent inns made rough travelling for a lone lady. The members of the great families with whom she stayed seem to have spent their days talking about childbirth and possible matches; and they suffered much from what Horace Walpole called that 'disagreeable Christian commodity,' county neighbours. To a young quick-witted woman it was all a little dull. In later life it was different, for her clannishness grew to an absorbing interest in all her kindred; her maturer humanity made her tolerant of dullness; and by that time her friend, Sir Walter, had cast a spell for her over the dirtiest clachan of the north.

It says much for the blindness of man that Lady Louisa never married, for no woman was ever less of a born spinster. To be sure, it was not for lack of asking; but the lover of her youth failed her, and she had no taste for his successors. That lover was Colonel William Medows, her cousin on the Pierrepont side, a younger son, and no match for Lord Bute's daughter. So thought Lord Bute at any rate; and the soldier sighed and obeyed. He married a Miss Hamerton, became a general, and Governor of Madras, and died in 1813.

Other lovers followed on the defection of Colonel Medows. When Lady Louisa was thirty-four, the great Henry Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, the friend of Pitt, and the virtual ruler of Scotland, cast a favouring eye on her, and would have proposed with a little encouragement. Lady Louisa thought him 'handsome and gallant,' but feared a widower with daughters, 'the father of those great women'; and, as the suitor was shy, he was soon discouraged. Then came Mr Villiers, Lord Clarendon's brother, whose prospects the lady discusses in the tone of a family lawyer. Fifteen hundred a year, she decided, was not enough for the people who had to live in London and wear fine clothes; and it was

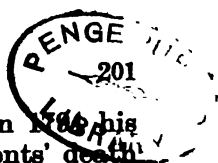
imprudent to speculate on the chances of Lord Clarendon's never marrying and Mr Pitt always continuing Minister. The whole affair made her melancholy.

'These *empressements*' (she wrote) 'somehow put me in mind of old days, and I could not help thinking how differently I should have felt on receiving the same attention some years ago from another man, and how unlikely I was ever to be happy, etc.—reflections not favourable to matrimony. Indeed, to anybody who has known what it is to like heartily, marrying in cold blood for esteem and good opinion, and convenience, and anything else prudent people embellish indifference with, must be an uncomfortable prospect.'

In her letters from the age of twenty-eight onwards, she talks of herself as a confirmed old maid, but she refuses to indulge in any of the customary philippics against marriage. Rash resolutions, she declared, were tempting the Devil; and she was resolved never to put marriage out of her power, although she should live to be fourscore. She had far too much good sense to have sour grapes cried against her; and it is obvious that to so warm and human a soul her singleness was no source of pride. The suit of Mr Villiers might have prospered more if that gentleman had not begun by pointing out delicately how few were the chances left to her, and what *ennui* attended an old maid's life. She lavished the wealth of her affection on nephews and nieces and cousins and a host of friends; but at heart she is always conscious of being alone. It was not her character to be intimate with the world; but there are two passages in the letters to Miss Clinton in which for a moment we catch a glimpse of this self-contained lady's soul.

'The truth is, woman has a natural dependence on man which she can never quite shake off. I believe (in earnest believe) it part of the curse originally laid on Eve, "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee," which she can by no means elude by taking no husband, or keeping her heart free from a tyrannous passion.' And in her seventieth year she wrote: 'The truth is, it seems a very fine thing to be utterly independent, but God Almighty made no woman to be so; and those who are not under a husband's control must submit to the control of almost every one else.'

Lord Bute died in 1792, having two years previously



fallen thirty feet over a rock at Highcliffe. In 1786 his wife followed him to the grave. Till her parents' death Lady Louisa played the dutiful part of the unmarried daughter, nursing her mother, and doing much to cheer the loneliness of the ex-Prime Minister's last years. She always regarded her father as having been sacrificed to party spite, and was never tired of repeating what John Wilkes once said to Lord Sheffield: 'I had no dislike to him as a man, and I thought him a good Minister, but it was my game to attack and abuse him.' It shocked her honest soul to think that so much wild invective and high moral condemnation could be lavished on a mere game of 'ins' and 'outs'; and we can understand her deep distrust of Whig professions. In these years she was still regarded by her family as marriageable, and went through the duties of society with the best face she could muster. The letters at this period are mainly to her sister, Lady Portarlington; and that excellent housewife was not the kind of correspondent to whom she could show her natural liveliness. It is only now and then, in the midst of a budget of family gossip, that the true Lady Louisa appears. In her day the 'season' ended earlier than now, but by the middle of June she was restive and sighing for country air. In 1787 we have a glimpse of the engaging ways of the Prince of Wales at Lady Hopetoun's.

'Lo! at twelve o'clock in *reeled* H.R.H., pale as ashes, with glazed eyes set in his head, and in short almost stupified. The Dutchess of Cumberland made him sit down by her and kept him tolerably peaceable till they went down to supper; but then he talked himself into spirits, set all in motion again with the addition of a bottle and a half of champagne, and when *we* went to supper (for all could not sup at a time) he was most gloriously drunk and riotous indeed. He posted himself in the doorway, to the terror of everybody that went by, flung his arms round the Dutchess of Ancaster's neck, and kissed her with a great *smack*, threatened to pull Lord Galloway's wig off and knock out his false teeth, and played all the pranks of a drunken man upon the stage, till some of his companions called for his carriage and almost forced him away.'

She used to go and sit with Lord Mansfield, then well over eighty, and found him far more entertaining

than the wits. She met eminent clergymen — 'good, I believe, but Heaven knows, far from reasonable'; lawyers and politicians told her the gossip of their profession; and she did not disdain even literary ladies. Fanny Burney met her once at Mrs Delany's, and wrote in her diary that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's wit had been inherited by her granddaughter. 'She is far from handsome, but proves how well beauty may be occasionally missed, when understanding and vivacity unite to fill her place.' Vivacity was, indeed, what all observers noted in Lady Louisa, though some called it 'archness,' and some 'wit.' The conversation can have been of no ordinary merit which kept Mrs Delany and Miss Burney 'attending like a gratified audience of a public place.'

The death of her mother left Lady Louisa free to order her life as she pleased. She was now thirty-seven, comfortably off, with good health and a host of friends. She took a house in Gloucester Place, off Portman Square, which in 1794 was regarded as a remote suburb. One of her first acts was to settle a legacy she received on Lady Portarlington's younger children; and to the end of her life she played to her young relatives the part of the kind godmother of fairy-tales. She could now travel at will, and surround herself with her own circle independent of family claims. She accepted her spinsterhood as a fact, and thought that her stage of life permitted her to give rein to her prejudices. In questions of fashion and manners she soon became 'laudatrix temporis acti.' We find her lamenting that young men were not 'taught to dance and fence and made a little like gentlemen,' and that powder had gone out of use. 'I cannot regret that Buonaparte, who seems to be the most magnificent as well as the most absolute Prince since Louis Quatorze, insists upon full dress and swords in his presence.' The women fare little better.

'The crowd itself was gay and pretty, and those who have real beauty are wonderfully distinguished by the present dress. I fear one must add those who have real youth, for if you did see the old brown faces in black wigs! the yellow necks set forth to view! and the transparent dresses that leave you certain there is no chemise beneath! The fault of the reigning fashion, when carried to its extreme, even for the youngest and handsomest, is, to say the truth,

*indecenty*. Not that it shows so much more than people have done at many other times, but that it both shows and covers in a certain way, very much answering certain descriptions our precious neighbours the French used to give in their instructive novels. . . . And in a high wind! Men's clothes outright would be modesty in comparison. Don't imagine me an old maid growling at the young people, for some of the most remarkable statues in wet drapery are very fully *my* contemporaries at least.'

Like many clever women, she was a stern critic of her sex. The vapidty of her sister, Lady Lonsdale, wearied her; and she did not like the women of her brother, Lord Bute's, family. It is to her that we owe the hard saying of a certain lady that 'the bloom of her ugliness was wearing off.' On the other hand, her greatest friends were women—Lady Ailesbury, while she lived, and afterwards Miss Clinton. The former, a sister of the first Marquis of Hastings, is a correspondent of whose letters we would gladly have more. She was a lady of advanced opinions, deploring 'those enormous farms which crush the poor and make upstart ignorant farmers imagine themselves gentlemen,' and lamenting Mr Fox's death as a national loss. But she, too, sighed for old days, and, like Lady Louisa, feared that the 'Tinsel Age of Folly' had dawned. An invalid and always in pain, her letters have a gaiety and a whimsicality and a shrewdness which make them delightful reading. No two friends were ever more completely in accord. When she died, early in 1813, Princess Charlotte wrote to Lady Louisa a letter which shows the impression that Lady Ailesbury's unearthy patience and charity had made even upon those who knew her little. 'She would have deserved every earthly blessing; but, not meeting them on earth, I am convinced the Almighty shortened her life that she might the sooner enjoy peace and happiness.'

Though Lady Louisa's warmest friends were women, she had none of the *esprit de sexe* which distinguished the bluestockings. She was far too clear-sighted and had too uneasy a sense of humour to be happy at Mrs Thrale's or Mrs Montagu's portentous levées of women. Of the latter she has left an amusing picture.

'Everything in that house, as if under a spell, was sure to form itself into a circle or semicircle. I once saw this produce

a ludicrous scene. Mrs Montagu having invited us to a very early party, we went at the hour appointed and took our stations in a vast half-moon, consisting of about twenty or twenty-five women, where, placed between two grave faces unknown to me, I sate, hiding yawns with my fan, and wondering at the unwonted seclusion of the superior sex. At length a door opened behind us, and a body of eminent personages—the chancellor, I think, and a bishop or two among them—filed in from the dining-room. They looked wistfully over our shoulders at a good fire, which the barrier we presented left them no means of approaching; then drawing chairs from the wall, seated themselves around us in an outer crescent, silent and solemn as our own.’

She travelled widely in these years, sometimes in her beloved north of England and much in Scotland. Her pleasantest days were spent in the Lake country, where she met by chance Mr Morritt of Rokeby and exchanged verses with him on a lap-dog. It was through Lady Louisa that Mr Morritt first met Sir Walter Scott, and the friendship was begun which resulted in the poem of ‘Rokeby.’ But, if friends were a delight, country neighbours were a curse. The friends of her friends poured in to tea and dinner and regaled the unhappy lady with antique London gossip, sadly marred in the transit.

‘They take this sort of stuff’ (she writes) ‘out of scandalous magazines whose writers look in the Peerage book by chance for names to put to any history they compose. Then some fool reads it at a distance and says, “I wonder if this is true?” and then the person they say *that* to goes away and says, “I heard it,” and the next, “has it from good authority.”’

Is this tale of the genesis of scandal wholly untrue to-day? Sometimes her visits were enlivened with odd meetings. She once found ‘Monk’ Lewis at Bothwell, and thought him ‘much the greatest puppy I ever beheld off the stage.’ The ‘little beast,’ however, amused her, and she ended with a sort of liking for him; at any rate he was not a country neighbour. She laments that the women showed their detestation of him so openly. ‘Men one does not like,’ she comments with fine worldly wisdom, ‘can hurt one with men one does like.’ At Bothwell they read Richardson aloud in the evenings; but even in

1802 'Sir Charles Grandison' was a little known book, as much out of fashion as Madame de Scudéry.

'However, though we sometimes get into fits of laughing at the coaches and six, and low bows, and handing ladies about the room, yet I perceive a difference between it and the common novels one now meets with, like that between roast beef and whipped syllabub.'

The longest expedition she made was a Highland tour which ended at Inveraray. She admired the scenery immensely and was delighted with a house a little in the Castle Rack-rent style. To one accustomed to an orderly English household it was piquant to be in a place where no one answered bells, and the eldest son had to make periodic incursions into the kitchen to look after the dinner. It was during one of the Dalkeith visits that she first met Sir Walter Scott, who was then known only as the author of 'The Lay.' They made friends at once; and one of Sir Walter's letters describes her as 'uniting what are rarely found together—a perfect tact, such as few even of the higher classes attain, with an uncommon portion of that rare quality which is called genius.' In the correspondence which was begun between them, Lady Louisa criticises the poems he submits to her with great frankness, and, for the most part, with excellent good sense. She takes him to task for 'fagging for the book-sellers'; and he pleads his poverty and lack of prospects at the Bar. He resolves to give up poetry, and then repents, and shows Lady Louisa, at Buchanan, the beginning of 'The Lady of the Lake.' She sends him letters in rhyme, and a ballad on the subject of 'Muckle-mou'd Meg,' which laid the foundation of a report that she was publishing a book of verses in Edinburgh. Till his death, Sir Walter Scott was one of her closest friends, and the object of her warmest admiration. At last she had found a man of genius who was neither fool nor lout. His high spirit, his chivalry, his conservatism appealed to one who had been brought up in a stricter tradition of gentility than was fashionable in the early nineteenth century; and his clean antiseptic manliness and humour delighted a lady who was not tolerant of pose or sentiment. Let it be added that in her character was an insatiable love of romance, which found satisfaction in the greatest of all romancers.

The letters in the 'Old Portfolio' bring us to 1813, and the age of 56. The letters to Miss Clinton begin at the age of 60, and carry us on for fourteen years. They contain by far the best of Lady Louisa's correspondence; for, with a friend who did not care for family gossip, she was free to talk of the real interests of her life. The two volumes have been published, and are available to any reader, so we will content ourselves with a very few quotations. The chief note of these letters is their profound humanity. Her humour is as keen as ever, but scarcely a prejudice remains. She finds her romance, not in books, but in the human comedy around her. 'Pray, why,' she asks, 'are human beings, human characters, less worth your attention? The very countenances of the foot-passengers one observes in the street have something in them as good to watch as pictures in the fire.' She had all the zest of youth. 'Write to me of yourself, of Lucy, of beechwoods and glens, and dingles and magic poles, and country entertainments.' The Nuneham harvest-home makes her cry, and, in a passage which would have delighted Borrow, she grows enthusiastic about horse-races; 'these beautiful spectacles, what with the concourse of people, the gayety and bustle, and the eagerness of the country fellows.' We may still find a trace of acid in her comments on Society. She could not accept the cant which oils the wheels of the social machine, for, admiring the best most generously, she was impatient when the second-rate masqueraded in its dress. Having been the friend of Lady Ailesbury, she had a severe standard for her sex—at least for the well-bred part of it. A 'good sort of woman' she defines as 'a good woman of a bad sort.'

She utterly disbelieved in Queen Caroline's cause; 'everything peculiarly profligate rallies around her.' Perhaps that much disputed business has never been better summed up than by a Quaker whom Lady Louisa quotes: 'Why, friend, if thou wilt know it, I think she is good enough for thy King, but not good enough for thy Queen.' At the same time she was prepared to admit that a tenderness for the Queen's wrongs was a sign of good feeling in 'the lower (i.e. the ignorant) ranks.' She disliked 'female fools,' bluestockings, worldly women ('who have set out with being romantic and entirely

overcome the propensity'), and domineering women ('who deliver opinions without appeal in the voice of a pea-hen'). This last remark was obviously aimed at the first Lady Stanley of Alderley, of whom she says truly that her manner had become almost unbearable from never having received any of that unpalatable medicine, contradiction. Of Americans she was consistently intolerant. 'There may be worse and wickeder people under the sun, but none so radically disagreeable.' Yet this High-Tory lady was in toleration far in advance of her age. She liked good 'shop' and hated smart chatter. 'I like' (she writes) 'the conversations of professional people (I am afraid I except that of *artists*) . . . It is pleasant to hear what sensible men say on a subject they thoroughly understand.' Take this too on vulgarity. 'I can imagine her being called vulgar, but I never knew any person really so who was quite natural and without pretensions, especially if the *fond du caractère* was such as I describe it, the milk of human nature abounding. The vulgarity I hate is that of the mind, always linked with something the reverse of true good nature.' There is one passage on true and false vanity which shows at once her penetration and her broad humanity.

'When people are vain of some trifle not part of their *essence*, it is a foible, an excrescence, a weak side; you may laugh at it. Silly people triumph over it, as bringing them down to their own level, but are mistaken, for it does not sink the character. Queen Elizabeth, who had more of these foibles than anybody, was vain of her beauty, of her feminine accomplishments, etc., but the solid *stuff* of her character stood quite apart. She was not vain of her talents for business and government. Sir Robert Walpole, a great, coarse, vulgar man, was vain of his galantry among the ladies, and was laughed at accordingly; he had no vanity, no pretensions about managing the House of Commons and guiding the state for twenty years. Dunning (Lord Ashburton), an eminent lawyer of my own day, and eminently ugly, thought all women in love with him, but had not the least self-conceit respecting his success at the bar. Some people of distinguished talents have been vain of those very talents, and then it *has* lowered their characters; vanity has become the *essence* of it and you cannot call them *high-minded*.'

In these later letters we hear chiefly of politics and

books—the two main interests of her maturer years. She denies that she ever was ‘a female politician, even when I became an old maid, though the two characters are as congenial as those of barber and newsmonger.’ She was never a political *intrigante*, but she had always a healthy interest in the public life of her day. The secret of her uncompromising Toryism may be taken as a dislike of the Whigs. Here was a lady, cultivated and truly liberal in spirit, who would oppose cheap education, parliamentary reform, even the cautious Liberalism of Canning, with a passionate conviction. It is but another instance of how far a political creed may be from representing the character of its holder in a country where a thousand vague traditions of birth and upbringing rather than conscious reasoning tend to fix our party labels. She was too critical for vague enthusiasms. ‘I do hate’ (she wrote) ‘marches of ages and all that vile slang.’ Her full contempt was reserved for the cheap illumination of which Brougham was the capering high priest. It seemed to her to mean the casting overboard of old honest prejudices to accept newer and more ridiculous ones.

‘Most people in this enlightened age are exactly in this predicament; they are wiser than to dread hobgoblins because they have always heard such a fear called silly; but keep the word out of sight, and come to them with a grave face and an absurdity fifty times grosser than the Welsh fairy that pinched Falstaff, and you will find no resistance.’

She disliked change because she loved things as she had always known them.

‘You know’ (she wrote) ‘I was entirely neuter about the Catholic question, and now it has been carried cannot perceive that it has done us any harm or Ireland any good. But . . . it has spirited up other popular cries for a *reform* which would utterly change our constitution, for the abolition of slavery, which would annihilate our West Indian islands, and make Jamaica another Haiti, and—for they are fast coming to that—for the overthrow of a National Church in imitation of Mr Adeane’s heroic French.’

She honours Mr Burgoyne for ‘boldly standing forward against the education mania,’ because she finds that ‘delinquency will increase with what is vulgarly called the march of intellect.’ One ground for this dislike is a

contempt for fine professions, which ended in poor performance. In Wales she found a bishop who 'was *liberal*, proposed to equalise the sees, argued against the wealth and power of the Church, and, being enraged against not getting the highest preferment himself, never dreamed of troubling his head about his poor paltry diocese. The *illiberal prejudiced* bishops come and reside.' It was the Whig claim to a monopoly of the virtues which vexed her soul. Like Mr Labouchere, she had no special objection to a statesman with cards up his sleeve, provided he did not assert that the Almighty had put them there. She disliked Cobbett, Joseph Hume, and Brougham—the last-named intensely. 'It is a great misfortune to be a puppy born and bred, or rather to be born a puppy and bred a reviewer.' She suspected Lord Durham and distrusted Canning; and to her Charles James Fox was only a gentleman who spent his youth in ruining his friends, and his mature years in attempting to ruin his country.

'As I am what I suppose Lady Charlotte would call a Tory, wishing the constitution to remain what it is, without an overthrow of the Church or reform (i.e. demolition) of Parliament, I cannot but regret we should be in the hands of a *Liberal* minister (Canning), who, I am convinced, would have no more objection in point of principle to such measures than if he had never seen his own Anti-Jacobin. Who will or can honestly say they believe Lord Liverpool and Lord Eldon do not oppose such things upon *principle* because they think them pernicious? You may observe nobody does say it, not the most abusive writers; they are *bigots* and *old fools*, and men of *narrow minds* and *contracted views*; that is the key it is played in. On the other side, whom will you find able to set his face to this assertion, "Brougham, etc., are perfectly honest men; they may be wrong or too violent, but they wish only the public good?" Not a single soul.'

We fear that, with her, 'Whig' became a synonym for misconduct. When she hears of a gentleman who scandalously abused Sir Walter Scott's hospitality she finds it 'a behaviour I have heard of in jealous Whigs, who would bluster outrageously against the King's trespassing on the premises of any free-born cobbler.' She is never tired of attacking Whig place-hunting and patronage, 'bringing with them a herd of hungry cattle to feed on the meadow they had promised to pare and burn.'

Let us admit that many of the shafts strike home; we may still find her ladyship's politics a little confused. She cared more for men than measures; she hated not liberal policy but cant; and it was the accident of her birth that made her find cant mainly on one side of the House. She had Whig blood in her veins; and the strain kept her from sympathy with the 'John Bull' type of Toryism. She had no patience with the sentimental Jacobitism of Lady Hervey, and thought the 'Pretenders, James and Charles, poor creatures, below criticism.' She had even a few Whig opinions, for she was an ardent defender of the liberties of the subject.

'We know what *we* should say' (she writes, criticising the conduct of Charles X of France) 'if William IV issued a proclamation declaring Mr Brougham's and Mr Hume's election void, and sent soldiers to shut up the "Morning Chronicle" office, although you and I at the first moment might wish he *could* do both. He certainly has just as good a *right* to it by the English constitution as Charles X had by the French—that is, neither had any.'

The embargo laid on Dutch ships in 1832 rouses her fierce resentment.

'I would have some spirited man get up at a public dinner and drink the immortal memory of Louis Quatorze and Charles II, who set the example our Ministers have followed and improved upon; for, when those two worthy princes joined against the Dutch, they had the modesty to hammer out a few grievances such as they could invent at the moment. . . . One could find in one's heart to wish for another De Reyter's (*sic*) appearance half way up the Thames.'

After politics came literature. We get a picture, not only of a voracious reader, but of a very learned lady. Her lonely childhood had made her an adventurer in the world of books; and few things came amiss to that enquiring mind. On one side only do we find any defect of sympathy. Living before the days of the romance of science, she had no interest in the matter, and disliked men of science as persons of little taste. She had a good knowledge of the classics, and a vast acquaintance with English, French, German, and Italian literature; she read 'Don Quixote' in the original; she dabbled in Malthus; she was interested in Wesley's theology; she was so

learned a historian that she could criticise Scott's use of his materials; she was deeply versed in *Memoirs* and *Mémoires*; and she could state a point in peerage law with an accuracy of which Lincoln's Inn would not have been ashamed. In the main her preferences were austere and classical. As she said of Washington Irving, her mind was imbued with the spirit of old and good books. It revolted her to hear that Plato had 'tact'—'an incongruous mixture of ancient and modern.' How would the poor lady have endured to live in modern days and hear that Euripides was a forerunner of Ibsen, and Sophocles a liberal propagandist? She had a capacious appetite for the indifferent novels of her day, for the human comedy even in a bad book delighted her. Coleridge she read at Richmond—probably the *'Aids to Reflection'*—and found him 'vulgar and flippant and bad taste, yet very good sense in the main.' The *'Christian Year'* she thought 'too mystical.'

Her criticisms, whether on Mrs Ratcliffe or Cervantes, or the last fashionable novel, are always sound and sometimes acute. There is, for example, an excellent passage in one of her letters on that French realism which seeks to reduce all things in life to ugly and ignoble elements: 'The butter looks fresh and good. Do not insist upon telling me that perhaps the dairymaid rolled it with dirty hands.' She makes great fun of poor Mrs Shelley's *'Last Man.'*

'This I particularly like: "The overflowing warmth of her heart, by making love a plant of deep and stately growth, had attuned her whole soul to the reception of happiness." It is so practical; proves so well that conservatories should be built adjoining to drawing-rooms; for the overflowing warmth of the stove, by making the plants grow vigorous, will tune the pianoforte, and tune it to the *reception* of something or other.'

She detested *'Lalla Rookh.'* 'I feel as if I were eating raspberry and apricot jam till they cloyed and sickened me'; but—let it be said against her—she did not appreciate *'The Ayrshire Legatees,'* and she could not away with Byron. It is with Sir Walter Scott that she is at her best. She was so near akin to him temperamentally, in her compound of common-sense and romance, that the

Waverley novels—from the first she knew the secret of their authorship—were the most satisfying of all literary fare. She could criticise their faults with penetration.

‘In the later works I do think the characters are sometimes too fanciful, and, like those of a modern play, seem to know their own foible, and exaggerate it to make you laugh, in a manner that only suits buffoons, and is quite contrary to the very nature of humourists. It appears to me that “Waverley,” “Guy Mannering,” and “The Antiquary” are quite free from this, and even “Rob Roy”—but Lady Margaret, in “Old Mortality,” recurs to his sacred Majesty’s Disjune too often, and Sir Dugald, in “Montrose,” far too often to the Lion of the North—the phrases grow like the catchwords, “Keep moving,” etc., in Morton’s and Reynolds’ comedies.’

What, one may ask, would she have said of Dickens? There is no need to quote from the correspondence with Scott. ‘It may be read in Lockhart’s ‘Life,’ in the ‘Familiar Letters,’ and in Mr Home’s little volume of ‘Selections’ from Lady Louisa’s manuscripts. In the dark days of his ill fortune she was one of the friends who most consoled him. ‘He writes with much calmness and content, dwelling on the blessings he has left, and making light of what he has lost, that, like the honest chambermaid in the play, “I could cry out my eyes to hear his magnanimity.”’ Nothing in Lockhart’s pages gives a more noble picture of the man, who was assuredly no

‘pipe for Fortune’s finger  
To sound what stop she please’

than some of the letters which Mr Home has printed.

The correspondence we possess ends with her seventy-fourth year, but she did not die till twenty years later. Is it too much to hope that some one of her numerous kinsfolk may perform the pious duty of giving these later letters to the world? In a passage where the respective merits of her grandmother and Madame de Sevigné, as letter-writers, are discussed, Lady Louisa declares that Lady Mary Wortley Montagu wrote ‘letters—not dissertations, nor sentimental effusions, nor strings of witticisms; but real letters such as any person of plain sense would be glad to receive.’ This is true of her own work; and it makes adequate quotation difficult. It is not in any *mot*



or purple patch, but in the whole letter, that the flavor resides. The style, though correct and idiomatic, is an undress style. The writer thinks of her correspondent, not of posterity. Indeed, with her dislike of publicity, it would have scared her terribly to think of men and women who never knew her reading these frank self-revelations. Yet her literary gifts were not only those which we associate with good letters. When she chose, she could write polished and epigrammatic prose and weave her scattered comments on character into a finished portrait. Apart from the letters, we find her at her best in her 'Introductory Anecdotes' to Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's 'Letters and Works,' and the admirable 'Account of John, Duke of Argyll.' Her verse has ease and melody, but no hint of inspiration; though it is pleasant to find her forgetting her hatred of Brougham in a touching little poem on his daughter's death.

The 'Anecdotes' admirably fulfil their purpose, and give us a wealth of crisp gossip; but she was estopped by her family loyalty from trying to disentangle the contradictions of that strange being, her grandmother. With the Argyll family she had no such scruple; and her sketch of Lady Mary Coke remains one of the most brilliant and convincing studies in eccentricity that we have met with. We see the lady, like a 'white cat,' with a dead white skin, no eyebrows, and great fierce eyes. Like Lady Louisa, she had dwelt in a world of romance; but, unlike Lady Louisa, the central figure was always herself, and she could not live save in a kind of limelight of her own making.

'I verily believe that if she could have been committed a close prisoner to the Tower on a charge of High Treason, examined before the Privy Council, tried, and, of course, gloriously acquitted, by the House of Lords, it would have given her more delight than any other thing physically possible.'

Lady Mary as a phenomenon of egoism would have delighted Mr Meredith. She married Lord Coke, fought with him feverishly, and became the heroine of a sensational *habeas corpus* action, far happier in thus riding the whirlwind than in any commonplace domesticity. She fell in love with Edward, Duke of York, and believed

him to be similarly infatuated. Any kind of royalty turned her head; and, when the Duke told her she was like Queen Elizabeth, her joy was complete. He died soon afterwards, and she continued for years to weep in state at his tomb, and to faint at the mention of Westminster Abbey. Then fate took her abroad, where she attached herself to Maria Theresa till she proved too much for that amiable Empress, and left Vienna in a towering rage. She believed herself the victim of a plot among the Courts of Europe, and, coming to Paris, became certain of it. Marie Antoinette was naturally unwilling to receive with open arms a dictatorial lady who was for ever abusing her mother. Presently Lady Mary quarrelled with the beautiful Lady Barrymore, who retaliated by enticing away her courier. It was the final proof of a conspiracy. She woke up Horace Walpole in the middle of the night to demand his protection. Unfortunately the sleepy Mr Walpole laughed, and for ever forfeited the lady's friendship. Here is that admirable narrator's own description of the scene, as reported by Lady Louisa :

“Is that all?” said I. . . . Mercy! what a blaze followed! She fell into the most absolute *tantrum* you ever beheld; wrung her hands and tore her hair. She was betrayed, abandoned, devoted to destruction, had not a real friend on the face of the earth. . . . She next proceeded to unveil mysteries. . . . Lady Barrymore, it should seem, was but an instrument, a tool, in the hands of the Queen of France; and she again only executed the commands of her mother, the Empress of Germany, who had projected the whole affair long beforehand. Lady Mary was to be assassinated on the road between Paris and Calais; and to that end this faithful courier—the sole obstacle to their murderous designs—by whom her life had already been defended two or three times from the Empress' myrmidons, was to be wiled away at any price. . . . Now, dearest madam, what could I possibly say? If I had attempted to convince her that the Empress did not know, and the Queen did not care, whether she and her courier were at Paris or at Peking, and that their Majesties were as likely to plan the murder of my favourite pussy-cat, you know I should have acted as simply as the good clergyman who comforted the penitent author by assuring him that no mortal had ever heard of his writings. And, besides, my person might have been endangered. I am not built for a

hero, and she is for an Amazon. I confess to you those two fists of hers struck no small terror into my cowardly soul; and, as she flounced out of the house, I could hardly believe I had escaped without a scratched face or a black eye.'

The memoir of John, Duke of Argyll, and his family, from which these lines are taken, is Lady Louisa's most finished work; and it would be hard to overpraise its clear-cut lines, its humour, or the admirable moral apophthegms with which it is adorned. It is the verdict of a finely balanced mind, not on Lady Mary alone, but on all extravagance begotten of vanity.

In summing up Lady Louisa, the first place must be given to her splendid candour, her clear-eyed self-criticism. She could not be vain, because she admired the truth too sincerely. The lover of good books and the friend of great men, she tried herself always by the standard of the best. For ninety years she lived in a world which was changing faster than it had ever changed before. She saw the confidences of her girlhood shaken, new manners installed, new ideas in her own class, and new classes arising of which her childhood had never heard. With the instinct of race she clung to bygone things, for, like Lady John Scott, her motto was 'Haud fast by the past.' But far beyond the allotted threescore and ten years she carried the generous and catholic spirit of youth. The eighteenth century read the world a lesson in clear thinking and sober judgment, what in a paradox of speech we call common-sense. Lady Louisa was a true child of that century; but her good sense was always leavened with imagination and sympathy, half given by temperament and half by the teaching of time. She can have no place in popular literary history; but her letters, her few published writings, and, above all, her character will always be remembered and cherished by those who, in her own words, have 'an old-fashioned partiality for a gentlewoman.'

JOHN BUCHAN.





# Art. X.—THE UNREST IN INDIA.

1. *The Real India*. By J. D. Rees, M.P. London : Methuen, 1908.
2. *The Revolt in Hindustan, 1857-59*. By Sir Evelyn Wood, F.M., V.C. London : Methuen, 1908.
3. *Indian Problems*. By S. M. Mitra. London : John Murray, 1908.
4. *Thoughts on the Present Discontent*. By Mahomed Ali. Bombay : 'Bombay Gazette' Press, 1907.
5. *Speech by Viscount Morley of Blackburn, Secretary of State for India, at the dinner of the Indian Civil Service Dinner Club, June 11, 1908.*
6. *Debate on Indian Affairs in the House of Lords, June 30, 1908.*

And other debates, speeches, and works.

THE condition of India is the gravest Imperial problem that confronts British statesmen to-day. It is the gravest problem because it touches and overshadows all others. It is vital, because India is the keystone of the Empire; and if, through weakness or sloth or indifference or wilful blundering, we lose it, the Imperial fabric will eventually collapse. There have been periods when certain schools of politicians have looked forward without dismay to the ultimate severance of India from British control. Such a severance would to-day imply an irrecoverable loss of prestige, and it would be a fatal blow to the Empire and to its prosperity. Great Britain could never hope to regain her old proud place in the world after so deadly an amputation.

Lord Curzon, in his earlier days, once wrote that in Asia the dominant note in government was 'the mute acquiescence of the governed.' Precisely contrary conditions now confront Great Britain in India. The governed are not mute, and they are not acquiescent. For ten years unrest and disaffection have been steadily growing, at first almost imperceptibly, but in the last eighteen months with a torrential rush which has overspread the land like a flood. The swirling waters have penetrated to the remotest corners of the country. The waves of unrest have swept from Lahore to Tuticorin. The demeanour of the bulk of the intelligent sections of the

population—the only sections that count in such an issue—has, on the whole, been increasingly unfavourable to the present system of British rule. Those who are openly hostile are perhaps far more numerous than is yet perceived; those who are merely passively opposed to our methods and our control represent a very large proportion of the people. Many of the native newspapers, both in the vernaculars and in English, have poured forth seditious and inflammatory articles. Incitements to revolution, sometimes thinly disguised, sometimes frankly open, have been boldly hawked about the streets of the great cities. Attempts have been made, and are still being made, to subvert the loyalty of the native army. Sporadic riots, almost invariably due to the secret influence of revolutionary agitators, have occurred at widely separate points. The clamour of demagogues in the market-place has become strident and insistent. The demand for an elaborate system of self-government has been repeated by Indians in menacing tones, not only among their own countrymen, but even to the receptive ears of vaguely sympathetic members of Parliament within the precincts of the House of Commons. And at the back of these manifold activities, a conspiracy which has bombs for its weapons and treason for its watchword has been secretly organised. Innocent ladies have been killed by powerful explosives; an attempt has been made to blow up the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal; bombs have been flung at railway trains; a whole factory of deadly compounds and several stores of firearms have been discovered. No one yet knows the full extent of the conspiracy; but the wretched and misguided men now in custody at Calcutta are certainly only a tithe of the real culprits.

Time was when such revelations would have smitten India with the silence of fear and apprehension. The manner of the reception of the news is perhaps the most remarkable proof of the change that has come over Hindustan, and it is even more significant than the discovery of the conspiracy itself. The accused men were cheered in court, and commanded the undisguised sympathy of the Calcutta mob. When one of them turned approver, he was called a traitor and disowned by his own father. The parents smiled in approbation upon the crimes

of their children. They emulated the spirit shown by the aged mother of the editor of the bloodthirsty journal 'Yugantar,' when a deputation of Indian women presented her with a congratulatory address last year upon the imprisonment of her son for sedition. 'Bhupen's useful career has just begun,' she said; and that remark, be it noted, was quoted with commendation by Dr Rash Behari Ghose, the 'Moderate' President of the National Congress, in his address at Surat last Christmas. Such was the attitude that 'New India' maintained when the plot of the traffickers in picric acid was disclosed the other day. The more violent newspapers redoubled their incitements to the mob to kill and slay, and to spare not. Those with less hardihood, after a few perfunctory expressions of reprobation, coolly remarked that the accused 'were secretly engaged in this undertaking with a desire to do good to their own country,' and that 'their motives were of the best,' adding that 'their perseverance, mechanical skill, and activity cannot but be admired.' When a meeting of the Viceroy's Council was called at Simla to pass legislation against the tendencies thus revealed, the native members of the Council, with three honourable exceptions, pointedly stayed away. The criminals who have gloried in their guilt, the on-lookers who have either applauded them or regarded them with passive toleration, are symptomatic of a vital alteration in the public feeling of India. The incidents and the revelations of the last year or two show how great is the gulf that divides us from the India of the days of 'John Company.'

The situation now created has been to some extent inevitable ever since the day when Clive won the battle of Plassey. The bulk of the peoples of India, grown docile in their isolation under the vigorous rule of successive alien conquerors, gradually accepted our mild and humane dominion almost with a sense of relief; but it was natural that in the fulness of time, contact with the outer world, from which they had been so long estranged, and the widespread diffusion of education, should awaken among them the very human desire to rule themselves. We ought never to have expected the perpetual unquestioning acceptance of our domination. The marvel is that it was at first given so completely,

and that it endured so long. Still, there has never until now been any general disposition to question our presence in India. The Mutiny was essentially a military revolt, and not a rising of the people. It was limited in numbers and extent, and in no sense affords a parallel to the widespread passive opposition to British rule apparent to-day. The dominating feeling now is that of restiveness under our administration; the preponderating desire is that we should go.

Mr Mahomed Ali, in his shrewd and candid little pamphlet, mocks those of his countrymen who profess that 'their highest delight is to see the Union Jack waving in the breeze, and that they do not commence the day without singing "Rule Britannia" for luck.' He does not tell us quite the whole truth, however. Side by side with a dislike of our rule, there is often a very real reverence for the Crown, and in many quarters a sense of pride at association with so great and world-wide an Empire. But Mr Mahomed Ali is nearer the mark than those who ask us to conceive an India not only venerating the throne, but loyal to the British Administration from sincere conviction. We shall be wise if we look no more for the general existence of such a sentiment. We are seen to be a drop in the dark ocean of Indian humanity; and that thought has stirred aspirations which can never again be wholly dispelled. The curious feature of the situation is that so many among us should still listen for hosannas to the might and power of the alien race which holds India's awakening myriads with a corporal's guard. We have said that no parallel can be drawn between the days of the Mutiny and the present position; but there is one point of similarity. The obstinate inability to read the signs of the times is as common now as it was fifty years ago.

Though the comparatively general dislike of British control is of but recent growth, it must not be assumed that the whole of the tendencies now apparent have come to maturity in a year or two. The fighting races have respected us and have followed our officers again and again to the death; the bulk of the nobility have been friendly enough towards us; instances of affectionate regard between Indians and Englishmen are innumerable. But we have rarely been loved as a people; and

for many years signs of intermittent hostility have been perceptible enough in various quarters to those who have cared to look for them. Sedition in the native press is no new phenomenon. Lord Lytton had to legislate against it in 1878; and, had not his prescient policy been abandoned in deference to a wave of mistaken sentimentality, our difficulties in India would have been fewer to-day.

The murders of Mr Rand and Lieutenant Ayerst at Poona in 1897 are sometimes quoted as marking the beginning of violent methods of agitation in India. The suggestion is only accidentally correct. The Poona murders were probably due to resentment against local measures of plague prevention; but they happen roughly to synchronise with the inauguration of that subtle movement for the subversion of British rule which has reached such formidable dimensions. The annual apotheosis of Sivaji, the great leader of the Mahrattas, dates from that period; and the Sivaji cult has always covertly contained all the elements of sedition. It originated in Poona, the old capital of the Peishwas, the last prominent rulers of India to be overthrown. Poona has been outwardly quiet for years, but it remains the most dangerous city in India. The schemes which now envelop the whole country in a network of disaffection were hatched beneath the shadow of Parbati Hill. It was from Poona that Bengal learned the gospel of revolt; and from Poona the intrigues against which the Government are contending have been steadily fostered and directed. The Mahratta Brahmins, as a class, are the deadliest foes of British rule. They have the cleverest brains and the greatest capacity for conspiracy among all the Indian peoples. Even the keen-witted Bengali is a child in the hands of a Chitpawan from the Western Ghats. The visitor to Poona may wander through its crowded and plague-infected streets and never dream that within their purlieus lurk the most inveterate enemies of the British in India. But Poona remains, as it has ever been, the centre of the insurrectionary movement. The Nana Sahib came from its vicinity, and certainly visited the lost capital of the benefactor who had adopted him; and he was a Chitpawan Brahmin.

The first noticeable evidence that the attitude of

modern India towards the English was not reassuring was furnished at the time of the Transvaal war. Lord Curzon, confident in the outward calm of the situation, aware that the frontier tribes had been hammered into submission during the Tirah campaign, sent across the Indian Ocean the expeditionary force which saved Natal. Excitement grew in India as the news of reverse after reverse was flashed across the seas. Then came the disastrous 'Black Week,' with its series of alarming defeats. Many Englishmen resident in the larger Indian cities noted with astonishment the sudden exultation with which the stories of the British misfortunes were received by the people. The consciousness that the natives were rejoicing at the plight of their rulers came with a sudden shock of revelation. There was an instant of savage joy, a slight but unwonted manifestation of insolent hostility. Even those most in touch with the people had never suspected the existence of those seething passions of which they now gained a momentary glimpse. They had opened and shut the lid of a cauldron.

From that period, probably, disaffection slowly but steadily grew until it became a widespread vitalising force. For a long time it was evasive, half-concealed, difficult to detect. Until the latter half of Lord Curzon's Viceroyalty it was never really discernible to any notable extent. It flashed out on rare occasions, and the baser native journals grew more daring in their seditious utterances; but until the autumn of 1905 it had little outward semblance of organisation, few distinctive evidences of deliberate propaganda. Disaffection was only then elevated into a political creed with innumerable enthusiastic devotees.

The unrest in India was not then, and is not now, with the multitude a matter of bombs and picric acid and revolvers. The conspirators who study chemistry for the purposes of destruction are still infinitesimal in number; the persons who go about with murder in their hearts remain comparatively few. It is the enormously larger number of people who have no strong wish to see the continuance of British rule, who on the whole would rather like it to disappear, that British statesmen have to confront and to reckon with. The attitude of this larger number is sufficiently indicated by their tacit

endorsement of the crimes recently committed. Despite the frequent assertion of the fundamental difference between the East and the West, the truth is that in many respects Asiatics are very much like the rest of the world. When whole masses of them are imbued with passive but disturbing convictions, a very slight impulse will sometimes serve to send them flying headlong in the direction towards which inclination points.

That is the state of things in India; and it behoves us to consider how we are to meet it. We shall never appreciate all that it means unless we first comprehend that the primary cause of disaffection and discontent is not indignation over any particular grievance. Hostility starts from the day when Siraj-ud-daula fled from the field of Plassey, and left Colonel Clive potential master of Bengal. Though it alternately slumbered and smouldered in secret for many a decade, it can never have been really absent from India. No intelligent people in the world's history has ever conceived a warm permanent affection for an alien administration in which it had no practical influence. The Indian peoples only acquiesced collectively in our dominion until they began to think collectively. All the concrete and tangible blessings that British rule has ever conferred upon India are as dust in the balance when weighed against the incontrovertible and disagreeable fact that we are not of their blood, and do not look out upon the world with their eyes. They know that our departure would plunge India into a welter of anarchy, in which might would be the only right; but, though knowing this, few save the best and wisest and most prudent among them would ever bid us stay. Behind that primary and basal fact there are a swarm of contributory and auxiliary reasons for unrest; but the cardinal point is that our very presence is disliked by most, save those who would have to stand or fall with us.

The contributory causes of unrest are very varied. No one can place his finger on this or that grievance, this or that measure, this or that sin of commission or omission, and say that to the particular cause indicated the trouble in India is mainly due. But one unsettling event stands out in bold relief as responsible for much of the feverish ferment that prevails. Forty partitions of

Bengal could never have kindled the desires and inflamed the imaginations of the Indian races as the rise of Japan has done. The echoes of the battle of Liao-yang resounded in every bazaar in India. For the first time in hundreds of years the wave of European domination in Asia had receded. It was nothing new for European armies to suffer defeat at the hands of Asiatics; but never before had a great Empire been humbled and laid low in so dramatic a fashion by an Oriental nation. The effect of the Japanese victories was greatest among the excitable and somewhat illogical Bengalis, but it was traceable in every part of India. The Indians did not stop to think, the majority did not know, that the traditions and the history of Japan were as the poles asunder from the melancholy and factious records of their own peninsula. They knew little of that splendid spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice which fired the Japanese and gave them a unity which the people of India, divided by religion and ethnology and environment, never have possessed. They saw only a wild vision of Asia coming to her own again; and straightway every garrulous tongue was loosened in the market-place, and young and ardent Hindus dreamed idle dreams of the days when their united nation should also step, armed and serene, into the circle of great empires. The story of the triumph of Japan smote upon the receptive and impressionable minds of the new generation in India like an alluring trumpet-call. It gave point and impetus to their vague and wandering desires. The very street-boys of Calcutta learned to cry 'Banzai!'

Yet far more immediate causes of discontent have also been at work, some of them for many years. The unswerving impartiality of the system of British justice has raised a great amount of half-unconscious ill-feeling by reason of its very excellence. Large numbers of the former holders of the soil have been dispossessed of their holdings by the courts at the bidding of money-lenders into whose clutches they have fallen. Other questions connected with the land have contributed to the growth of unrest. Land tenure and land revenue assessment are the most complicated and least understood of Indian questions. They touch the life of the bulk of the people far more nearly than any other issue. They cannot be

discussed here ; but it may be pointed out that injudicious agrarian legislation was at the bottom of the outburst in the Northern Punjab last year. As to land revenue assessment, an abiding subject of embittered controversy, it may be said that on the whole assessments are not unduly heavy, and in many districts they are light. There has been, however, a tendency to raise them to an undue degree in provinces where they are subjected to periodical revision. The policy inaugurated by Lord Curzon, which provides for the suspension or remission of land revenue collection in times of scarcity, has done a great deal to alleviate this occasional evil.

Famine has been periodically a potent cause of discontent. India had to face the greatest famine of modern times in 1900 ; and its effects have not even now been wholly effaced. Lesser visitations of scarcity have occurred in various provinces during the last decade ; and the United Provinces are only now emerging from a serious famine. The Government cannot control the elements, and its labours to prevent distress and starvation have been attended with unprecedented success ; but a hungry people cannot be a happy people, and famine has often contributed to the deepening of dissatisfaction. The consequences of the wholesale virulence of plague have been far graver, and are perhaps all the more serious because they are largely unperceived. The deaths have been numbered by millions. Last year alone the recorded deaths from plague numbered 1,200,735, and of these 649,481 were stated to have occurred in the Punjab. The death-rate from plague in the Punjab was 32 per thousand, and, owing to the difficulties of accurate registration, these figures are possibly less than the truth. The epidemics have usually been endured with stoical calmness, but they have left their mark upon the people, and grief and suffering and dismay have predisposed them to unrest. But plague is only a very partial factor, by reason of its variable incidence. Bengal has never suffered severely from its ravages. On the other hand, plague undoubtedly tended to prepare the way for the development of disaffection in parts of the Punjab.

So much has been said and written about the extent to which the Indian system of education has been responsible for the rise of unrest, that the subject is be-

coming a little wearisome. Many people would have us believe that education is the sole cause of the troubles that perplex the British Government to-day. It might as well be said that we owe all our difficulties to the persistent determination of the people of India to eat their daily dinners. The theory is sometimes advanced that we ought to have restricted the people to the use of their own vernaculars, and that we should have prevented them, almost by force, from learning English and from studying English literature. We are urged, in effect, to raze our universities and colleges to the ground, and to place Mill and Herbert Spencer upon a new 'Index Expurgatorius.' No doubt the present methods are in many respects defective and unsound, and too purely literary. No one would be more astonished and disappointed than Macaulay, could he but see how his confident scheme has produced results far different from those he anticipated. But it ought to be remembered, when we are moved to decry the effects of education in India, that some rational and progressive system of education had to be devised, that its basis was bound to be English, and that it was compelled to derive from the West its chief sources of inspiration. Had we not unlocked for the people of India the stores of Western learning, they would have forced the gates open for themselves. They would never have been content to browse for ever amid the shady and venerable groves of Sanskrit literature. The West had burst asunder the barriers they had reared against intrusion ; and it was to the West that they naturally turned for new light and fresh guidance.

Self-interest impelled the people in the same direction. A knowledge of English was an imperative preliminary to advancement in the higher grades of Government service. We could never have constructed so complicated an administrative machine as we now direct without the aid of a vast army of clerks and assistants, whose knowledge of English is their chief recommendation. It is idle to talk now of slamming the door in their faces ; it would have been idle to talk of it in the far-off days when Macaulay wrote his celebrated 'Minute.' We may have forged the key which has opened the flood-gates against us, but we could not well have done otherwise. Three hundred millions of people could not have been

kept in intellectual bondage. Perhaps for many years the Government was far too careless and indifferent in its control and direction of education; perhaps it laid far too great a stress upon mere mnemonic requirements, and allowed the rising generation to be crammed with indigestible knowledge without sufficient regard for their moral welfare and their training in the duties of good citizens. But, though there were serious mistakes which were allowed to remain unremedied, the broad aims at the back of the education system were the only possible aims to be cherished by a race of rulers who conceived their mission to be the regeneration of India.

That education should have produced discontent was the most natural thing in the world. The wisest of the earlier administrators saw whither education would lead, but they did not flinch from their determination to encourage it. A caller on Mountstuart Elphinstone noticed in the corner of his tent a pile of printed books, and asked what they were for. 'To educate the natives,' was the reply: 'but it is our highroad back to Europe.' Mr Mahomed Ali says, 'It is the old problem which civilisation and enlightenment, liberally diffused, are inevitably bound to raise up against themselves. England must now cheerfully pay the penalty of her generous impulses.' We should not make it too much of a grievance that we have stirred dormant feelings and quickened into activity the first vague yearnings after a cohesive nationality. If we did not perceive long ago that this would be the outcome of our efforts, we must have been blind indeed. Yet, while we should not complain at the outcome of our efforts, it is desirable that we should seek to lessen their sinister consequences. We must not let the educational system of India slip out of our control. We must try to guide it aright and to remedy its more obvious defects. One such effort in recent years, wise and prudent and statesmanlike though it was, stirred up political agitation to an extraordinary degree. It was the Universities Commission, instituted by Lord Curzon, which first led the 'intellectuals' of India to plunge with unrestrained exuberance into violent opposition to the Government.

When Lord Curzon became Viceroy the Indian universities were nothing but huge examination machines, in which the standards were continually being lowered.

They were to a considerable extent neglected by the Government, which exercised very inadequate supervision over them. They were quietly passing under the control of astute politicians. The capture of the universities was part of the plan of campaign for securing a large share of political power. The senates were huge, unwieldy bodies, in which every interest save that of education was prominent. Election to a fellowship had ceased to be a distinction; and recipients of the doubtful honour began to find themselves objects of ridicule rather than of congratulation. Intellectual eminence and zeal for education were no longer a passport for admission to the senates of Calcutta and Bombay. There were Fellows who were almost illiterate, and others whose sole claim to selection was that they were satellites of some powerful native politician. Colleges which would have disgraced the kingdom of Laputa were affiliated to the universities for purposes of examination.

The Commission was followed by legislation which remodelled the universities and placed them upon a sounder and saner basis. Its provisions were manifold, and included the creation of reformed senates limited to one hundred Fellows, the remodelling of the syndicates, the reorganisation of the examination system, and the retention by the Government of the final right of decision concerning the recognition and affiliation of colleges. Avowed nurseries of treason were no longer to receive the lax official imprimatur of the Universities. The path to a dubious academic distinction was no longer to wind deviously amid the thickets of sedition.

The storm burst when the Report of the Commission was first issued. It passed almost unnoticed in England, but it shook academical India to its foundations. Eighteen months elapsed between the presentation of the Report and the date when the final Act became law. During all that period the battle raged on the platform and in the press. The Viceroy was accused of seeking to 'officialise' the Universities, and of creating an unattainable standard of efficiency. The Bill was vehemently denounced by native members in the Viceregal Council. The debate was protracted to a length for which there was no precedent. Even after the Act was passed, the opposition did not abate. Technical objections to its

operation were actually raised in the Bombay High Court ; and the Government eventually had to pass a short validating Act to prevent further legal action.

The new legislation has enormously strengthened higher education in India. It has raised it from the slough into which it had fallen, and has recalled the Universities to a sense of their high mission. Even its bitterest opponents have been silenced by its success. But its author was never forgiven for his courageous settlement of a thorny problem. Down to the time of the Universities Commission, Lord Curzon had enjoyed marked popularity in India. From that date onwards he was made the target of the most bitter and venomous attacks. The command went forth for a campaign of vilification ; and every art of abuse was employed to discredit his Administration in the eyes of the people. From that period dates the more open association of comparatively moderate Indian politicians with the avowed irreconcilables. It was at that period that a prominent Bombay leader made the speech which is believed to have contained the germ of the boycott movement in Bengal. The passing of the Universities Act, beneficent though its results have been, was a conspicuous landmark in the history of Indian agitation. But, when the Government of India passed into other hands, those responsible for its policy chose for a time weakly to neglect the powers acquired to veto the affiliation of inefficient or undesirable colleges. It was a dispute concerning two notorious institutions in Eastern Bengal (which he desired to disaffiliate from the Calcutta University) that led to the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller. He failed to secure the support of the Government of India, but later events have shown on which side wisdom lay.

The echoes of the controversy concerning the Indian Universities were still reverberating when an even greater outburst occurred respecting the measure which has been most unfortunately designated ' the partition of Bengal.' No event of recent years in India has been more persistently misrepresented and misunderstood than this very necessary measure. The people of Bengal have been deliberately misled alike as to its nature and its intention. Even denser ignorance concerning its character and objects prevails in England ; and the allies

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of the National Congress in the House of Commons still endeavour to depict it as the cause of India's present tribulations. The popular impression appears to be that the rearrangement of Bengal for administrative purposes is the real origin of unrest. It is suggested that if the two halves were again united, a holy calm would follow, and India would be at peace.

Those who imagine that the partition of Bengal is in any way directly responsible for the prevalence of unrest in India are cherishing an unfounded delusion. There would have been very much the same unrest in India to-day if Bengal had been allowed to retain her overgrown bulk and her defective, inadequate, and unduly centralised administration. The rest of India is now, as it has ever been, absolutely indifferent to the fate alike of Bengal and of the loquacious 'Bengali nation.' That astute race unquestionably objected very strongly, and no doubt with much sincerity, to the new scheme. But to the Bengali agitators it was a boon, and in their hearts they welcomed it with joy. They wanted a war-cry, and they found one ready to hand. They shouted it until they had set Bengal ablaze with excitement and disorder. Never did a weapon fall more opportunely into the hands of the forces of evil; never did the Bengalis display so much ingenuity in fomenting opposition to the Government.

So successful was their agitation that not only the whole of India, but a good many worthy Englishmen, honestly believe to this day that Lord Curzon and his advisers deliberately and maliciously sat down and devised a devilish scheme which would break Bengal in twain, pit Hindus against Mahomedans, and deprive the hostile organisations in Calcutta of half their strength. The partition is so often held up to execration as a dastardly and intentional affront to the susceptibilities of a great Indian race, it is so often pointed out as the origin of all the disaffection in India, that it is worth while to examine the facts in some detail. They have only recently become common knowledge, and they lead to conclusions very different from those we have indicated. They show that Lord Curzon never originated the scheme at all, and had no direct knowledge of it until more than a year after its inception; that apparently it did not even occur to the first framers of the scheme that the 'Bengali

nation' would be perturbed by the suggested change; and that there is not the slightest foundation for the allegation that the project was deliberately entered upon, as has been suggested, to 'shatter the unity and to dis-integrate the feelings of solidarity which are established in the province.' The partition of Bengal has not adversely affected the moral or material condition of a single resident in either of the two provinces. The 'feelings of solidarity' which can be shattered by a parochial scheme of rearrangement must be singularly feeble; but, in point of fact, the events of the last two years have shown that such 'unity' as exists has been in no way impaired. Deep calls unto deep as in the golden past; and Midnapur and Barisal join in exploiting the artifices of manufactured agitation, with all the zest they showed in the old glad days when, for administrative purposes, they were one and indivisible, and were cheerfully unconscious of the happiness the loss of which they now profess to deplore. Never has such a formidable agitation been organised on such shallow and paltry pretexts.

When Mr Andrew Fraser, as he then was, sat down, in February 1901, to write an innocent letter about a linguistic question, he can never have dreamed that he was setting in motion a sequence of events which was to lead nearly seven years later to an attempt to wreck his special train by a bomb; yet such was the case. Mr Fraser, who was Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, wrote a letter about the substitution of Hindi for Uriya as the language of the law-courts of the unimportant district of Sambalpur, then under his control. In the course of his observations he appears to have casually suggested that, if Uriya was to be the court language of Sambalpur, that district had better be joined to Orissa; and that this might be done either by placing Sambalpur under the control of the Bengal Government, or by transferring the whole of Orissa from Bengal to the Central Provinces. Out of that casual suggestion the whole great controversy arose. For fourteen months the secretariats wrote about the proposal, built upon it, and gradually evolved fresh schemes for the rearrangement of half the provinces of India. The map of Hindustan was drawn afresh by placid members of Council, blissfully unconscious of the cyclone of popular wrath that was

eventually to burst over their devoted heads; and one day the imposing pile of papers came for the first time before the astonished vision of the unsuspecting Viceroy. What Lord Curzon thought of these ingenuous deliberations was recorded at the time in a half-humorous, half-angry Note, which afterwards accidentally obtained a publicity for which it was never intended. He wrote :

‘I really feel disposed to ask, is there no such thing as a head of the Government, and what are secretaries for but to keep him acquainted with the administration? Would it be considered credible, outside the departments, that these really very important issues, affecting the constitution or dismemberment of provinces, should have been under discussion for more than a year, without the file ever being sent, or the subject even being mentioned to the Viceroy? They are all matters in which I take a great interest, in which I should be unfit to be the head of the Government if I did not take such an interest, and which I have frequently discussed with Lieutenant-Governors and Chief Commissioners. Meanwhile the departments, without a word to me, are also discussing it among themselves. Even the Finance Member had an opportunity of recording his opinion upon the manner in which India ought to be parcelled out; and finally, at the end a cut-and-dried reply is submitted to the Viceroy as though his signature were a sort of obligatory but perfunctory postscript to the entire discussion.’

At the end of his Note Lord Curzon suggested that the approaching incorporation of Berar into British India might be used as a convenient occasion for examining boundaries all round; and quite incidentally he mentioned Bengal as one of the obvious subjects for further enquiry. The reference to Bengal was contained in a dozen words. The discussion afterwards veered round for a time mainly to the question of the future of Berar; and the heads of departments again minuted at length, as is their wont. But Sir John Hewett drafted several other proposals, including the transfer of Chittagong to Assam; and Sir Andrew Fraser, early in 1903, followed up Sir John Hewett's recommendation by propounding a much larger scheme, which was the real genesis of the partition of Bengal. The main arguments advanced were that the administration of the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh was exceeding defective, and

that Eastern Bengal needed more immediate personal contact with the higher authorities. It was therefore proposed to attach these districts to Assam. Lord Curzon for the first time recorded his general approval of this scheme about the middle of 1903; and the Government of India decided to address the Secretary of State and the local Governments concerned about the matter. At the end of the year the proposals were made public. The chief reasons assigned were the only legitimate reasons which could justify such a scheme. They were that the Bengal Government needed relief from its excessive burdens; that the outlying districts of the province required more efficient administration; and that Assam needed an outlet to the sea, which it would find in Chittagong. Any political considerations which may have been subsequently obtruded were entirely subsidiary, and were in no sense the primary object of the change. It was simply the desire for greater administrative efficiency that brought about the partition of Bengal.

The subsequent history of the partition question can be very briefly summarised. The scheme grew almost imperceptibly into a project for a new province with a lieutenant-governor, and with Assam as an adjunct rather than the most prominent feature. When Lord Curzon left for England, the suggested changes were still practically confined, as regards Eastern Bengal, to Dacca and Mymensingh. When he returned he found that the scheme had assumed the far larger form in which it was finally promulgated. He accepted it, carried it into effect, and bore in silence and without response the utterly unjustifiable attacks to which he has ever since been subjected in India and in Parliament for his supposed share in an imaginary attempt to 'crush' the Bengalis. That the final proposal had Lord Curzon's complete and loyal concurrence need hardly be said; that as Viceroy of India he was primarily instrumental in its fulfilment is obvious; that he should readily and cheerfully assume the full responsibility was only to be expected. The fact remains that the partition of Bengal was not really Lord Curzon's personal scheme at all, and that he neither personally initiated it nor developed it into its ultimate shape, though the experienced administrators who framed it were of course

under his direction. The partition needs no further defence here, for it is now in process of curing the grave evils resulting from the congestion of work in Bengal and the arrested development of Assam.

Wisdom is already justified of her children. The agitation against the measure would have died of inanition long ago, and some other slogan would have been invented by the fickle 'patriots' of Bengal, had it not been for the indiscreet incitements of a number of members of Parliament and Bengali agitators. The partition was no more the impelling cause of unrest in India than was the division of the Punjab and the creation of the new North-West Frontier Province; but as a pretext for agitation of the most violent kind it became a cry that set multitudes aflame. The agitation was both fictitious and flagitious. It was almost as ridiculous as the outburst of the English populace when the calendar was reformed, and the cry went up, 'Give us back our eleven days!'; but it brought swarms of recruits to the support of the demagogues who pervaded the bazaars of Calcutta. Even now the issue is not dead and buried, though Lord Morley's explicit statement in the House of Lords ought to result in its final interment.

No examination of the disturbing influences at work in recent years can ignore the unfortunate impression created by the manner of the departure of Lord Curzon. The merits of the controversy that led to his resignation are not germane to the issue. The circumstances attending his defeat have a very definite bearing upon it. The Viceroy is, before all things else, the representative of the King-Emperor. He is to the people of India the only visible embodiment of the majesty of the throne; he derives his office not from Parliament, but from the monarch afar off. India likes parliamentary control as little as it likes the Government of India; but with that paradoxical feeling, easy enough to comprehend in a people full of instinctive reverence for exalted rank and hereditary power, it preserves a deep respect for the Sovereign. If the King-Emperor went to India to-morrow he would be received with a universal outburst of enthusiastic jubilation. The overthrow of the King-Emperor's representative, the strongest Viceroy of modern times, at the bidding of the Commander-in-Chief, was

the maddest mistake the British Government have made in India for many a year. Its dramatic character filled the imagination of the crowd ; and it inflicted an almost irreparable blow on the prestige and authority of the Viceregal position. It has become the fashion in some quarters to say that Lord Curzon's disappearance had nothing more to do with unrest in India than the man in the moon. Many eminent Anglo-Indians hold a contrary view. They know very well that the swift and unexpected lesson of the mutability of the Viceroy, who was to the people of India the sole repository of authority, made a very deep impression at a singularly inopportune time. It sank deep into their minds. Its consequences are visible to-day. Except for the very gravest reasons, which did not exist in this instance, the chosen representative of the King-Emperor in India should never be thrown over.

With the very best intentions in the world Lord Morley of Blackburn, since his assumption of the office of Secretary of State, has steadily, and at first perhaps unconsciously, tended to deepen the impression of the diminishing importance of the Viceroy thus produced. Possibly circumstances have compelled him to follow the course he has pursued. Whatever the cause, the results are clear. The people of India are accustomed to a personal and visible ruler, but they are learning to look to the Secretary of State rather than to the Viceroy. Their gaze has been diverted from Lord Minto to Lord Morley. Instead of being in the background, an invisible controller of large questions of policy, Lord Morley has become to the multitude the only ruler of India. The country is being administered from Whitehall, and not from Simla and Calcutta, as it ought to be. The best Secretary of State India has had for many years is creating precedents which may be a source of danger when a weaker and less cautious and less experienced statesman becomes the head of the India Office. The control of the Secretary of State should be firm and real ; but India should continue to look to the Viceroy alone. Doubtless it is by no desire of Lord Morley that the present tendencies have developed. Indeed, his recent speeches seem to suggest that he has become aware of them, and is strenuously trying to counteract them.

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It may be noted here that the crushing victory of the Liberal party at the last election quite accidentally had a share in stirring up unrest in India. The professional agitators thought that if they only made enough noise the new Government would grant them any concession. They were backed up by their allies in the House of Commons, who seek to overcome the deficiencies of their scanty political equipment by proclaiming a passionate interest in the woes of India. The firmness of Lord Morley checked these amiable intentions, but the net result has been that India is learning very aptly how to embarrass its immediate administrators through the House of Commons.

Little need be said about the relations between Englishmen and Indians as a contributory cause of unrest. Those relations are not so good as they used to be, and there have been grievous faults on both sides. But the favourite caricature of the Englishman in India as a hectoring, domineering, swaggering overlord, exacting *salaams* from every Indian who crosses his path, ready to strike any inoffensive creature who does not fawn upon his boots, is a ludicrous perversion of the truth. The proportion of Englishmen in India who have ever struck an Indian is probably very small indeed. Outside the rank and file of the army, most Englishmen who go to the East are men of education and refinement. Nearly all are placed in positions of authority, and naturally expect that reasonable respect which is their due. But they do not lose the instincts of courtesy in the Suez Canal; and the constant accusations brought against them of bad manners and violent conduct are absurdly exaggerated. Notorious exceptions sometimes occur, and every instance of misconduct is magnified a hundredfold; but it may be safely asserted that most Englishmen treat the people of India with all the consideration that their half-unconscious national habit of brusqueness permits. The majority of the members of the covenanted Civil Service, in particular, preserve traditions of patient forbearance which many of their choleric fellow-countrymen at home would hardly be capable of maintaining for years in the nerve-destroying environment of a tropical climate.

It must be remembered that the penalties for any

acts of ill-usage are now very great, and are perhaps too constant a source of anxiety in a country where false evidence is so readily procurable. An official's career may be broken for a single act of indiscretion; and the rigid restraints now imposed upon the rank and file of the army are found by their officers to be exceedingly irksome in their effect. So strongly is the fear of the consequences of trouble with Indians inculcated, that there are few Englishmen now in India who have not at some time or other swallowed veiled insults that they would instantly resent in their own land. Many of the rising generation of Indians, particularly in Bengal, have lost the good manners of their race while acquiring Western learning. There is no more skilful exponent of the art of subtle provocation, in railway trains and in public places, than the Indian who is secretly disaffected.

Far too much is, however, made of this question of personal relations. It is probable that the comparative aloofness of the English in India is one of the secrets of their strength. A discerning French critic came to that conclusion a good many years ago. They have no embarrassing ties, no inherent predilections, to bias their judgment. There is need for more intimate contact; but unrest in India will not cease if a few more people are invited to dinner, and if a few wealthy manufacturers are admitted to the membership of English clubs in the large towns. We shall not solve the problem of India by the cultivation of strained and artificial social amenities. The disturbing causes at work lie far deeper. Nor is there any real justification for the regrets sometimes heard about the disappearance of the social conditions typified by the *bibi-khana* still to be seen in the compounds of the older Anglo-Indian bungalows. The great influx of Englishwomen into India has not been an unmixed blessing, for it has greatly lessened the permanent interest of the men in the land of their adoption, and has been a prominent cause of the diminution of friendly social intercourse between the two races; but their presence has almost entirely extirpated a social evil which no pretexts of political expediency could condone, an evil which would otherwise by this time have reached a terrible magnitude. And too much

blame should not be laid upon Anglo-Indian women for their general tendency—there are many notable exceptions—to fail in the cultivation of social intimacy with the people of India. The two races are so hopelessly dissimilar that absolute freedom of intercourse will always be difficult, except in the case of a comparatively limited number. Has it ever occurred to the people who impress so constantly upon Anglo-Indians the need for more intimate social relations, to enquire into the degree of intercourse between the average Hindu and Mahomedan households?

That there is a growing lack of touch may be admitted ; but it is due to the system of government, and not to any change in the character of the English in India. The civil servants are constantly buried beneath an avalanche of files. The growing complexity of administrative methods, the constant introduction of new ideas which involve fresh work, leave district officers far too little time to move among their people. Asiatics prize accessibility ; and the collector who turns his office into a durbar hall is bound to let his correspondence fall into hopeless arrears. The old conception of the district officer was that of a cross between a country squire and an estate agent, with a dash of the policeman and a flavour of the old-fashioned chairman of quarter sessions thrown in. Nowadays he is chained more than ever to his office stool. His power of initiative has been diminished ; his liberty to incur personal responsibility has been curtailed. He is far too much under the control of the young lions of the Secretariat. He can hardly move hand or foot, or spend a rupee for official purposes, without reference to superior authority.

The curse of over-centralisation has fallen heavily on India. The provincial Governments are subjected to far too much supervision from Simla in matters of paltry detail. The same defect runs through the whole administrative system, for the provincial Secretariats display precisely the tendencies that they resent in the Supreme Government. If the Hobhouse Commission, which received an unmerited amount of criticism when it toured India last cold weather, succeeds in devising a successful scheme of decentralisation, it will confer a great boon upon the country. The reprehensible practice of spend-

ing many months of the year in the hills, followed by all the Governments, is another serious cause of lack of touch. The provincial Governments ought to be stationed for the greater part of the year in their respective capitals. Officialdom denies that these hill-top migrations affect the efficiency of their control; but the consequences of the isolation of the heads of Government are so evident and so fully demonstrated that they hardly require recapitulation.

The Civil Service is by no means free from faults. The conspicuous failures should be less tenderly treated. The fetish of seniority is responsible for many a muddle and many a bad appointment. The idea that the civilian should be an all-round man, capable of turning his hand to any duty, is more appropriate to the control of primitive communities than to a country which has so many complex features of administration. More specialisation is now necessary. A very significant phenomenon, as yet hardly perceived, is the extent to which civil servants are becoming oppressed by a sense of the impossible magnitude of their task. They lose elasticity far earlier in their career than formerly they were wont to do. The vast inertia of the East presses upon them with overwhelming weight. They grow weary of the struggle, and long for the quiet haven that a pension brings. They feel that the burden cast upon the English administrators of India is becoming greater than they can bear. The incessant criticism to which they are subjected, in India and still more in England, irritates and depresses them. The constant necessity to walk warily and to guard against the slightest slip becomes in the end an intolerable preoccupation. The careful observer notes with regret, but without surprise, among the civilians of to-day, the alarming currency of the idea that the only ultimate solution of the problem will be to hand over the internal administration of the country to the Indians, the British authorities merely reserving some amount of general control—the duty of maintaining the defences, the management of a few Imperial departments, and the direction of external relations. India is wearing out the Anglo-Indian.

The ignoble part played by the native press in stirring up unrest, and in inciting the mob to deeds of violence,

has been so much discussed that it requires little further explanation. Recent denunciations of the native press of India have been frequently wanting in discrimination. A limited number of native journals are conducted with great moderation and admirable skill. They often contain articles that would be a credit to any London paper of high standing. Such newspapers are almost invariably found among those printed in English. Sedition chiefly rears its head in the vernacular press; and the mendacity and ferocity of the worst vernacular journals are unequalled anywhere in the world. The Bengali papers take the palm for their almost inconceivable effrontery, but the Punjab contains some bad examples; and certain Bombay and Poona publications were flooding Western India with veiled sedition when Bengali journalism was still comparatively innocuous.

Sedition at one time often took the form of allegory or of deft paraphrases of history. Such articles were extremely elusive as a basis for punishment; but every reader knew what they meant. Of late the bloodthirsty menaces of the worst Calcutta papers have passed all bounds. The murderous deliverances of the notorious paper, the 'Yugantar,' would never be tolerated for a week in any other civilised country. Even in England, the home of free speech, they would land their publisher in the dock in a few hours. Unscrupulous native journalists have found that sedition pays. Large editions of the 'Yugantar' found a ready circulation in Bengal, and copies were even sold at a rupee apiece. A premium has been placed upon revolutionary doctrines; and, as it costs very little money to start a native newspaper, penniless products of the Indian Universities have eagerly sought so congenial a means of earning a livelihood. The malicious perversions of the Bengali press were never more strikingly illustrated than in the onslaught upon Sir Bampfylde Fuller when he was Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal. The orgy of malevolent lying then witnessed not only shook the confidence of calm and steady Englishmen in India, but obtained unfortunate credence in England. Sir Bampfylde Fuller was the victim of unscrupulous misrepresentations; and, when those who should have supported him cast him to the wolves in the hope of allaying wholly unwarrantable

clamour, they gave Bengal a lesson in the possibilities of reckless agitation that is still bearing bitter fruit.

The activities of the National Congress, though more legitimate and far less wilfully provocative than the excesses of the press, have necessarily stimulated strife. The British authorities long made the mistake of treating the Congress with resentful disdain. Its very existence was regarded as an affront to the Administration. A notable defect of the official temperament in India is that of undue sensitiveness to criticism. Unused to the frank attacks of parliamentary debate, unaccustomed to the candid antagonisms of English public life, unfamiliar with the wholesome influence of constant contact with a world outside official circles, Anglo-Indian administrators are apt to be restive under external examination. There has been little in the normal propaganda of the Congress that would have been deemed unusual or improper in English politics. From the point of view of the Government of India the Congress has constantly misrepresented the character and results of their work and their policy. It has exaggerated the imaginary evils of 'the drain,' said many injurious things about the land revenue system, brought many ridiculous accusations against innocent persons, and sought to convey to the public in India and at home a perverse conception of the realities of British rule. But it has not as a rule departed in its collective capacity from the ordinary tactics of an English political party in Opposition; and its most extreme fulminations are no more bitter than those which have of late filled the air regarding the Licensing Bill and Old-age Pensions. Yet, if the Congress has sometimes been unfairly maligned, it has inevitably been a powerful instrument in accentuating discontent and dislike of the Government. It could not well have been otherwise; and, when one reflects that its avowed object is to secure for Indians a larger share in the control of their own affairs, an investigation of its voluminous reports rather leads to a sense of its comparative moderation. The vituperative records of English party warfare would not show a cleaner sheet.

When every allowance is made, however, the Congress remains a paradoxical and illogical, and in many respects an absurd organisation. It clamours for self-government,

but it has only been able to control itself by allowing its direction to pass into the hands of a small, self-elected, and imperious oligarchy. It has awakened political aspirations in India; but after many years of existence it has to its credit no single solid achievement for the betterment of the people. It has no orthodox system of representation, and any stray wanderer can figure in its canvas halls as a delegate. It has been essentially misleading in its methods, for its members have quarrelled *in camera* with unvarying rancour, and have then assembled in open meeting and passed resolutions with bland unanimity in the name of the unconscious 'people of India,' for the edification of the ingenuous British public. But the frantic efforts to preserve an unbroken front before the world have at last proved to be the undoing of the Congress. The passionate recriminations which have always marked its secret conclaves blazed forth into open riot at the last assemblage at Surat. A mob of malcontents stormed the platform; the meeting-place was wrecked; and the aspirants who seek to supplant Imperial England in India hammered one another with their shoes until they were separated by the hated police whom they had so often denounced. The Congress was dissolved, and has not regained its corporate entity.

That a split was bound to break the Congress asunder had long been foreseen. Many of its leaders had habitually practised one form of oratory during its brief annual sessions and quite another style of declamation for the rest of the year. They were decorous and constitutional enough when they thought they were addressing England, but were wont to grow perilously inflammatory when it fell to their lot to harangue excitable mobs in Calcutta or Lahore. Some among them have been cautious and restrained and politic, in season and out of season; for many of the best and ablest men in India have figured on Congress platforms. An increasing number of others have steadily drifted into a complete and irreconcilable antagonism to British rule. Thus there arose in the Congress two separate schools of thought whose adherents were respectively styled Moderates and Extremists—names which sufficiently indicate the point of their divergence. Many people hold that there is less danger to the British Raj

in the furious hatred of the Extremists than in the insidious moderation of the Moderates; but it would be a serious error of judgment to drive the Moderates into the arms of the other party. They have gone a long way in that unwise direction of their own volition. In the foolish hope of convincing onlookers that the Congress was united in its aims, they have tolerated in their midst men who have brought the whole movement into disrepute. The Congress has included within its fold both the worthy Indian gentlemen who have addressed meetings in the committee-rooms of the House of Commons and the fanatics who preached sedition, or who thought that the salvation of India would be best accomplished by flinging bombs. It was Mr Bal Gangadhar Tilak, recently arrested on a charge of sedition, who was the founder and leader of the Extremist party in the Congress. It was Mr Arabindo Ghose, now under trial in connexion with the bomb outrages, who presided at the mass meeting of Extremists held at Surat after the Congress had been wrecked at the bidding of Mr Tilak. The Moderates never mustered up sufficient courage to expel the Extremists, and they have had to pay a heavy price for their lack of moral fibre.

The wrecking tactics adopted by the Extremists inside the Congress did no harm to any one outside that body; but their external enterprises have been fraught with very deleterious results. The elaborate boycott they organised against British goods in Bengal was economically a failure, as boycotts always are; but, while it lasted, it filled the province with disorder. In so far as the 'Swadeshi' movement for the encouragement of national industries was conducted on legitimate lines, it was an excellent thing; but when it became, as it did, an open incitement to riot, it deserved and received the severest condemnation. The 'National Volunteers,' another Bengali device, were organised in an equally malignant spirit. Ostensibly formed to develop a love of gymnastics among the youth of Bengal, they are really nothing but mobs of young men armed with staves, deliberately enlisted to create disturbances. Exactly where the line of cleavage is drawn between the associations which work in the sunlight, and the efforts of the clever desperadoes who have entered upon a cam-

paign of murder by bombs, it is not easy to judge. Probably there is no real cleavage at all; it is merely a question of degrees of criminality.

A systematic resort to isolated assassinations has always been the greatest danger that Englishmen in India have had to fear. Open revolt can be subdued, but the bomb-thrower who lurks alone in the dark is less easy to overcome. A flood of light has now been shed upon the grim underworld of Indian politics. The ramifications of the so-called anarchist conspiracy stretch very far indeed. It is quite a mistake to suppose that it is confined to Bengal. It has centres in London and Paris and New York, as well as in various parts of India. The devilish ingenuity of its leaders, the callousness of the accused persons now under arrest, are ominous indications that it will not be readily extirpated. Bombs and revolvers will not disappear from India because drastic legislation has been introduced against their use, or because a handful of Bengali malcontents may suffer severe punishment. Lord Curzon rightly said in the House of Lords the other day that 'we must count upon the chronic continuance of unrest in India'; we fear we must also count upon the frequent reappearance of its more nefarious concomitants. The anarchists of India are irreconcilable, and their numbers will probably grow. Swift and merciless punishment is the only remedy in their case.

But the anarchists, though they are quite capable, if not checked, of paralysing the peaceful routine of administrative work, are never likely to produce a general insurrection. It is extremely doubtful whether a great attempt at organised revolution would ever be possible in the lifetime of the present generation, even if the support accorded became fairly widespread. Whatever may occur in India in the next few years, we may be tolerably certain of our ability to deal with all manifestations of active hostility until next we engage in a life-and-death struggle with another great Power. Then, and not till then, will come the moment of real and vital danger in India. A spark then may set the whole country ablaze. There will be no ordered and cohesive upheaval, no serried array of well-armed and militant revolutionaries intent upon driving the British into the

sea. If trouble comes at all, it will probably take the form of a series of murderous riots spreading from city to city, and rapidly setting the whole country in an uproar. The normal machinery of administration will be to a great extent paralysed for a time. The means of communication may be interrupted and perhaps broken; if the recent railway and telegraph and postal strikes have not opened our eyes, nothing will. Europeans will have to concentrate; and the remoter districts will have to be left to look after themselves. There are more arms in India than is sometimes believed. It is impossible wholly to prevent their entry with such an enormous coastline; and the few stores of arms recently found in Calcutta mean much. Of course, we shall hold our own in the long run, and vigorous action at the outset may avert a great deal of mischief; but, if any British Ministry thinks it can go to war again without reckoning upon the absolute certainty of grave trouble in India, it is dwelling in a fool's paradise.

Were these possibilities not discerned in interested quarters it would be impolitic to speak of them here; but they are perfectly well understood in the capitals of three great Powers, whose systems of collecting intelligence in India, though mainly limited to ascertaining broad general tendencies, are for their purposes almost as good as our own. There is far more danger for Great Britain in silence than in speaking plainly on this critical question. We must face the situation, and consider what we have to expect, and not shut our eyes to it. We shall have to fight our next great war with one eye on India; and, when it is over, we shall probably have to set about the restoration of order in a vast Dependency which may have lapsed into anarchy.

We shall be holding three hundred millions of people in check with white troops at our disposal numbering only twice the strength of the garrison that Rome, in her hour of her greatest power, deemed necessary for the maintenance of order among the scanty tribes of South Britain. There will be no chance of reinforcements. No power in history has ever undertaken such a gigantic task with such inadequate means. We won India far too easily, and in consequence have deceived ourselves ever since. How many English voters realise that Clive gained his

victory at Plassey, which ultimately gave us the control of India, with a force of about 3200 men, of whom 900 were Europeans, and that he only lost seven Europeans and sixteen natives killed? The price was too cheap, and it has always led us to underrate the perils of our enterprise. And, though we also have a brave and devoted native army, those who take the long view and look far ahead will do well to remember that it is upon the valour and steadfastness of white men, aided, perhaps, by the fighting stock of one or two other races, that we must first depend for the maintenance of our rule in India.

Is there no remedy for the problems of India? We fear that nothing we can do, or ever could have done, will prevent the recurrence of unrest and the possibility of more serious trouble. But we can apply palliatives and we can remove genuine grievances. To adapt the words of Lord Morley at the Indian Civil Service dinner, British statesmanship has no need to confess itself beaten. There are many reassuring circumstances. The loyalty of the great Indian princes, whose interests grow more and more identical with our own; the comparative quiescence of the Mahomedans and their dread of Brahminical domination; the growth of Indian industries and the large amount of native capital invested therein, as well as in Government securities; the considerable leaven of quiet, influential, law-abiding men, who have no wish to see a Poona Brahmin in the robes of the Peishwas, or a blatant Babu orator masquerading as dictator of Bengal; these and many other considerations might be cited as tending to lighten the somewhat gloomy outlook.

Our first duty, alike to India and to ourselves, is the maintenance of order. Though Lord Morley's control has not been free from mistakes, he was amply justified in claiming in the House of Lords that he had never swerved a hair's breadth from the observance of that paramount obligation. He paid, too, a deserved tribute to the 'manful courage' of Lord Minto, of whom it may be said that he has fulfilled the initial requirement of a British statesman in India, in that, in moments of storm and difficulty unequalled in modern experiences in that country, he has never once become flurried. His judicious calmness has been worthy of all praise. Perhaps his

restraint has been a little too marked, for, though he strengthened the law against seditious meetings, it seems to have been very rarely put into operation. His new legislation has been in all respects commendable so far as it goes. The Explosives Act needs no further justification, because it is already the law of England. The Press Act, which imposes confiscation upon presses issuing instigations to murder and acts of violence, ought to have been more summary in its procedure, and should have depended less upon the courts. No punishment can be too swift for that limited class of incitements. The general law against sedition still needs further stiffening; and disreputable journals will remain a constant source of anxiety until the further press legislation promised by Lord Minto is undertaken.

The growing habit of itinerant English agitators of seeking fresh notoriety amid Indian mobs is a very serious question, and will certainly have to be dealt with before long. Lord Cromer wisely asked in the House of Lords debate whether legal power could be given to the Government to take action against those Englishmen in India 'who deliberately assume the rôle of Indian demagogues.' But the evil wrought by reckless and ignorant persons of the type of Mr Keir Hardie is not so grave in its results as the persistent campaign carried on by a handful of retired civil servants inside and outside the House of Commons. Mr Hardie's limitations are fairly well understood, even in Bengal; but the speeches and writings and perpetual provocative interrogations of men who are well known in India carry far more weight and are far more mischievous. It is becoming a matter for consideration whether the conditions of receiving a pension should not be so far modified as to make it clear that Indian civilians do not cease upon retirement to owe an obligation to the country and the Government they have served. The Government of India should not be expected perpetually to subsidise their open foes. And ought not more of the many Anglo-Indians living in retirement to realise that the task of stemming the crusade of assiduous misrepresentation in England has a stronger claim than the attractions of bridge and golf? Mr Rees, whose excellent book may be commended, should not be left to fight a lone battle in Parliament;

and it may be added that Mr Mitra's admirable volume constitutes an example which other Indians of literary ability should be encouraged to emulate.

These are, however, merely precautionary remedies. No one who has the interests of India at heart would wish to see the introduction of that 'policy of pure repression' which Lord Morley so properly deprecates, or would desire Anglo-Indians to busy themselves solely with the work of combating the pernicious propaganda of the hostile forces. Many constructive readjustments of policy require to be introduced. Decentralisation, the improvement of the pay and conditions of service of the native army, less interference with the Native States, a further revision of the system of higher education, a great development of primary education, a more effective direction of technical education, the encouragement of social reform, the lightening of the duties of district officers, are among the questions which demand and are receiving attention. Whether the agitation for the separation of judicial and executive functions should be given a hearing is more open to doubt. The danger that lurks behind it is that indicated by the increasing degree to which the judicial system is passing into the hands of competent Indians. The capture of the courts is a notable plank in the Congress secret platform.

But at the back of all these questions lies the far more momentous issue raised by the insistent and not unreasonable demand of India for a larger share in the control of her own affairs. Lord Morley's bold and possibly unexpected declaration that this demand was supported by 'a great mass of strong Anglo-Indian opinion' will no doubt be questioned; but it was perfectly true, and no one had better cause for making it than the Secretary of State, who, in the past two years, has been at such pains to acquaint himself at first hand with every shade of view. What form the suggested concessions will take is still a matter for speculation, but it is known that the original proposals for Advisory Councils and for broadening the basis of representation in the legislative Councils are to be materially developed. We are concerned here, however, not so much with the form as with the spirit of the proposals. As the years pass, it will probably be found that it is Parliament rather than the Government of

India that will block the way to a greater delegation of power to the people of India. The home authorities are not unwilling to diminish the powers of the Government of India, but not a vestige of the growing control of Parliament, with its accompaniment of incessant petty interference, will be surrendered; and it may be safely predicted that at some stage or other this will prove a stumbling-block. If, however, the present projected reforms are wisely and prudently and generously devised, they may for a time allay discontent among a large proportion of the moderate men of India. This is the utmost we can now hope to accomplish. Despite all that has happened, the demand now made is legitimate and must be met. No concessions will give us peace in India, for nothing we may grant will ever recall the golden days of quietude; but we must continue to pursue the course that we consider just, and the appeal for a limited enlargement of the Indian share of control has become a just appeal.

Unfortunately, the mildest aspiration of the Congress is for 'self-government on colonial lines,' a boon which India will probably never be fitted to receive for many generations to come. The really moderate men may perfunctorily thank us for our prospective concessions, but the Congress will never do so. We must therefore make up our minds to pursue the old, grim, thankless task of ruling, heedless of praise or blame, expecting no permanent diminution of our difficulties, content if we have done justice according to our lights, resolute in our determination to keep our cardinal interests inviolate, and firm in our belief in the austere and exalted character of our work. If we need inspiration and strength, we must seek it in our own inward conception of the nature of our mission, for we may depend upon it that we shall never find it in the gratitude of India.



**Art. XI.—A RECKLESS GOVERNMENT.**

WHEN Ministers framed the legislative programme for the parliamentary year they must have been well aware that their schemes were incapable of execution within the time at their disposal, even if they had resolved upon adjourning the session in August and resuming work in October. Their calculations, whatever they might have been, were upset by the interruption of business caused by the resignation of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman—followed with mournful rapidity by his death—and the reconstruction of the Cabinet under the presidency of Mr Asquith. In ordinary circumstances we should have refrained from anything but a conventional reference to the political career of the late Prime Minister, but a certain provocative perversity displayed by Ministers and their supporters on the platform and in the press embarrasses opponents and critics who might in the presence of death or of some delicate administrative situation be anxious to observe a truce. A joint suspension of hostilities is, however, only feasible when there is an honourable understanding on both sides not to turn it to selfish advantage. We could all sincerely concur, and did concur, in the eulogies passed upon the personal character, the habitual geniality, and the political integrity of Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman. Nor was it for those who had been his parliamentary opponents to question the extreme value set by his followers upon Sir Henry's merits as leader and party manager. When, however, they insisted that, as Prime Minister of this kingdom, he took rank among the greatest of his predecessors, and when it was asserted, as it has been asserted by members of the present Administration who had been his colleagues, that his popularity was due to his dislike of Imperialism and to the words he uttered and the deeds he attempted during the diplomatic struggle with Mr Kruger, and on many occasions after war had been declared against this country, a protest is imperatively demanded from those who believed that such utterances and actions were injurious to the Empire and were instrumental in prolonging the war and increasing its costliness in treasure and in blood. It is impossible for

Imperialists when thus challenged not to recall rankling phrases which history will revive, but which we should for the present prefer to forget.

Ministers pursue the same practice of provocation with regard to their present South African policy, about which something will be said later. Many of the best-informed speakers and writers on South African problems purposely refrained from adverse criticism of the Elgin policy, when it was translated into accomplished facts, though they viewed it with deep apprehension and even alarm. They observed, however, a patriotic reticence in order to give the scheme a chance. It would seem that their self-restraint has been ignorantly or wilfully misconstrued. We find the present Prime Minister—we need not notice Mr Churchill's electioneering pranks—going down to Birmingham and not only vindicating (as he was entitled to do) and glorifying his South African policy as the brightest gem in the Radical tiara of achievements, but also invoking the self-imposed silence of his opponents as a proof that they dare not challenge the splendid success of a policy which has yet to undergo the crucial test of time. This is neither statecraft nor cricket.

With this preamble we turn to the work of Parliament so far as it has progressed. The Duke of Wellington was fond of quoting a characteristic jibe of Talleyrand at the expense of Regnier. During the Directory the two met at dinner, and Regnier, as usual, talked much about himself. 'Quoiqu'on en dise,' he said, 'je n'ai jamais fait qu'une méchanceté de ma vie.' Talleyrand promptly asked, 'Et quand finira-t-elle ?'

The story is very applicable to the present Government. It is composed of men, generally speaking, of more than average intellectual capacity, and individually as straightforward as statesmen can be expected to be. The *méchanceté* of which it is guilty is congenital and will only finish with its death. Those who thought that the substitution of Mr Asquith for Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman would revolutionise the character of the Cabinet were mistaken. There was indeed a change; if we may have recourse to geology for an illustration, we should say that the original Cabinet was of a 'conglomerate' kind, and that Sir Henry supplied the tenacious material in which the various stones were

embedded and held together. The reconstructed Cabinet, on the other hand, is of the 'stratified' order, the superincumbent stratum being supplied by Mr Asquith himself. The formation is cohesive rather than homogeneous.

This phenomenon is the very source and fount of legislative and administrative *méchanceté*. If you cut a vertical slice out of any block of Radical legislation you will come across specimens of every stratum. There will be the old Liberal 'chunk,' the neo-Radical 'chunk,' the Socialist 'chunk,' and even the early barbarian 'chunk.' Such material is interesting in a museum of political geology, but it is dangerous stuff out of which to construct ministers or to evolve laws. Representative Government under the party system does not mean, or at least ought not to mean, that the Government should represent the differences existing in the parliamentary majority. A truly representative Government is one, composed as it may be, and indeed must be, of very different elements, which is welded by fusion into a homogeneous corporation *idem sentiens de republica*; it is not in the true sense representative if the component parts are merely sandwiched together, without any real cohesion. The present Administration belongs to the latter category; and the mischievous consequences of this imperfect formation are enhanced by the fact that its members are all tied and bound by the reckless and often irreconcilable pledges given by them in order to secure votes at the elections of 1906. They cannot even agree amongst themselves as to what were the dominant issues upon which they were returned to place and power. At one time the Prime Minister assures us that Free-trade, and Free-trade only, was the problem before the country some two years and a half ago. This assertion is no doubt very convenient when so thorny a subject as Home Rule comes up for handling; but at another time, when he fathers so revolutionary a measure as the Licensing Bill, or criticises the functions of the Upper House, or foreshadows extension of the franchise, Mr Asquith derides the mandate theory, and contends that the Government received a blank cheque from the electors, to be filled up by Ministers to any amount the majority in the House of Commons will sanction.

Nothing has happened which was not bound to happen.

Anatomically the Cabinet is very powerful, but functionally it is disabled by paralysis. This is no mere generalisation; the truth of the proposition is demonstrated by the evidence of their daily life. Administrative action and legislative proposals are alike affected by this congenital infirmity. Take, for instance, their treatment of such vital questions as the efficient maintenance of our fighting forces. It is clear upon the face of things that antagonistic influences are at work within the walls of Downing Street, and stamp their impression upon the unsatisfactory output of the combined wisdom of the Cabinet. There is an Imperialist element in the Administration, of whose policy not only Sir Edward Grey and Mr Haldane, but Mr Asquith himself were supposed to be the exponents; there is also a Little England party represented by the Lord Chancellor and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; thirdly, there is a peace or disarmament party, which, however, lost its most uncompromising advocate when Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman died; and lastly, we have the rigid 'retrenchment' section, which also claims Mr Asquith and his successor at the Treasury as champions. What is the result?

In the first place, every Minister, on introducing his estimates, deprecates the expenditure required to keep up the navy or the army, expresses pious hopes that the millennium will shortly occur, and apologises to Parliament and the country for the insurance premiums he is reluctantly asking them to pay. This is not the spirit by which empires are made or defended; nor does this Quakerish tone conduce to the cause of peace. The strong man arms himself for the defence of his goods in proportion to the strength of the attack which otherwise his nakedness might invite. This manifest reluctance to keep our navy and army above the bare minimum of national security is a direct temptation to possible rivals to strengthen their weapons of attack. In diplomacy, as in social life, it is the opportunity that makes the thief. We need not dwell at this moment upon the condition of the army in its transition stages; the buoyant optimism of last year has given way—except in the case of Mr Haldane himself—to a perhaps exaggerated despondency. Time will show, and that before many months are over. Yet Mr Haldane has had a freer hand

than any of his predecessors or his colleagues ; if his scheme fails, with him will be the main responsibility ; for, as he has frequently admitted, he has enjoyed the most loyal and ungrudging support from all classes, including those opposed to him in politics, who suffer from the ever-growing exactions of a Radical Ministry.

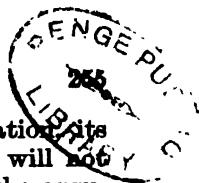
The navy is in an even less fortunate position, though Minister after Minister has pledged himself solemnly to the duty of keeping 'the command of the seas.' Yet it is known that the Treasury is bent upon pursuing that fatal policy of parsimony which, at the close of the prolonged period of Whig-Radical ascendancy in 1874, left us with what Mr Ward Hunt truly described as a 'phantom fleet.' The Admiralty's demands are not curtly and directly refused, but the naval authorities are asked to call another day, or are appeased with post-dated cheques. Meanwhile other Powers are taking advantage of our siesta and pushing on their ship-building schemes in the hope that John Bull's afternoon doze will prolong itself into an apoplectic slumber. The Government puts off till to-morrow what they ought to do to-day ; and, not content with this, they mortgage the morrow up to the very hilt. Yet, in the case of the military and naval forces, the amount of pressure to which the responsible Ministers are exposed must be insignificant inside the Cabinet ; nor is it very formidable in the House of Commons, where Unionist and moderate Liberal support will always outweigh Labour and Radical defections.

The Foreign Office, by a happy agreement, finds itself to-day immune from partisan criticism. So long as continuity of policy is observed, on the lines laid down by Lord Salisbury and Lord Lansdowne, and followed by Lord Rosebery and Sir Edward Grey in their turn, it matters not whether the Secretary of State be Tory or Whig, Unionist or Home Ruler, provided that he is—as Sir Edward Grey is by general consent admitted to be—a competent man. Even here, however, where there is no excuse for excessive pliability, the pressure of sections is allowed to leave a disfiguring mark. There was a time not so long ago, while foreign policy still divided parties, that Russia, under a constitution far more rigid than the present one, was regarded with special favour by Radicals, simply, one is tempted to say, because her foreign policy was a

stumbling-block to Tory Governments. Now that friendly relations have been established, to the great advantage of the world, between the British and Russian Governments, the Radicals deem themselves entitled to scrutinise the constitution of Russia, and having submitted it to their own peculiar tests, not only condemn it, but declare that there should be no dealings with these political Samaritans. The protests raised by the Labour party against the King's visit to the Tsar at Reval may be dismissed as due to 'ignorance, sheer ignorance'; yet this ignorance tells upon the Government. Contrast the speeches delivered upon the question by the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State respectively. Mr Asquith was apologetic and deprecatory, and painfully anxious to propitiate the extreme Radicals; Sir Edward Grey was courteous, as it is his nature to be, but he did not disguise his conviction that the people who raised this offensive protest were mischief-mongers, and did not know what they were talking about.

Take, again, the case of the Indian problem, the gravest and most complex with which the Empire is confronted. Expert opinion, we are told, is almost worthless, but the judgment of Pagett, M.P., who journeys to the East to find what he wants, and finds it in a Babu-conducted tour of a few weeks, is held to possess some peculiar virtue, because, forsooth, the Keir Hardies and Rutherfords are supposed to be unprejudiced! Lord Morley has shaken himself clear of their influence; but he started as Indian Secretary under the influence of his own philosophic convictions. His speech at Arbroath on October 21, 1907, proved to all whom it concerned that he had not, even at that recent date, shaken off his 'doctrines.' Mr S. M. Mitra, a highly cultured Hindu—whose book, 'Indian Problems,' together with that of Mr Rees, M.P., entitled 'The Real India,' should be in the hands of all who really want to know—has declared that Lord Morley's speech did more to encourage sedition almost than any other contributory cause. Speaking of the 'experiment' of giving freedom of the press in India, Lord Morley said:

'Experiments may fail, but anyhow that is a Western experiment that we are about to try, not only through this Government but through other Governments. We are representatives



not of Oriental civilisation but of Western civilisation, its methods, its principles, its practices; and I for one will not be hurried into an excessive haste for repression by the argument that Orientals do not understand this toleration.'

Persia has just been showing what happens when the new wine of civilisation is poured into the old wine-skins of the East; and the sedition-monger in Calcutta and Bombay is applying the truly Occidental 'methods and practices' of bomb-throwing. Lord Morley has been rudely awakened from his dreams of an Occidentalised Orient. He is now sanctioning repressive Press laws, though he played his part in attacking the only efficient measures—those passed by Lord Lytton and repealed by Lord Ripon. But, as Mr Mitra points out, and as was shown by the Secretary for India in a recent debate in the Lords, he has not yet completely escaped from the Western assumption—true enough in Europe and America—that the executive cannot be trusted and that the judicature can. If a newspaper published in what is called a Native State preaches sedition, it is promptly suppressed; and the proprietor and editor, sometimes compensated and sometimes not, are put over the frontier, 'and there's an end on't.' There is good reason for this method of dealing with seditious journalism; Lord Morley's method produces other results. As he remarked in his speech on the Indian Budget in 1907:

'We have found by experience that a prosecution advertises far and wide the subject against which objection is taken; that it brings the matter to the ears of thousands who would never have heard of it otherwise; and that it attracts public attention to the prosecution of men who pose as martyrs for their country's good. The speeches of counsel are, after all, more harmful than the original libel.'

Just so; but why, then, as Mr Mitra shrewdly asks, give the right of appeal to a court of justice? All the evils you have foreseen as the result of prosecution will ensue. The answer is not that Lord Morley distrusts the fairness of the executive, but that he felt bound to throw a sop to the Radical section in Parliament and in the country.

It is not desirable to dwell unduly upon the present condition of South Africa. It is, however, necessary to

insist upon the fact that absolute silence or extreme moderation in criticism does not imply approval of the South African policy of the Government, and still less concurrence in the self-glorification in which Ministers habitually indulge when they speak of their share in transactions which were certainly hazardous in conception, and are as yet very far from being justified by results. The tempered pessimism of Lord Milner's speech at the dinner given by the Duke of Westminster to members of the Imperial South African Association in June rightly describes the situation. It is sufficient in this connexion to say that, but for the reckless pledges given in 1906 by Radical candidates, some of them occupying most responsible offices in the Administration, there would have been no such rash and precipitate action as was displayed in the premature grant of absolute self-government to the new colonies; and that securities would have been taken to protect British officials, who had borne the burden and heat of the day in the work of reconstruction, against actual or virtual dismissal, to make room for the friends of the new Government of the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies.

At the time of Mr Balfour's resignation we had in our hands all the master-cards which, legitimately played, would have maintained for the Empire and for the efficient English servants of the Crown that security which the results of the war and the sacrifices it had involved fully entitled us to demand. Those master-cards were wilfully and wantonly thrown away by Mr Balfour's successors. No provision was made for dangers which loom threateningly on the horizon, of whose existence everybody in South Africa is conscious, though they are regarded from very different standpoints. The haste which the Dutch party is making to force confederation while a Radical Ministry is in power at home is not without its significance. It recalls passages from letters written by Mr Te Water, while a member of Mr Schreiner's Cabinet in 1899, to President Steyn of the Orange Free State, who was then and until the eve of the declaration of war assuring Mr Te Water's chief that nothing short of a British invasion of the Transvaal would induce the Orange Free State to take up arms. In the first letter,

which bore date May 8, 1899, this Minister of the Crown writes to President Steyn :

'We must now play to win time. Governments are not perpetual; and I pray that the present team [i.e. Lord Salisbury's Government], so unjustly disposed towards us, may receive their reward before long. Their successors, I am certain, will pursue a less hateful policy.'

In these sentences the pronoun 'us' does not refer to the British subjects of Cape Colony, but to the citizens of the two republics. In a second letter, written ten days later to the same recipient of Mr Te Water's confidences, this Minister of the Crown declared that 'it is honestly now the time to yield a little; however one may later again tighten the rope.' The reasons which recommended dilatory tactics in 1899 are identical with those which now suggest precipitation.

As to the grievances of the 'retrenched' British officials, their reality and magnitude will be recognised even in the collusive correspondence between Sir R. Solomon and Sir West Ridgeway, recently published. It is asked, why do not more 'retrenched' officials come forward to complain? The answer is twofold. In the first place, Englishmen of the type of these men do not like 'grousing' in public; in the second place, they know that, if they proclaimed their wrongs from the housetops, they would fatally injure their prospect of getting other employment from the Colonial Office, which is naturally anxious to stifle their complaints with such sweetmeats as are at its disposal. Moreover, the 'slimness' of the Boers is equal to the occasion. An incident occurred quite recently which may be taken as typical. An English expert, who could earn and had earned 700*l.* to 800*l.* a year at home, was taken over by one of the Boer Governments at a salary of 1000*l.* a year. Of his qualifications and his efficiency there is no question, for they are amply, even fulsomely set forth in the testimonials given by the Government when he was 'retrenched.' He was not dismissed; he was informed by a Government which had just raised the salaries of its members above the level of those of any other Colonial Ministers, that reduction of his pay was necessitated by financial considerations. His employers therefore offered to retain him in his office on

the reduced salary of 400*l.* a year. This seductive offer was naturally declined. A Dutchman was appointed at that rate of remuneration; but the next month the salary was raised to 500*l.*, and a month later another 100*l.* was added, with the prospect that within a year or two's time he would be in receipt of the annual sum previously paid to the Englishman.\*

The policy of the Government and its results with regard to Chinese labour on the Rand have been so thoroughly exposed in all their monumental hypocrisy that no more is left to be said on this subject but this, that the mortality returns from the gold mines demonstrate beyond cavil that, in order to calm the storm of passionate 'humanitarianism' raised by Radicals before the last elections, human life is being sacrificed on a terrible scale. The hardy Chinaman, who suffered little from the severe conditions of subterranean labour, is being repatriated sorely against his will; while Kaffirs, recruited, so far as Portuguese territory is concerned, by methods hardly distinguishable from slave-hunting, and constrained to submit to the same 'servile restrictions' as the yellow men they have supplanted, are dying at more than double the rate recorded in the case of the Chinese. Two 'blacks' die where only one 'yellow' died before, in order that the Radicals may redeem the reckless and ignorant pledge by which they secured a victory at the polls.

We have given precedence to the baneful results of the flabby invertebrate ways of the Government in matters of administration; for no self-respecting Cabinet can plead pressure from within or without as an excuse for administrative blundering and failure. A strong Prime Minister does not yield in matters of Imperial importance to coercion from within. As Lord John Russell said, when subordinate members of the Cabinet disagree with the Premier, they resign, but he does not. If he gives way against his own convictions, he gives himself and the prestige of his position away too. As to external pressure in the discharge of administrative functions, it has, or should have, no terrors for a Minister with a great majority at his back. In the first place his supporters,

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\* We have proportionately varied the actual figures, as the ex-official does not wish to be identified.

however much a handful of them may protest, rarely if ever resist *faits accomplis*. In the second place, protest can only become effective when it takes the form of a vote of censure. We have to go back to the days of Palmerston and of small majorities, to find an instance of the overthrow of a Ministry on a motion of no confidence. In this Parliament there are very few Radicals confident enough in the approval of their constituencies to attempt to upset the Government with the inevitable consequences of forcing a dissolution.

With regard to legislation the case is far different, because Ministers cannot for ever be threatening to make defeats on detail—as distinguished from principle—a Cabinet question. If the Prime Minister is weak the forces of sectional pressure will be correspondingly strong, especially when, as in the conditions of to-day, nearly every section is represented in the Cabinet itself. As particular Bills have been exhaustively criticised in previous issues of the 'Quarterly Review,' as well as in the present number, we need only cite a few instances of this sectional pressure and its consequences.

There was the Education Bill No. 1. The Nonconformist element was dominant both in the Government and in the majority; therefore the first consideration was given to the pretensions of the so-called Free Churches. The Anglican element was meagre, and Radical churchmen were hardly numerous enough to exhaust the ecclesiastical patronage of the Prime Minister; therefore the Church of England was flouted. Roman Catholics would have received similar treatment but for the fact that their Irish co-religionists, with over eighty votes in the House of Commons, had to be reckoned with. This created a difficulty, because Nonconformists and secularists, while delighted to punish the Church of England, had no idea of helping the Roman Catholics. The result was a measure grossly unjust to the Church of England, yet not sufficiently vindictive to satisfy her enemies. The House of Lords amended this Bill. The Government refused even to consider their amendments; and the measure went to its grave 'unwept, unhonoured and unsung.' The Government were not depressed, for, miscalculating as usual the real feelings of the country, they flattered themselves that the action of the Lords

afforded them a chance of cheaply gratifying the extreme Radicals by a sham assault upon two estates of the realm. If the Radical electors had risen to this artificial fly, Ministers would doubtless have whipped the stream a ttle longer; but the Radicals did not respond, so the attack on the House of Lords went the way of the Education Bill, though the manœuvre fixed upon its authors the indelible disgrace of being ready to toss the Constitution as a sop to the wolves if thereby they could save their own precious skins. That they were not influenced by sincere convictions is sufficiently shown by the liberality they display in rewarding their wealthy supporters by promotion to a house they have condemned as a hopeless and dangerous anachronism.

After the first Education Bill disappeared, followed by the transference of its author to another sphere of action, there was an interim of bureaucratic oppression of the non-provided schools, whereby Mr McKenna hoped to evade the sheltering ægis of the House of Lords. That device failed, as it deserved to fail; a second Education Bill was introduced, which seems destined to share the fate of its predecessor; and Mr McKenna, like Mr Birrell and Bottom, has been translated.

We had also a Plural Voting Bill, which could have had no other object than to pretend to cover the pledges given in favour of 'one man one vote'; for Mr Asquith has recently informed us that there can be no tinkering with the franchise till a new Reform Bill, drafted upon democratic lines, is introduced at some date not yet fixed. Perhaps the Trades Disputes Act illustrates better than another the acrobatic balancings which the stratified formation of the Government and of the majority renders inevitable. When it emerged from the Cabinet oven half-baked—as all the measures of this Ministry have been—it bore upon its face the unmistakable signs of compromise; when, however, it came before the House of Commons, the Labour men threw their pickaxes and shovels into the balance, and the late Prime Minister promptly threw over all the doctrines of old-fashioned Liberalism, and with them the Attorney-General, who was briefed for their defence.

The Irish policy of the Government supplies at every point evidence of the same kind. Sectional pressure

deters Mr Birrell from upholding law in Ireland, even in its most elementary form, and extorts from his deputy spokesmen in Parliament, and occasionally from himself, expressions perilously akin to condonation of such crimes as cattle-driving. In the matter of legislation, there were Liberals to be appeased who hated the idea of Home Rule or of anything leading up thereto; there were Radicals with Irish constituents who dared not go back empty-handed to their supporters; and there were the Nationalists who, frankly owning that nothing short of parliamentary independence would satisfy, were graciously disposed to accept 'without prejudice' any adequate instalment such as Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman had promised them. The task of reconciling these conflicting views was impossible, but it was attempted. The result was the production, by the ill-starred Mr Birrell, of a bantling which hardly survived its birth, and perished, if amid tears at all, amid tears of heartless laughter.

No warning, however severe, seems able to teach the Government—even after undergoing the process of reconstruction—the folly of this mosaic method of legislating. We dealt in the previous number with the Licensing Bill, and it is only necessary here to point out how thoroughly its provisions are vitiated by the same disease exhibited by other legislative enterprises of the same craftsmen. It is an endeavour to reconcile the fanaticism of the teetotaler with the principles of common honesty, as understood by the old Liberal schools, and with the fear of the taxpayer's wrath, should he be asked to compensate a trade whose ruin he is most erroneously supposed to desire. The thing is impossible, and the result is grotesque. The language used to justify the spoliation of all concerned in the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages would no doubt be appropriate if applied to the proprietors of disorderly houses or of gambling hells. If all the charges laid to the door of the brewer, the distiller, and the publican were true, the only remedy for the devastating plague would be prohibition absolute and complete, coupled with at least as small a compensation as was paid to colonial slave-owners. Satan himself must laugh when he hears bishops and other godly men discussing how many poison fountains of sin, misery, crime, and damnation are to be allowed to

the square mile, or per thousand of the population, and for how many years the people of this country shall be permitted to wreck their lives and ruin their souls; or listens to them gravely declaring that beer from the private barrel is innocuous, while that drunk from the pewter pot is death, and that the well-to-do, who, in the Radical-Socialist press, are charged with the selfishness of Dives, can be trusted not to make beasts of themselves, while Lazarus and even the prosperous artisan must inevitably become depraved if they see two public-houses in the same street.

Yet all this is in a Bill which owes its existence not to the combined wisdom of our rulers, but to their discords and their jealousies. And more than this; when a few ill-advised brewers and publicans, forgetting the maxim that all things are just, but all things are not expedient, stated that they could not, if the Bill were carried, any longer contribute to Church or charitable funds, a hubbub was raised by certain politicians, including Cabinet Ministers, on the ground that the Trade was seeking 'to corrupt the Church.' At the very same time these Cabinet Ministers were openly bidding for episcopal support for the Bill by cynically offering to do a deal with the Church with regard to the education problem, apparently at the expense of the Nonconformist conscience.

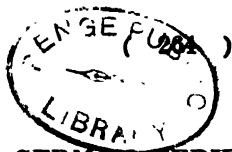
The same causes and the same effects are witnessed in the case of Old-age Pensions which, whatever else may be said for or against them, violently outrage one of the first principles of orthodox fiscal policy, namely, that the whole community shall not be taxed for the benefit of one particular class. What with Merchant Shipping Acts and Patent Law Acts, this Government, elected, as the Prime Minister asserts, expressly to resist Protection, is leaving nothing of Free-trade but the name. All that the Old-age Pensions Bill grants and all that it withholds, its arbitrary restrictions and its complicated provisions, bear, like every other legislative coin issued from the Downing Street mint, the indelible stamp of internal dissensions and invertebrate pliability. No wonder that Ministers, who included 'freedom of debate' amongst their other electioneering cries, are anxious to stifle discussion in the House of Commons and to invoke the gag

and guillotine to an extent unheard-of and un contemplated since the closure was introduced into parliamentary procedure. Were it in their power they would, no doubt, muzzle the House of Lords; and the Mother of Parliaments would be reduced to the level of the manageress of an office for registering the decrees of not one caucus only, but of a syndicate of many antagonistic caucuses.

Space forbids us to refer at length to the abuse of such useful devolutional bodies as Standing and Grand Committees, to which are referred measures of the most controversial character, to be discussed under the menace of the gag, and under conditions which preclude the public from learning what takes place. But just a word must be said on the Irish Universities Bill. It is streaked with concessions to every party in Ireland except such Unionists as are really anxious to secure for Roman Catholics access to more liberal training in intellectual development within the atmosphere of the Roman Catholic Church. The bishops and Nationalists will have nothing but a glorified seminary, in the control of which even Roman Catholic graduates will have practically no say. As the Bill emerges from Committee, in spite of all Mr S. H. Butcher's most patient and conciliatory efforts to render it a real boon to his fellow-countrymen, it is so hopelessly bad and useless that its passing or its rejection must be matters of absolute indifference to all interested in higher education. Mr Birrell has had his opportunity and, as usual, has thrown it away. This much may be said in his defence, that he has only acted in accordance with a vicious system engendered by the reckless, if not unscrupulous methods by which a Radical majority was temporarily secured.

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**Art. XII.—THE GERMAN PERIL.**

1. *German Ambitions*. By 'Vigilans sed Æquus' [W. T. Arnold]. London: Smith, Elder, 1903.
2. *The Pan-Germanic Doctrine: being a Study of German Political Aims and Aspirations*. London and New York: Harper, 1904.
3. *La Colonisation et les Colonies Allemandes*. By André Chéradame. Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1905.
4. *Modern Germany*. Second revised and enlarged edition. By J. Ellis-Barker. London: Smith, Elder, 1907.
5. *England and Germany*. By Austin Harrison. London: Macmillan, 1907.
6. *Deutschland und die Grosse Politik*, 1907. By Dr Th. Schiemann, Professor in the University of Berlin. Berlin: Reimer, 1908.
7. *Die Zukunft Deutschlands: eine Warnung*. By Regierungsrath Rudolf Martin. Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1908.
8. *The Admiralty of the Atlantic: an Enquiry into the Development of German Sea-power*. By Percival A. Hislam. London: Longmans, 1908.
9. *Die Finanzen der Grossmächte*. By Dr Friedrich Zahn. Berlin: Heymann, 1908.

'It is not true,' wrote De Quincey, 'that any man is disguised in liquor; upon the contrary, most men are only disguised in sobriety.' This remark should be remembered as a warning of vital importance to States and peoples having to reckon with the Prussian tradition of preparing for successful violence by persuasive diplomacy. There was a revealing moment during the South African war when the materialistic and belligerent Germany of to-day forgot the great Frederick's maxim that secrecy is the soul of statecraft, and gave utterance with unbridled candour to the pent-up passions and ambitious dreams of a new generation. Inspired by the spectacular and rhetorical methods of the Kaiser's régime in its first phase, miscalculating the real temper of the British people and the resources of British policy, intoxicated by a success up to that hour unbroken, the German Government and nation then betrayed the true inwardness of their political thought. It is only in crises that the

past and future of peoples may be read as by flashes of lightning and seen as a single process.

Nothing is so bitterly regretted in Berlin as the loquacious folly of one arrogant interval. Desperate efforts have been made, and are systematically pursued at this moment, to discipline German sentiment and to hypnotise public opinion in this country. The dangers of delusion are greatest upon our own side, because the conditions are not equal. We are a democracy, and our national policy is influenced by every wave of popular sentimentalism. The Imperial policy of Germany is directed by a monarchical executive, always in office. It is actuated by complete continuity of effort and purpose. It is not necessarily disturbed by the fluctuations of parliamentary majorities, and is entirely uninfluenced by speeches, whether made in Germany or abroad.

To the paralysing influences of an infatuated optimism we are exposed, while Germany is exempt from them. Every visit of a German deputation is used as an argument for reducing the size of our army and minimising the expenditure upon our fleets. Across the North Sea there is no corresponding process. Without rest and without swerving, armaments are accumulated. Year by year, silently, ceaselessly, proceeds the automatic expansion of a colossal military strength. There is no pause in the creation of the greatest naval organisation, except our own, that has ever existed. On the contrary, ships are added to ships with accelerating rapidity; and new naval programmes, each more daring than its predecessor, are produced in dexterous succession, so as to impart a gradual and almost prosaic aspect to a startling process of national evolution.

Meanwhile the Kaiser's subjects, now numbering over sixty-two millions of people, increase by nearly a million souls a year—a surplus that in numbers and ability combined, in fighting aptitude, in wealth and working power, in every kind of organised efficiency, represents a far more formidable increment than is now annually added to the population of any other two Western countries. German armaments never accumulated more rapidly; never were pacific assurances more profuse. The whole furious campaign of Anglophobia has been sedulously damped down. Every sensational evidence of its existence has

been suppressed. Yet the inspired German press is following up a campaign of suggestion no less unmistakable than the open outbursts of a few years ago, and representing, not only a cooler and more compressed, but a more methodical and concentrated hostility.

Against the absolute unity of German instinct upon this question we have no similar national solidarity to set. Great social and financial interests are under the influence of the German point of view. We have an openly pro-German press, which expresses day by day, upon almost every international question, precisely the views most pleasing to the Wilhelmstrasse. These soothing efforts do a part of their work. English public opinion is, in the bulk, still somnolent and blind with respect to the German peril. Some of us, though awake, are sceptical or incredulous; others cannot tolerate the thought of a fratricidal antagonism between two peoples formerly more closely connected with each other (as it seemed) than any other two in Europe by the strongest ties of interest as well as by the deepest sentiments of racial, spiritual, and intellectual kinship.

Nevertheless, nothing can be more certain than that the German Government and the whole German people, constituting at once the most formidable, the most compressed, and the least satisfied of all the great Powers, regard the strength of England and the existence of her maritime supremacy as the first and the chief obstacle to the realisation of their ambitions by land and sea. Fail before that obstacle, and a Teutonic Empire able to hold its own against the united force of the Anglo-Saxons or of the Slavs, or even of the Yellow world, can never be created. Break that barrier, and the accomplishment will follow of more splendid hopes than Chatham ever achieved or Napoleon ever cherished. This, and nothing but this, is at the present moment the fixed idea of German thought and the guiding instinct of German feeling. For us there can be no safety in optimism. There can be no security except in our ultimate ability to meet strength with strength, in the cool sagacity and resolution of our policy, in the seriousness of our national awakening to a true sense of our situation in the world; in our determination, with unshrinking insight into what may lie before us, to use the passing interval of un-

certain peace to recast our military organisation in accordance with the stern demands that are likely, sooner or later, to be made upon it; above all, to make, if need be, greater efforts to maintain the mastery of the seas than any people ever made. In face of the permanence and the increasing urgency of the German peril, let us be certain, not only that eternal vigilance has become the price of Empire and the necessity of national existence, but that no forewarning will avail us unless the crisis finds us forearmed. We can only aggravate it and precipitate it by our weakness. We may postpone, we may even avert it, by our strength. The one way to make the survival of the British Empire not improbable is to act as though within the next half-generation it might conceivably be destroyed. The one way of making an Anglo-German conflict not inevitable is to act as though it were certain to occur.

It must be admitted that any realistic estimate of the future relations between England and Germany will come as near to a theory of antagonisms clenched and predestined as the history of the world has ever known. In modern times the nearest analogy was the secular struggle between England and France, which the latter might have won if she could ever have abandoned her plans of continental conquest, shaken herself free from European coalitions, and thrown her whole strength into maritime expansion. An antagonism, not created by blind passions nor to be conjured away by mere words, had to be fought out, war after war, to a clear issue. If omnipotent on the Continent, France would be supreme at sea. If she had triumphed, whether under Louis XIV or Napoleon, this island would have been the most abject of her vassals. Against the rich, compact, almost self-contained France of that time, equally predominant in wealth and population, we had extreme difficulty in preserving our existence. We only saved ourselves because national instinct, with an unsleeping prejudice, an unreasoning obstinacy which it was easy to caricature, held to its purpose generation after generation, and never swerved for a moment while the issue was in doubt.

France, after six centuries of struggle, has retired from the competition for sea-power. But was it possible

for any thinking man to believe that no new and more formidable rival would appear to grasp at the greatest of prizes—that we should be allowed to enjoy unchallenged the unconditional mastery of the seas? And is it possible for any competent politician, for any mind capable of cool observation, to doubt that the new German Empire has taken the place of France in that arena where so much of the dominion of the world is to be won by overthrowing its present lords? No. Let us recognise that our maritime monopoly during the latter half of Queen Victoria's reign was an advantage which we shall never again enjoy upon easy terms. Let us face the critical fact that sea-power in the twentieth century will be as fiercely disputed between the nations as in the seventeenth century or the eighteenth. Let us decide once for all, and, having decided, hold stiffly to the conviction, with that insight and fibre of which our ancestors were capable, that Germany will be in the future, under William II and after, what Spain was under Philip II, or what France was under Louis XIV or Napoleon—the Power which most nearly threatens our life, and is preparing, with method and rapidity, to compass our destruction.

The thing that has been is the thing that shall be. The peril embodied in the Armada and the Camp of Boulogne will return in a more urgent shape than ever in our own time. Once more our national liberty, no less than the existence of the Empire, will be put to the hazard, unless our policy is skilful enough to paralyse rivalry or our armaments are sufficient to shatter aggression, whether by land or sea. What the Spanish danger was to the Elizabethans, what the Gallic danger was to their posterity, that and nothing less nor other is the German danger to this generation and its successors. The Kaiser's subjects, not willing to be second to any people on earth in any form of national success, and accustomed by reflection and organisation to attain all things, are now the most direct, obstinate, and ubiquitous of our commercial, maritime, and political rivals; and our supremacy in ships, colonies, and commerce is what they are constrained permanently to hate. They do and they must desire to take our place in the world, whether by superseding us gradually in peace or breaking us in

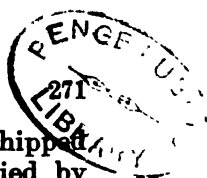
conflict. It is well for nations, as for individuals, to fasten always upon the main fact. The rivalry between Germany and England will be the main fact of our coming history, as the rivalry between England and France was the decisive influence upon our past fortunes. In a word, if we may resort to that image which dominates the imagination of modern Germany, when the iron of destiny is once more hot in the forge of the world's affairs, hammer or anvil we shall be.

Before we can form a sound estimate of the future or appreciate the reality of this situation we must understand the origins. They are frequently misconceived even by men who are deep in the older forms of German culture but are less intimately acquainted with the psychology of German development since 1870 and with the newer school of German historians. An intense intellectual and emotional antagonism heralded the actual clash of interests and aims. A trait in the Teutonic character that has never been adequately reckoned with in this country is the vindictiveness of its historical memory. This defect, corrected by the just mind of Ranke, has been cultivated and exaggerated by his more impassioned successors. The most brilliant and powerful of them all was Heinrich von Treitschke, as consistent and formidable an enemy to England as Cato was to Carthage. To our discredit, be it said, his name is scarcely known to the ordinary educated person in this country. Not one of his books has been translated. His solid and glowing masterpiece, 'German History in the Nineteenth Century,' has been read by few Englishmen; the volumes of his essays, lectures, and controversial papers by fewer still. Yet Treitschke was, beyond all doubt, one of the greatest prose writers of modern times; and, if we are to understand the genesis of German hostility, we had better begin by reckoning with him.

He had an influence upon the political imagination of his countrymen second only to Bismarck's own. We never properly understand that in Germany the professors are the prophets. As Sybel once remarked in a glowing speech—on the occasion of the great man's escape from an assassin's bullet at Kissingen—with regard to the creation of an united Germany, 'Was die Professoren

gewusst, das hat Bismarck gekonnt.' It was the purpose of Treitschke, and it is that of his disciples, not merely to investigate historic fact, but to communicate living conviction, and to apply the study of the past to the tasks of the future. Heinrich von Treitschke, who died in 1896, was for nearly a quarter of a century after Sedan professor of history in the University of Berlin. He was a lecturer and writer of extraordinary force, of electrifying vehemence; and, for good or ill, he swept away much of the historical thought and political sentiment that had prevailed before his time. He was the panegyrist of the house of Hohenzollern; he became the vehement and convincing antagonist of the ideals associated on the Continent with the name of British Liberalism; though not a Conservative, he was the first to accept Bismarck's new commercial policy when the latter, in 1879, resolved upon his memorable repudiation of Free-trade; and he was the ardent advocate of colonial expansion—the pioneer, therefore, of the doctrine that England blocks the way. Whether political passion more influenced retrospective judgment, or historical research inspired the political ideas, the Teutonic mind, viewing the past under a new light, soon became impressed by the surprising conviction that England had always blocked the way. The Fatherland is consequently saturated with a sentiment corresponding with that similar prejudice, naturally arising out of similar circumstances, which used to be expressed by the French in a celebrated phrase, *perfide Albion*. To a former school of Teutonic thinkers England had been the Mother of Parliaments and the pioneer of modern freedom in all its forms. The new view suggested by Treitschke and his school, and indeed by most modern German historians and economists of other schools, is that England has been a brutal, grasping, and hypocritical power; that she has unscrupulously pursued for centuries the policy of dividing the Continent to aggrandise herself; and that, above all, the British Empire has been created largely at Germany's expense.

In the preaching of his doctrines Treitschke added to the *furor Teutonicus* something more intense and dangerous. He had a fire of temperament, an oratorical fervour of expression which came to him with a strong



dose of Slav blood. He idealised Prussia ; he worshipped the theory of creative force preached and applied by the Hohenzollern and their servants from Frederick the Great to Bismarck. Nor did he stop there, but he urged his countrymen to aspire to an equal place in maritime enterprise and colonial empire. In a word, this writer, almost as massive and thorough as Freeman, and more dramatic than Froude, was by far the most brilliant and persuasive apostle of the whole modern creed of German expansion. He demanded that Holland should be forced into a Zollverein, so that Germany might control the mouth of her own river, the Rhine. In a sentence which was written a generation ago, but might have been the utterance of some Teutonic pamphleteer upon the recent Hague Conference, he declares that

‘the day will come, and must come, when Gibraltar will belong to the Spaniards, Malta to the Italians, Heligoland to the Germans, and the Mediterranean to the nations who live on the Mediterranean. . . . England is to-day the shameless representative of barbarism in international law. Hers is the blame if naval wars still bear the character of privileged piracy.’

And the whole of this forceful thinker’s teaching, so far as it concerns ourselves, was summed up in one of his later passages. It cannot be pondered too seriously by any one who wishes to understand the origin or to be convinced of the reality of German hostility toward this country.

‘In the south of Africa circumstances are decidedly favourable. . . . If our empire has the courage to follow an independent colonial policy with determination, a collision of our interests and those of England is unavoidable. It was natural and logical that the new great Power of Central Europe had to settle affairs with all great Powers. We have settled our accounts with Austria-Hungary, with France, and with Russia. *The last settlement, the settlement with England, will probably be the lengthiest and most difficult.*’

When Treitschke died in 1896, the Kaiser’s telegram to President Kruger had already been despatched ; and in the following year the first cautious steps were taken towards the creation of German sea-power. The mental and practical relations of the two countries were already

changed for ever ; and all that has since occurred was even then predestined.

In the country with which we have to deal, present history is determined more than elsewhere by a definite reading of past politics. The mind of the existing generation across the North Sea is now steeped in retrospective rancour against England, which appears, in the pages of Treitschke and other historians, as the direct or indirect cause of Germany's secular disunion, commercial weakness, and lack of maritime power. More especially, in recent times, has Prussia cause to resent our malevolent attitude in the Congress of Vienna, in the Schleswig-Holstein quarrel, in the later stages of the Franco-Prussian war. Such, in short, is the accepted view of the historical relations between the two countries.

We have next to trace very rapidly the influence of Bismarck's methods and achievements upon Anglo-German relations. Treitschke's theories formed, as it were, the projection of the Iron Chancellor's thoughts ; and without the man of blood and iron the historian with the style of fire and gall would have laboured in vain, if indeed he had not laboured otherwise. Bismarck always endeavoured to encourage Anglophobia for his own purposes and at the same time to keep it thoroughly under control ; but the evil that he did lived after him and grew to dimensions of which he had hardly dreamed. The present situation is indeed the development of a policy by which Bismarck sought rather to deal with the immediate situation than to leave a sinister heritage to our own time. But from the first moment of the Iron Chancellor's influence on Prussian policy there came the supreme struggle between two ideals. English political theories had from the outset to be combated and conquered. In the end they were utterly crushed. We had liberal views, parliamentary institutions, and responsible government. All this was anathema to Bismarck ; and we can now see that he was a thousand times right. Insular idealism applied to the German question meant impotence and ruin. The destinies of the Fatherland, as he had cried in the first speech which warned Europe that a new and formidable personality had appeared upon the political stage, were to

be worked out, not by speeches and majorities, but by blood and iron.

Even yet no one has made any adequate study of that fundamental conflict between English and Prussian ideas which showed itself and was fought out long before there was any direct clash of British and German interests. Let us trace some phases of this conflict. Bismarck laid down the solid basis of his political practice during the Crimean war. He was opposed utterly to the participation of Prussia in the action of the Western Powers; and from that moment to the day of his death—in spite of surface symptoms to the contrary during and after the Berlin Congress—the leading principle of his statecraft was to preserve the peace between St Petersburg and Berlin. In 1863 we attempted our futile intervention on behalf of the Poles. We did not understand that Prussian even more than Muscovite policy was determined to maintain the dismemberment of the Polish race. The Crown Princess, afterwards the Empress Frederick, was regarded by the Iron Chancellor as his constant enemy, and as the most dangerous representative of British ideas. Bismarck was bound to combat those ideas to the death. If we were right, then his whole view of politics was wrong.

He took office with the intention of asserting, at any cost, the executive power of the Crown and the traditional leadership of the Hohenzollern dynasty. He was responsible to his sovereign alone. He risked Strafford's fate. He was in conflict from the first with the representatives of the people. He dissolved Parliament again and again. He resisted successive majorities. He achieved Sadowa and prepared Sedan without them and in spite of them. At that time and to the end of his life, in every department of public life—in the parliamentary system, in foreign affairs, in economic policy—English theories were what he had to meet and overthrow. We must understand this well if we are to perceive how deep are the roots of German hostility to this country. To Bismarck and to the majority of his compatriots after 1870 all that was expressed by the words 'Gladstonianism' and 'Cobdenism' became more and more contemptible and abhorrent. But the fateful moment was reached in 1879. Free-trade had to be

overthrown. It was necessary for this purpose that the last vestiges of the old Anglophile legend should be destroyed. That concentrated fanatic Lothair Bucher and the alert Moritz Busch were commissioned for the congenial work. Our commercial policy, like our diplomacy, was represented as an incredible mixture of cunning and incompetence. From the moment of the breach with Free-trade in 1879 the last moral tie between England and Germany was ruptured. National hostility to this country was not yet active and purposeful across the North Sea, but the alienation of the German mind from all English sympathies was complete.

The next phase may be the more compactly shown as it is the more familiar. The moral seed had been sown. The political whirlwind had to be reaped. The story of the marvellous expansion of German trade and shipping and wealth and population has often been told. In every direction our commercial supremacy was resolutely attacked and shaken. 'Made in Germany' became one of the most familiar phrases in the commercial vocabulary of the world. While that country had adopted tariffs against our trade, our own market was stocked with German goods. Throughout the island and in every part of the Empire, German subjects were serving as our apprentices in order to become our more effective competitors. Popular instinct as to the ultimate meaning of this struggle was not mistaken. The country perceived at once that, if our trade were beaten, our power would be sapped. The struggle might be slow in developing its full intensity, but the contest for commercial supremacy had begun, and sooner or later would be a business of life and death.

We behaved at first in a manner little worthy of our character and little suited to the situation. We ridiculed the competition which we were unable to defeat. We denounced and exaggerated everything that was bad in German manufacture, and we ignored everything that was excellent. We comforted ourselves with imaginary pictures of the misery of German social conditions. We predicted that the new competition was more showy than lasting, and, as it had gone up like the rocket, would come down like the stick. We entirely failed to grasp by reason what popular prejudice felt, that a new and

critical epoch had opened for the commercial fortunes, and therefore for the Imperial destinies, of this country. The Germans went on. The more we flouted the more they flourished. They repaid misplaced ridicule with real mockery; and the laugh was clearly upon their side. Their commerce rose without ceasing. As they felt their success, they became filled in their turn with an extraordinary and premature self-confidence.

In the face of our long-established competition and without the advantage of our natural resources, our maritime situation, our accumulated wealth, and our colonial connexions, they had done wonders. They had been regarded—and they recalled the fact with the tendency to historical vindictiveness we have noted—as a nation of metaphysicians, ushers, musicians, and waiters; and this by the arrogant island where almost every one with whom the ordinary cultivated German conversed seemed incredibly ill-educated. Now they had shown once more that, ‘though from knowing to doing is always a leap, the leap is made from knowledge and not from ignorance.’ The Germans triumphed in the paradox by which all their traditional characteristics seemed now to be transfused into the opposites. From the most abstracted of peoples they had become the most practical. From dreamers they had become doers. The idealists had set themselves, with the application of Japanese, to master all the secrets of materialism. The people whose secular quarrels had been a byword, were to show the full political and commercial power of State leadership and social combination; and they were to confront the methods of insular individualism at every point by the full force of national organisation. The mental antagonism between the two peoples was profound long before the end of the Bismarckian era.

William II now appeared in his character as the crowned exponent of the theory of German expansion with which Treitschke and all the prophets and pupils of Pan-Germanism had inflamed the Teutonic mind. Henceforth German policy came into direct conflict with ours along the whole line. It was pursued in contempt of British interests. The era of *Weltpolitik* was opened; the die was cast. Within a few years the whole German Empire was committed to a course of action on land and

sea and in several continents, which became more and more clearly incompatible with the safety or existence of the British Empire. The nature of the new situation was lit up in a series of lightning flashes. To the historic resentment which has been described; to the violent psychological antagonism between Prussian and insular ideals; to commercial ambitions, at once jealous and exulting; to the belief that reconstituted Germany, with an industry and a population increasing by leaps and bounds, was destined to regain the maritime and mercantile supremacy of the world; to the habitual assumption that the British Empire, no less impotent than huge, was a colossus with feet of clay; to the peculiar spirit of jeering animosity towards this country which had been spread for years, as we have shown, by the Bismarckian agents, not merely in the reptile press, but in the columns also of journals which were the most powerful organs of Teutonic opinion—to all this there was at last added the conscious sense of direct and deadly antagonism. The Kruger telegram was written. The first real clash of interests led to an instant and memorable explosion of passion. The stock of combustible materials heaped up during years by so many and such various influences went up in thunder and flame.

Some little time before, when France and Russia were our chief opponents, the German Emperor had joined them in order to dictate terms to<sup>4</sup> Japan. By the most dramatic act of his reign, he gave the first impulse to a train of events which shook to their foundations our traditional position and prestige in the East. Kiao-chau was seized by the Germans before Port Arthur was occupied by Russia. A change no less sweeping and no less to our disadvantage had occurred in the Near East and Middle East, throughout the whole vast region still under Ottoman government and forming the heart of the Mohammedan world. The German Emperor, within half a generation from Lord Beaconsfield's death, had ousted us from our favourable position at Constantinople. German influence was now in the ascendant. The Balkans and Anatolia became a sphere in which German trade enjoyed as effective a preference as if these territories had been incorporated with the Zollverein. Finally the Kaiser obtained the concession for the Bag-



dad railway. That magnificent scheme owed its origin to English pioneers and might long ago have been undertaken by British enterprise, had Lord Beaconsfield's colleagues in Cabinet been more capable of understanding their leader. Of this plan we shall say more directly.

Next came the outbreak of the Boer war. German Anglophobia was again, and long remained, in a state of volcanic eruption. We need not recall the details of this outbreak. It is our present purpose not to rake up resentments but to explain a great political process. Our actions and motives were libelled with savage slander and furious vituperation. Queen Victoria and the King were caricatured and lampooned by the best artists and satirists in Germany; and there was not a word of reproof. When the German mail-steamers were stopped at the beginning of the South African war, the semi-official press lashed public opinion into a frenzy of excitement. Finally, at the blackest moment of our disasters, Count Bülow, as he then was, introduced the Bill which laid the foundations of the modern German navy. Visibly before the eyes of the world and amidst the exultation of his own people, who, at the moment when hatred of this country wholly possessed them, could attach only one meaning to his gesture, the Kaiser had stretched out his hand towards the trident. And indeed, before the rumblings of the storm provoked by the Kruger telegram had died away, William II had declared at a banquet in Cologne: 'That trident must be in our fist.' In the very first days of the Boer war his Majesty had used words which not only encouraged Anglophobe passion but brought all Anglophobe thinking to a focus:

'We are in bitter need of a strong German navy. . . . If the increase demanded during the first years of my reign had not been continually refused to me in spite of my pressing entreaties and warnings, for which I have even experienced derision and ridicule, how differently should we be able to further our flourishing commerce and our interests over-sea.'

And what can be plainer than the preamble of the German Navy Bill of 1900?

'Germany must have a fleet of such strength that a war against the mightiest sea-power would involve risks threatening the supremacy of that power.'

By the rulers and people of England that sentence ought never to be forgotten. It points directly at this country. It means nothing more nor less than that one of the continuous purposes of German policy is to add to the vast military organisation already at the disposal of that Power such naval armaments as may endanger the existence of the British Empire. To leave no doubt upon the mind of the Reichstag, Admiral Tirpitz, the Secretary for the Navy, said: 'We do not know what adversary we may have to face. We must therefore arm ourselves with a view to meeting the most dangerous conflict possible.' Above all, the speech of the Imperial Chancellor in introducing the Navy Bill referred to every Power but ourselves with great cordiality. He mentioned England with deliberate and significant coldness. He declared that a 'Greater' Germany must be created. If Imperial expansion was to be achieved by sea-power, there could be no doubt that the process must be effected at British expense. It is well known that in committee the Kaiser's Ministers were even more candid than in public. No doubt was left upon the mind of any member of the Reichstag or of any individual in the German nation that the object of the new German navy was to wrest from England her maritime supremacy and to realise the famous vision of a naval Sedan.

If we allowed ourselves to entertain any scepticism on this point, we should be incredible simpletons. There never was in this world a nation more fairly warned. The Germans, indeed, had forgotten nothing but that 'secrecy is the soul of statecraft.' After the first enthusiastic error, they realised the necessity of discretion. The Kaiser's subjects are now as cautious as a nation in a body ever can be, and they will throw us off our guard if they can. But let us never forget the sage address of Herr Bassermann, the leader of the National Liberal party: 'In our attitude towards England we must keep cool; and, until we have a strong fleet, it would be a mistake to let ourselves be drawn into a hostile attitude towards her.' This is the chastening utterance of a sober and responsible politician, surprised, like Clive, at his own moderation.

Upon this one point there is no effective difference of opinion among the German people. Even the Socialists

have been afraid to offer any violent resistance to the increase of the fleet, and many of them, including the leaders of the newer school, are heartily in favour of it. The Catholic Centrum, once the most formidable of Opposition factions, was the most important part of the Ministerial majority which created the existing naval organisation of Germany. Although it has again ceased for the time to be a Government party, it supported the great Navy Bill of last year. Even the Radicals, who in Eugen Richter's day were the most systematic opponents of every measure for the increase of armaments, are now part of Prince Bülow's famous *bloc* in the Reichstag, and they will help to vote every *pfennig* that the German Emperor may demand for the army and navy. It need not be said that the Conservatives are always in favour of a strong foreign policy and of proportionate armaments; while the National Liberals have from the first been the most ardent supporters of colonial expansion and naval progress. In a word, we may say that at least nine-tenths of the Reichstag are for strengthening the fleet to the utmost, in view of a possible conflict with Great Britain. Hence the success with which the German Government has raised its demands every two years, always bringing in a new Navy Bill before the previous programme has approached completeness, and forcing up the estimates by leaps and bounds. The Reichstag, strange to say, is far more unanimous for the Kaiser's navy than is the House of Commons for the British fleet. And parliamentary action in Berlin corresponds with the feeling of the nation. Upon the naval question party differences, in the ordinary political sense, do not exist in Germany.

There is a still more significant point. The professors are the intellectual advance-guard of all great political movements in Germany; and on the naval question they are in unprecedented agreement. At the head of their body stand the professors of political economy. Lujo Brentano, the most eminent living exponent of the Free-trade theory, is in accord with Gustav Schmoller, the great veteran of the historical school. Prof. Schulze-Gaevernitz is an ardent Free-trader of the new generation, but as an advocate of the strengthening of the fleet he is as keen as is Prof. von Halle, the foremost of the academic

experts upon all naval questions, and at the same time a brilliant defender of the protectionist or 'nationalist' theory in economics. Finally, add one amazing fact. The German 'Flottenverein' or Navy League boasts a million paying members, and is the largest and most spirited patriotic organisation of its kind that has ever existed in any country. It draws its adherents from all parts of the Empire. It is strong in the South German cities like Munich and in the northern seaports. It is filled with Pan-Germanic feeling, and it is of course saturated with anti-British sentiment. The open aim of this organisation is the eventual achievement of naval supremacy. The achievement of that aim would mean of course the destruction of the British Empire. To create the means to this end is now the fixed purpose of the German mind, and it is the practical object for which the whole political organisation of modern Germany is now working with unswerving concentration.

What, it may be asked, are the present signs of German hostility? To trace them requires some skill, and to interpret them some knowledge. Nothing was so characteristic of the existing situation as the Kaiser's visit to this country last year. He received a very chivalrous welcome. He made pacific speeches at the Guildhall and elsewhere. He prolonged his stay upon our soil. While he was yet our guest, and free comment was incompatible with courtesy, on the day of the Guildhall reception, a new Navy Bill was introduced into the Reichstag, providing for construction on a more formidable scale, and for an expenditure relatively so enormous that, even upon the programme already projected—and an increase upon it will assuredly be announced in due time—the German estimates by 1911 will amount to 23,000,000*l.* annually. That is to say, in about three short years hence they will be double what they were when the Kaiser made his pacific speech in the Guildhall, and they will equal the sum which this country was spending upon the fleet at the height of Unionist power, and just before the outbreak of the Boer war. Thus the aim of ultimate victory over England is never for one moment lost sight of; and never for one moment are the preparations confused or delayed. Yet the danger of a premature

conflict with England is great; and that, though not the thing most dreaded, is among the things least desired. Hence even the reptile press has ceased to hiss. The whole Anglophobe agitation is damped down, and all the open violence of its symptoms has disappeared. The semi-official organs like the 'Kölnische Zeitung,' and even the 'Kreuz-Zeitung,' are exceedingly cautious. The Chauvinist enthusiasm of the extremists of the Navy League is for the time discouraged. At patriotic meetings attacks on England are not so often made—and are much less often reported. Yet in reality nothing is changed except that hostility to England becomes stronger by compression, and means of injuring us in due time are more seriously studied. For the present an Anglophobe propaganda is not required, since the business is done once for all. The Wilhelmstrasse, in recommending to its servants a temporary cessation of their virulent labours, might well say: 'Now let it work: mischief, thou art afoot.'

Bismarck was never tired of saying—and the remark showed the profound sagacity of that marvellous man—that to enter into any great and dangerous business he must carry the whole people with him. It is a fact beyond all question, and familiar to every Englishman with the slightest knowledge of the Fatherland to-day, that a struggle with this country, if there were any tolerable prospect of success, would be the most popular national war that the Germans have ever waged. From the first the Kaiser and his councillors saw that their great difficulty would be to secure sufficient time. So far they have played the game with admirable skill; as the result of the work of one decade they have created a naval personnel of nearly 50,000 men, and the greatest naval organisation, except our own, that has yet existed. But they require at least a decade more to work out their plans. By that time they will have a population of at least 70,000,000, and a taxable capacity so great that they will be in a position to maintain the first army in the world, with a fleet more powerful than we shall be able to afford, or at least so strong that any attempt upon our part to maintain a two-power standard against it would be out of the question. A perceptible tremor of nervousness—though it means no relaxation of purpose—passes through the German people from time to time

when they ask themselves whether it is not more likely that we shall strike down their fleet before it has grown to such a size that its financial and strategical pressure would begin, even in time of peace, to exert a destructive effect upon our interests. The next ten years will be more critical than the last ten, and to gain time is more important than ever, since every year, for some prolonged period yet, will make Germany relatively better able to face any possible combination.

Thus, after the furious patriotic campaign of the last general election, when the most dramatic part was played by the 'Flottenverein,' a small but safe ministerial majority was returned, and the Navy Bill (1908) was passed. It then became a matter of the highest importance to soothe and lull public opinion in this country; otherwise another great agitation might have forced the hands even of our present Government, and a counter-increase in the navy might have been voted even by the present House of Commons. Some members of our present Liberal Ministry, and some very prominent and influential figures in the Radical party, were, and are, in close touch with Germany and with the German Embassy. It was hoped in Berlin to establish such close and intimate relations with a Radical Cabinet, and to ply it with such successful explanations and profuse assurances that it must be, to a certain extent, divided, and rendered to the same extent, as a body, perplexed and hesitant. Building on, this side, it was thought, might be delayed just long enough to make it too late for us to 'catch up.' By March 1912 Germany would have thirteen 'Dreadnoughts,' and would be at least upon an equality with us in that type of ship, if our present Ministry could be persuaded to palter, minimise, and procrastinate. It is well understood throughout the whole of Germany that for the next few years it will be important to keep quiet until the Kiel Canal is widened and deepened and the naval ports are similarly improved.

Meanwhile there are interesting proceedings behind the scenes; and suppressed passions are dexterously stimulated. Thus in the Reichstag, when the recent vote was taken for a railway which would facilitate inroads on the Orange River—a scheme frequently mooted by the General Staff—a Socialist member called attention to the

dangerous character of the vote, and to a recent speech against England, delivered before the Colonial Society by a Major Schmidt. But there was no discussion of this point; the vote passed without debate.

Most instructive of all are the tactics now adopted by Professor Schiemann. Once every week his review of foreign politics appears across the front page of the 'Kreuz-Zeitung,' the chief organ of the Prussian governing classes. This article is more authoritative and influential than any other regular feature of German journalism. Let us try to grasp this writer's position. For all practical purposes the political independence of the German universities, once the stronghold of academic freedom, has, to a large extent, ceased to exist. Now, not only with the respect to the navy, as we have shown, but for general intents, the professors who met the man of blood and iron at the outset with their vehement idealism are the most resolute and energetic supporters of the German Government. That Government wishes, for instance, to make friends with America and to foster in every possible way the present excellent relations between the two countries. The professor of English in the Berlin University at once published the opinion that the way to learn English perfectly is not from an insular but from an American teacher. The sensibilities of the people of the United States are deliberately flattered by a thousand little attentions of this kind.

The Prussian Government pays the professors their salaries, grants them distinctions, and can make or mar any academic career. The result is that every one who has any hopes whatever of rising in his profession must teach, upon all vital questions, what the Government desires. The whole teaching organisation of Prussia is directed from Berlin; and this is true, to a certain extent, of the other States. In Germany 'the pulpits are well tuned,' just as the newspapers are manipulated like marionettes, and the wires of vast public associations like the 'Flottenverein' are pulled by the Imperial Government. The significance of the next statement will now be well understood. The Emperor has a professorial *aide de camp*, just as he has a naval or a military one. His duties, when not at the Emperor's side, are to instil patriotic lessons into his readers in the newspaper press

into the students at the University, and into the members of the General Staff. At present the peculiar office of professorial *aide de camp* to Kaiser Wilhelm is held by Professor Schiemann.

If there were space enough for the purpose, the theories of this highly confidential writer would deserve consideration in detail. The study would be instructive. Dr Schiemann is a native of the Baltic provinces; there are few persons equipped with a better knowledge or a heartier hatred of Russia. But he never makes a direct attack on that Power; he prefers to suggest, week by week, that, for all the appearance of solidity and mass still belonging to it, the Russian State-system is rotten to the core and incapable of resisting a German attack. Dr Schiemann now applies this familiar method to the British Empire, and he carries on an elaborate campaign of hostile suggestion which is more effective than open incitement. England is never directly attacked; but this critic nevertheless contrives, with a sort of dialectical freemasonry, well understood by his readers, to explain continually and rancorously that England is the enemy. He makes a thoughtful analysis of our weaknesses in all parts of the world. He gives full details of the importation of arms from America into India. He dwells upon our difficulties in Egypt and Asia; upon the ignominious treatment to which our Indian subjects are subjected in the Transvaal and Natal; upon the anti-Japanese sentiments of Australia and British Columbia. Dr Schiemann shows how natural are the feelings of the Mohmands on one side and the Clan-na-Gael on the other. But there is not a word against England.

Of this writer's various methods two are particularly worth studying, for they reveal certain interesting processes of calculation in the mind of the German Government. Extraordinary prominence is given to the alliance lately made across the Atlantic between the Irish and the German elements. The fraternisations between these sworn enemies of the British Empire and the Anglo-Saxon idea are dwelt upon with complacent malice. It is suggested that the Irish-German alliance will continue to keep American policy in custody, and to make that policy less and less friendly to England and more and more friendly towards the German Empire.

Some who know Mr Roosevelt well deny that he is inspired by any instinctive antagonism to this country. Dr Schiemann, however, extols, upon every possible occasion, the genius and wisdom of the American President; and it is unmistakably suggested that Berlin and Washington are at one, and that, when a war for the mastery of the seas is fought again, the American and the German fleets will be found together.

It may, indeed, be pointed out that several writers upon the 'Kreuz-Zeitung' pursue the same line of argument in a manner to suggest that the professorial *aide de camp* has subjected his journalistic colleagues to hypnotic suggestion. A little while ago extracts were given from Mr Roosevelt's earlier writings with intent to show that the President desires the reunion of the Canadian Dominion with the neighbouring Republic, and believes that the British flag ought to be expelled from the American Continent. Other writers—though it is, of course, probable that some of the anonymous contributions in the 'Kreuz-Zeitung' come from Dr Schiemann's own pen—show that upon the naval question Germany and the United States must pursue a common policy in peace and must take common action in war. England's claim to anything like a maritime 'supremacy' can never be tolerated by either of her great competitors. The German and the American peoples seek 'equality,' and will join forces, if need be, to assert it. They want nothing more than 'equality,' and they will be content with nothing less. Unless our naval predominance peacefully disappears by the silent operation of economic causes, America and Germany will combine sooner or later to break down our arrogant and barbarous supremacy.

If this is still doubted by any one who has followed the argument up to the present point, let us go further. Prof. Schiemann now makes himself the apologist for the whole Mohammedan world. Here, again, he must be taken as reflecting vividly the characteristic ideas of his Imperial master. It is probable that the plan of exploiting the Pan-Islamic movement in German interests, though it had floated before some German minds as a shadowy conception, was not definitely adopted and pursued by the Kaiser's Government until after the Morocco crisis. Germany would have preferred the par-

tition of Morocco, just as she once contemplated the division of Brazil and, later, the dismemberment of China, and just as she would annex, if she could, Syria and Anatolia. But these grapes, being out of reach, are very sour. The policy of partition having proved a failure in practice, the policy of conservation is advocated very solemnly on humane and moral grounds.

Week by week the professorial *aide de camp* appeals to the spirit of all the peoples of Islam and denounces their oppressors. The tribes of Morocco cannot conscientiously submit to the French; and Mulai Hafid's supporters must be filled with righteous indignation when they look upon their Algerian brethren enslaved by the infidel. And now good Moslems are turning their indignant thoughts towards Persia. Dr Schiemann writes as though he voiced their sentiments rather than his own incitements. Again the Western Powers are attempting, for all practical purposes, a piratical seizure of territory where the faith of the Prophet prevails. Russia and England presume to determine the destinies of a Mohammedan nation in the East, just as France is attempting to extinguish the liberty of the True Believers in the West. All the Powers not allied with Germany are plainly the enemies of Islam. But there is a new spirit abroad in the vast region stretching from the Straits of Gibraltar to the heart of China and from the Balkans to the heart of Africa, where two hundred millions of men, brethren in one faith and in uninterrupted communication with each other, turn their faces to Mecca. On the other hand, the head of the most military of all the Christian nations is the friend of the Sultan. As the recent remarkable visit of General von der Goetz to Constantinople has shown, Germany is the real ally of the Turk and the champion of the unity and emancipation of Egypt. No one who knows the East will be inclined to dismiss Dr Schiemann's interpretations of Mohammedan sentiment as the vapourings of a fantastic dreamer. This line of comment upon the part of the professorial subordinate is the plain indication of a settled line of statecraft upon the part of his political principals. Here again we find the Kaiser's advisers thinking out means of attack upon the British Empire at all its most vulnerable points.

For, just as the German navy is growing, the means

for mobilising the Mohammedan world are being created. Already the Turks are far stronger as a military factor than when Abdul Hamid came to the throne. They will be far stronger yet; and German engineers are rapidly revolutionising the whole Eastern question. The Hejaz line will reach Medina in the course of this year, and will be steadily extended towards Mecca itself. This railway, when linked up with the Bosphorus, will bring Turko-Teutonic striking power within close reach of Egypt; and during a war fanatical outbreaks upon the Nile itself might give trouble. The safety of the Suez Canal might be endangered, and our communications by this route might be cut, even if our fleets had proved triumphant in the North Seas. But the Bagdad railway is a scheme of even more formidable possibilities. The concession for another great section, 600 miles long, has been obtained from the Sultan. The Anatolian line ends now at the foot of the Taurus. In the next few years it will be carried over that mighty barrier, will descend into the fertile valleys beyond, where a branch line will connect with the sea opposite Cyprus, will rise again to surmount the Amanus range, will be carried upon a great bridge over the Euphrates, and will end at El Helif, midway between the latter river and the Tigris. From this terminus branch-lines will run northward into the heart of the hills whence the Sultan recruits his Kurds. Elsewhere connexion will be made with the Mecca railway by a link-line to Aleppo. It is certain that all this will be achieved within the next few years; equally certain that we cannot interfere with any of it; and not less so that it will alter perilously to our disadvantage the whole military and religious situation in the Near and the Middle East.

The Sultan, by means of German railways, will be able to mobilise under German leadership, as never before, the whole fighting power of the Ottoman race. At Mecca there will be a great increase both of Turkish influence and of German prestige; and through the numerous ramifications of the pilgrim traffic the results will be felt throughout the entire Mohammedan world. The completion of the Constantinople-Mecca railway system will be an event no less important than the opening of the Panama Canal. Our strategical position in Egypt will be totally

changed by developments of which we shall have no legitimate reason to complain. Our right to interfere will only begin later, not perhaps until seven years or a decade hence, when the final sections of the line along the Tigris to the Persian Gulf come to be constructed. By that time some serious effect may have been produced upon the feelings of Indian Mussulmans. Dr Schiemann does not forget that the King-Emperor rules a far larger number of Mohammedan subjects than any other sovereign. The line to Mecca is a Moslem scimitar menacing Egypt; the Bagdad railway will be the spear of Pan-Islam thrusting at British dominion in India.

In this scheme Persia occupies an important place; and at Teheran active financial efforts and a certain amount of political interference have already begun. Feeble and belated as these attempts may appear just now, yet the reawakening of the Mohammedan people is rapidly proceeding, and in no very long time even the Shiites of Mahommed Ali's distressed dominions may appreciate the Kaiser's exertions for the defence and emancipation of all Islam. The professorial *aide de camp* is of course particularly interested in any strong utterance of Indian native journalism recommending the Mohammedans to make common cause with the Hindoos. The aspirations of 'Nationalists' at Cairo, no less than at Teheran, appear 'very natural,' as Mr Pecksniff would say. Dr Schiemann even takes a benevolent interest in the supposed sentiments of the Ameer of Afghanistan upon the subject of the Anglo-Russian Convention. We must not forget for a single moment that the whole Moslem world, whether under Ottoman or foreign dominion, is now penetrated by telegraphs; that the Kaiser's character and attitude are talked about in all the great bazaars; that all this is more discussed in the Indian cities than we think; and that the Ameer, for instance, is kept very well informed as to the attitude towards this country of all the great Powers.

Other journals follow the lead of Dr Schiemann and the 'Kreuz.' In the 'Grenzboten,' the most influential of German weeklies, formerly edited by Moritz Busch, there recently appeared an attack upon the character of Australia, ending with the suggestion that the Commonwealth must become either German or Japanese. It is



assumed as a matter of course that South Africa will become a great Dutch State, destined sooner or later, no less than Holland and its colonies, to become commercially federated, if not politically united, with the Pan-Germanic Empire of the future. To every suggestion of British Imperial union the German mind is of course profoundly and irritably hostile; and its dreams are of a map which will present a very different picture.

The members of the 'Flottenverein' and of the Pan-German Association believe that 'the twentieth century will belong to the Germans.' Serious scientists and brilliant impressionists write volumes and pamphlets to prove that their race is the purest of the great northern breeds; that it is the foremost in natural capacity, and the highest product of human evolution; that its geographical position in the heart of Europe is the most advantageous imaginable, commanding as it does the valleys of the Rhine and Danube; and that by numbers and efficiency it is destined to prevail. The romantic movement which affected German politics early in the nineteenth century created the Pan-German vision of to-day. Every reader of Prince Hohenlohe's letters will remember the passionate aspirations expressed by this author in his letters from the Levant in 1849. During the Revolution he had already written:

'When looking on the map, we behold how the Baltic, the North Sea, and the Mediterranean beat upon our coasts, while never a German ship, never a German flag forces the ordinary salute from the proud English and French; then, of all the colours of our flag, the gold, the black, the red, is it not the hue of shame alone that survives and rises in our cheeks?'

And a few months later the future Imperial Chancellor writes from Mount Carmel:

'If, by a peaceful arrangement with the Turkish Government, we could secure Cyprus and Rhodes and their like, we should gain an excellent resort for thousands of the proletariat; we should gain harbours, merchant vessels, a navy, sailors. Nor are Syria and Asia Minor to be left out of the reckoning; and everything should be done to hinder the Russians and the English.'

The glowing enthusiasm of the mad year passed away. The fleet of the German Confederation was sold by

auction under Hannibal Fischer's hammer; but still the dream remained and strengthened after 1870 until it possessed the hearts of the vast majority of the German peoples. They had proved, indeed, that in commerce and sea-traffic 'their aspirations were the index to their capacities.' They had created a world-commerce. Why should they not create a world-empire and assert their equality with the greatest of the peoples?

The Germans had been told for generations that the globe was given away. They were assured that they had arrived too late upon the scene. In their patience let them possess their souls, since other peoples already possessed the earth. They read that the future would belong partly to the English-speaking races, partly to the Slavs. Between these, or at the expense of one or the other, Germans mean to assert their place. There are already seventy millions of their race—including the Austrian Germans—forming a compact mass in the centre of Europe. The first principle of the Pan-German doctrine is that of a racial reunion, which would draw in the Teutonic stocks of the Low Countries and constitute a federation which, even in another decade or so, might number a hundred millions of people. Antwerp is already largely populated by the Kaiser's subjects, who number about eighty thousand, and it is wholly dominated by the German Colony. 'The pistol pointed at England's head,' as Napoleon called Antwerp, must be held sooner or later, it is thought, by German hands. Rotterdam, at the mouth of the Rhine, ought to be, upon the same reasoning, the chief harbour of the German *hinterland*, upon which its trade and prosperity already depend. For the present we are assured that Holland and Belgium will not be forced into the Zollverein by war, but they are to be irresistibly drawn into it by peaceful persuasion. Against the commercial and naval results of such a combination, what could England do? We are an island; we have no *hinterland*. A vast Germanic Federation, with a hundred millions of people, holding Hamburg, Rotterdam, and Antwerp, would be able to afford greater fleets than we could ever hope to maintain, and would have this country at its mercy. This vision is no more audacious than dreams that were realised in the memory of many now living, when Hanover and Schleswig-

Holstein were incorporated with Prussia, when Alsace and Lorraine were annexed, when Bavaria and Saxony joined in offering the Imperial crown to a Hohenzollern.

But there is a wider purpose still. Bismarck wished to make the alliance with Austro-Hungary a permanent and fundamental part of the constitution of each empire. It is hoped that the Hapsburg dominions may ultimately be induced to join the Zollverein; that the Balkan States and Asiatic Turkey may be absorbed into the same system. When the Bosphorus is bridged, these countries would be bolted and riveted together by German railways from the North Sea to the Indian Ocean. The Zollverein would be followed by a *Kriegsverein*; and a 'Middle Empire' would be created, able to hold its own against the United States or the Russia of the future, or even against the yellow races. All this time the Dutch colonies are never lost sight of. When Bismarck made one of his colonial settlements, he drew a line which kept the Dutch and German possessions together—a significant indication of the future of the whole East Indies. Nor is it wholly by accident that the Bagdad railway route shortens the distance to Java and New Guinea.

But there is another part of the Pan-German dream which is not less significant, for it is particularly irreconcilable with the existence of the British Empire. We hold a quarter of the world. By what right do we hold it, if might be once invoked? White power can be the only solid basis of white dominion. If this be true, our huge pyramid is poised upon its apex. In the whole of the King's dominions there are far fewer white men than in Germany alone, and we are increasing far more slowly than the Kaiser's subjects. These latter, pent up in one small continental territory, are multiplying at the rate of a million a year. They must have colonies, as they believe, or sink, in the end, to the second rank among nations. Of accepting the latter alternative they do not think for a moment. They believe that territories must belong to those who can fill them. They regard our Empire, so far as it is suited to white settlement, as being in the main an empire of empty acres. Either in South America or in the vast unfilled regions now under the British flag, the colonial destiny of the German race must be fulfilled. At one time it was thought that room

might be found in South America. But, in view of the growing strength of the United States and of the emigrant vitality of the Latin races, the idea of seizing Brazil and Argentina has been finally abandoned. To challenge the Monroe doctrine would be unsafe—at least just now.

There remains the British Empire. Its dissolution is believed to be inevitable. India, as Dr Schiemann suggests, cannot be permanently held in the age of the Asiatic awakening. Canada's manifest destiny, upon the same view, is to be independent or to become part of a North American Zollverein. That the Dominion will ever join its strength with that of the mother-country for general Imperial purposes is not seriously believed. But in that case the British Empire cannot be held together, and the field will be open. Australia is peopled only on the fringe. For many reasons, while it remains British it cannot increase its population to any sufficient extent. It is contiguous to the Dutch-German East Indies. Australia would be ultimately Germanised if it were not for the Japanese, and may become German even yet. But the best hopes were, and are, fixed upon the future of South Africa. Its mining treasures will be insignificant in the end compared with its agricultural wealth. It must yet sustain a great population. That population will not and cannot be drawn from the mother-country, whose emigrants in the mass will continue to settle in Canada and the United States. The coming unification will practically create a single Afrikaner State protected by the British fleet during a development that cannot in the end serve British purposes. When Holland is incorporated with the German Zollverein, there will be no further difficulty; and South Africa, like the Dutch East Indies, will belong to the new world-empire of the future again. No reasonable man can say that the realisation of this dream is altogether impracticable.

Nothing but England and her sea-power stands in the way. Our development in the last few years has been, from the Teutonic point of view, unexpected and disquieting. It was supposed that we should sink like Holland into decay, and that we should be peacefully and naturally superseded by the more vital and numerous German race. But of late we have shown by gleams that the soul which has slept in us is not yet dead; and that

with great leadership, and with time to create a national organisation equal to our modern needs, this country, in spite of its lethargic humour after a hundred years of security, might yet prove a terrible antagonist. England blocks the way; and, as the obstacle is no longer expected to crumble of itself, it must be shattered by force. But for our opposition, all the aims of Pan-Germanism might be achieved. Russia could be kept at bay upon one side; on the other, France could be forced to submission. Holland and Belgium and Denmark could be incorporated. German fleets would dominate the European seas. The Zollverein would stretch from the North Sea to the Persian Gulf. And, apart from visions of this kind—no vaster than our own Imperialist ideals, and with a greater weight of organised force behind them—there is one fundamental and permanent cause of difference which will exist between the two peoples until the map is changed by peace or war. England cannot change her historic rôle in Europe if she would. Every instinct of self-preservation compels her to preserve a balance of power. Now, as always, she is bound to use every effort to maintain the continental equipoise, and to resist every attempt to establish a universal dominion like that of Charles the Great or of Charles V or of Louis XIV or of Napoleon. Every military empire which has ever existed has endeavoured to expand in a way that threatened the safety of all its neighbours. For the first time we are dealing with a Power seeking to create across the narrow seas an enlarged empire which would combine naval supremacy with overwhelming military strength. So far, in the West, by a separation nothing less than providential for the greater number of the nations, sea-power has been divided from continental ascendancy. Nothing has done so much for the welfare of the English-speaking race or for the general interests of human liberty. If that tradition is to perish, if the naval strength and the national greatness of this country are to be struck down by a combined force of German fleets and armies such as no one people has ever controlled before, then the hegemony of the Hohenzollerns will be established over a prostrate Europe.

For the thing that has been is the thing that shall be. Why should we suppose that the nature of mankind is

fundamentally changed, or that the laws of history have been suspended for our benefit? In all the elements of relative power—compared with the chaos of corruption and inefficiency still existing in Russia, with the stationary character of France, with the lack of all serious military organisation in this country and the disabling effects of our party system—modern Germany is more formidable than Spain under Philip II, than France under Louis XIV or even under Napoleon. This, simply stated, is the tremendous fact. Its full significance has been concealed partly by the skill and sagacity of German statesmanship, partly by the industrial processes of the last generation. Bismarck represented Germany as a satisfied Power, undesirous of further acquisitions. For nearly forty years the victors of Sadowa and Sedan, with a restraint and foresight unexampled of its kind, have kept the peace while preserving and strengthening, without ceasing, their warlike organisation. This in itself has veiled the danger. Yet this very policy has vastly increased the danger. Germany has reserved herself for the supreme task of the future. She has not squandered her energies upon distant enterprises. She does not give her best, as we are compelled to do, to the work of Imperial administration among alien and remote peoples. German intelligence and ability remain at home, concentrated upon national purposes, and working for them at high pressure. Germany represents, as completely as any country has ever yet done, the ideal of centralised strength.

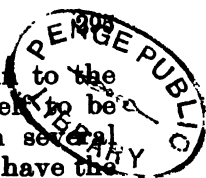
When Bismarck was induced by the pressure of middle-class opinion to acquire colonies, Germany was losing her people at the rate of about 200,000 a year. This efflux has almost entirely ceased. Germany gains by immigration more than she loses by the opposite process. She now has a growing population pressed into a territory little larger than that of France in area, and far poorer in soil. Although the Kaiser's subjects increase by a million a year, and still find full employment which induces them to remain at home, the wonderful absorbing power of the German industrial system must some day reach its limit. The time will come when emigration will begin again; suitable fields for settlement will then have to be won at any cost, unless

## THE GERMAN PERIL

millions of people are to be lost in the long run to the Fatherland; the German race will then feel itself to be artificially imprisoned, and will break out in several directions. They have the colonists; they must have the colonies; and they can only get them by tearing the British Empire to pieces with the unprecedented fighting organisation they are now preparing.

In the Reichstag Prince Bülow has a patriotic majority not likely to survive the next elections. The interval will be well used. The *bloc* will doubtless be asked to pass another and greater Navy Bill before the next dissolution. It is said that there will be a new Army Bill providing for two additional army corps, one in the West, another in the East. This will be enough to secure that, in the worst event, Russia shall be held back upon one side until the invasion of France has done its work. But the main business will be what Treitschke called the settlement with England. We cannot inflict any internal injury whatever upon Germany. Her shallow coast, with its shifting sands and intricate channels, cannot be attacked by hostile squadrons. She will save a great deal of her shipping by warning owners to keep their vessels in port. She cares little what happens to her colonies, because she counts upon forcing the cession at Paris of wider colonial territories than we can capture by sea. For the injury to her commerce she would indemnify herself by the occupation of Holland and Belgium; and there could be no failure of her food-supplies while the line of the Danube remained open. Our rival is in a very strong position; and, in the absence of adequate military organisation in this country, able to prevent the subjection of France and to turn the scales of war on land, we could inflict upon her, under existing circumstances, no mortal wound, and should be able to do her far less injury than some of us reckon upon.

Nor, in case of war, will Germany remain on the defensive. Her General Staff does not accept the theory that an invasion of this country is impossible. Nothing can be much more certain than that, if we are locked in a life-and-death struggle with Germany, she will attempt invasion. Her naval officers have sounded and sketched our harbours and studied every detail of our coasts. Her military officers have carried out staff-



rides in this country. They have examined, as it were, every inch of our surface through a military microscope. They have traversed our roads and paths and acquired an accurate knowledge of the amount of supplies and transport obtainable in any given district. They are well acquainted with the working of our railways. Germany already possesses, in this country, such an intelligence system as no other nation has ever maintained upon the territory of another. There are, in this country some 50,000 German waiters; and a large number of these are employed in connexion with the hotels at railway stations. Many keepers of public-houses near our forts are German. The nakedness of our land is spied out; and, as we are habitually very vocal and the German General Staff is very silent, the blow will fall when and where we least expect it. A force may be thrown upon our shores before war has been declared, and before we, for our part, have believed war to be inevitable. But, though the risk of a blow at the heart is real and grave, Germany does not rely upon the chance success of a sudden thrust. She relies upon the ultimate power of the naval organisation she is creating to battle down our own. She will continue without pausing or swerving to push on the construction of her navy. Owing to the growth of her population she counts, as we have explained, upon being able to maintain in the end a greater fleet than ours. In any case, it is calculated that we cannot maintain the two-power standard. In a certain number of years we shall only have a slight margin of superiority. And then? We shall pay the penalty. Dr Schiemann explained in a recent article what is undoubtedly the theory upon which the German Admiralty rests its hopes—that events in the Pacific or elsewhere will compel the division of our forces and will throw into German hands the mastery of the North Sea.

We are sometimes comforted by people who know little of German conditions and are even more imperfectly acquainted with the German character. We are, in the first place, assured that the strain of naval expenditure will lead to the collapse of German finances. This is an entire delusion. Germany's debt charge is still comparatively small. Her state railways, upon the other hand, are a splendid asset to which we have nothing corre-

sponding. While we are destroying even the possibilities of the income-tax as a war-impost, Germany has all her financial reserves intact. For convenience she has built her fleet mainly out of loans. This is heresy from the standpoint of our Treasury traditions. We raise loans as soon as war breaks out; Germany raises them beforehand, in order that she may win the wars she wages.

Again, if the taxes upon beer and tobacco were raised to anything like the level at which those taxes stand in this country, the German Imperial Treasury could finance as large a fleet as we maintain at this moment, and would still be overflowing with surpluses. The taxable capacity of Germany even now is equal to our own for all the purposes of armaments and war. The money is there; but the Government has been prevented from getting at it by the constitutional difficulties of the German federal system. These difficulties, we understand, are to be promptly removed. A plan is being worked out at this moment which is expected to solve the financial problem. It will soon be laid before the Reichstag. All the Kaiser's influence and all the Chancellor's art will be exerted to the utmost to secure the adoption of the measure. In these circumstances, the *bloc* is not likely to disappoint expectations; and the result will hardly be regarded with relief by Mr Lloyd George. But an even more profound error is made by those who misunderstand German character. We say, after our way, that our rivals are a nation of well-trained mediocrity. Could they be a more formidable thing? We say that Germany has indeed vast numbers of males, but no *men*. The land of Luther, Frederick, Stein, and Bismarck has never in modern times lacked personalities equal to her crises. But genius is not necessary any more than it was in Japan during the late war. It is the system that matters. It is the mass of well-trained mediocrity that turns the scale. It is the best machine that wins. If personalities like Marlborough, or Chatham, or Nelson were granted to us again, of themselves they would not avail us enough. Germany excels in the thoroughness and unity of her whole national organisation, and that is just where we fail. In a war with such a Power we cannot hope to 'muddle through.'

There are remedies for every situation if men are  
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not only wise in time, but prompt in acting upon their wisdom. We shall fail, if at all, because of our political confusions, because of the mechanical factiousness of our party system, because of the decay of moral and spiritual energy, because of the lack of any man of commanding strength and imagination able to bring to bear upon our reluctant lives an inspiring and compelling power. Heedless Chauvinism will not avail us. Let us keep quiet and prepare. Let us do nothing to hurry on a conflict. Let us avoid putting ourselves in the wrong, as the French did in 1870. Above all, let us not despise our antagonists. The Germans, with all their faults, are a very great and patient people, formidable not because of what is to be condemned in their modern characteristics, but because of what is excellent. Like them, we must depend on ourselves. Neither foreign alliances nor *ententes* will compensate in the end for any deficiency in our own strength. When a nation can no longer survive unaided, but depends for its existence upon the help of allies, that kind of assistance will prove in the long run as expensive as defeat itself, and will not permanently avert defeat. As in the European crises of a century ago, or of a hundred years before, we shall only survive if, in addition to such efforts as a people never yet made to maintain against all comers our supremacy at sea, we are able by our military power to turn the scales of a continental conflict. We can only make these islands impregnable by the same measures that will keep the Empire secure.



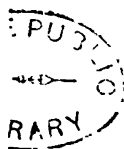
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- And Annual Reports of the Co-operative Societies.

THE wider outlook of the daily papers, the activities of the Board of Agriculture and of the agricultural colleges, the vogue of a class of writing made popular by Richard Jefferies, the facilities for travelling afforded by bicycles, motors, and railways, the publication of a large number of books on gardening and other outdoor pursuits, and the discussion aroused by recent Small-Holdings legislation, have all had their share in increasing the interest of the general public in agriculture. It is most desirable that that interest should be still further increased. It must

grow slowly, however, while the subject seems to be so closely bound up with politics. The average townsman does not know much about agriculture; he is hindered from knowing more, not only by being unaware of the extent of his ignorance, but because he usually suspects the speeches, pamphlets and books on agricultural matters published by men who happen to be his opponents in politics. Consequently, politicians who address themselves to agricultural problems seldom make any wide appeal; and, as there are very few writers or speakers on agriculture who are not politicians, a great deal of talk and writing about farming goes for less than it is intrinsically worth.

Now and then, no doubt, as in putting the relations of landlord and tenant on a more just footing in regard to compensation for improvements, the politician has done the agriculturist a service which he would have been some time in doing for himself by the ordinary give-and-take of business dealings which has brought into existence such a system as, say, 'Evesham custom.' It does not escape the attention of the agriculturist, however, that the politician frequently entertains the belief that his benevolent intervention will be substantially rewarded at the next election. On the whole, it is little wonder that, as a class, farmers are not greatly impressed by politicians. If ever any one had a good right to exclaim, 'A plague o' both your houses,' it is Mr Giles. It is a remarkable story indeed of changes in the policy of electoral majorities towards the land which is unfolded in such a book as Mr Jesse Collings' 'Land Reform.' No wonder that some of the most acute students of rural questions—the late Mr Albert Pell was a notable example—should not have been what party men prize as sound Liberals or sound Conservatives. It is necessary that townspeople, who have such a preponderating share in shaping the political destinies of the country, and usually so imperfect an acquaintance with the conditions of rural progress, should realise that agricultural advance does not primarily depend on the activities of politicians; that, while a section of one set of party men seem to see in unlimited small holdings and the nationalisation of the land the only means of getting it worked aright, and a considerable number of

the members of another party seem to be inclined to believe that farming can never prosper without duties on foreign grain and hops, Mr Giles is actually getting along very nicely, indeed. Mr Pell, his biographer says, 'had strong views as to the duties of landlords.' Landowning to him 'was a business, and ought to be scientifically studied; and he was brutally unsympathetic when he was invited to pity the sufferings of the poor landlord.' The whole faith of the up-to-date farmer is that getting a profit out of the land 'is a business and ought to be scientifically studied.' If at times his waggon sticks in the mud, he puts his own shoulder to the wheel instead of wasting much breath on the distant, uninformed, and by no means disinterested Hercules of Parliament.

'There is no suggestion within the range of practical politics,' say the authors of 'To Manure at a Profit,' one of whom is the well-known superintendent of experiments at Rothamsted and the other the writer of a series of valuable 'Country Readers,' 'that can materially help the farmer. That help must come from his own brains, his own experience and training in the past, his powers of observation and adaptation, and lastly, but not least, the quality of his business methods.' Messrs Buchanan and Willis are all for having agricultural land fairly rated and the sale of impure food products made difficult or impossible; but 'no fiscal reform yet suggested can directly help the farmer.' For 'a secure basis' of British farming, what is needed is 'a rational and more profitable system of manuring and making each acre of land and each head of stock yield a higher profit.' In 'The Diary of a Working Farmer,' the author of which is a successful agriculturist and the son and grandson of men who made their living by the land, there is not, from beginning to end, a single word about politics. Instead we have such passages as these:

'A farm is developing into a factory, and the extended use of labour-saving implements has made it possible to live now where it would have been quite impossible twenty years ago. . . . There is a great future before farming, and those in it will likely reap the most advantage. There will probably be more progress in the next ten years than during the last ten centuries, and the signs of the same are there for those who can see them.'

Let us look at some of these 'signs.' First and foremost, in the opinion of many competent authorities, is the advance of agricultural co-operation. The work which is being done 'is likely, if warmly pursued,' the Duke of Portland told his tenants at Welbeck last year, 'to be of more advantage to the agricultural community in general than any amount of meddling on the part of any Government, no matter what its political opinions.' Every pound expended by the Agricultural Organisation Society, says Sir Horace Plunkett, whose experience of agricultural co-operation could hardly be more extensive, 'will do more good than 10*l.* spent by any Government department for the assistance of agriculturists.' 'I am glad to have an opportunity,' the President of the Board of Agriculture declared two years ago, 'of showing my entire sympathy with, and practical support of, the co-operative movement.'

Agricultural co-operation may appear to be a dull subject. As a matter of fact there is no subject connected with farming which has more interesting aspects. As the acknowledged master of the short story in English once pointed out in his picturesque way to the present writer, it is a curious survival which is to be seen in many of our rural districts to-day—the ordinary run of our farmers 'each making separate bargains for their manures, machines, and so forth, and selling corn, milk, cattle, and so forth, secretly and apart.' All this separate buying and selling—an interesting account of which is given in Mr Rogers' chapters on 'Traditional Methods of Marketing'—goes on, although it is perfectly well known that the men who sell to the farmer or who buy from him do not act singly at all, but are much given to commercial organisation in the form of combinations, 'rings,' and understandings. The merchants with whom the farmers deal are in the very closest touch with one another. But the farmers meet them one by one. Both the merchant and Mr Giles are strong men, but the merchant is the strong man armed.

Although agricultural conditions on the Continent differ widely from those that exist here, and only the superficial student of our rural problems overlooks the fact, it is well to remember the wonderful development of agricultural co-operation abroad. It is ten years since a distinguished French Minister of Agriculture was able

to declare from his experience of the *syndicats agricoles* that 'it is the agricultural interest which has been the first to understand and apply the grand formula of solidarity and mutuality, which contains the true and only solution of the social problem.' There are now in France nearly 16,000 agricultural co-operative societies. In Germany the number is 19,000, in Austria-Hungary 7000. Even in small countries like Belgium, Switzerland, and Finland there are 1946, 2990, and 704 societies respectively. Italy contains 3313 societies. The prevalence of co-operative methods in the countries which are large senders of produce to our markets is particularly noteworthy. Detailed statistics of a striking character in regard to continental countries are to be found in Mr Pratt's book, which, it is extremely satisfactory to find, is now in a third edition. In regard to Denmark, where we believe there was no co-operative dairy society before 1882, we have been favoured by the commercial representative of Denmark in this country with the following figures for the past year :

CO-OPERATIVE BACON FACTORIES.

Number . . . . .	36
Co-operators . . . . .	95,000
Number of pigs killed in 1907 . . . . .	1,311,000

CO-OPERATIVE DAIRY FACTORIES.

Number . . . . .	1,101
Co-operators . . . . .	160,000
Number of gallons of milk treated in 1907 . . . . .	500,000,000

CO-OPERATIVE EGG EXPORT SOCIETIES.

Number . . . . .	8
Co-operators . . . . .	70,000
Number of pounds of eggs sold in 1907 . . . . .	14,000,000

CO-OPERATIVE SUPPLY STORES IN RURAL DISTRICTS.

(Figures from 1905.)

Number . . . . .	973
Co-operators . . . . .	158,600

Sir Horace Plunkett, to whose patriotic exertions are mainly due the remarkable rural co-operative movement in Ireland and indirectly the Irish Department of Agriculture and the English Agricultural Organisation Society, has explained how he

'learned that farmers succeeded in proportion as they perfected their methods of combination. Our rivals sent in their produce so bulked, graded, packed and described that it could be rapidly and cheaply distributed. In their perfect organisa-

tion they kept in touch with the demand of the market and timed their supply accordingly. When their local combinations have arrived at a certain stage of business efficiency they act jointly for larger purposes, including the marketing of their produce abroad. It is these federations which get and keep control in the markets. The Danes have developed what I may call the marketing end of their co-operative movement to a point where they market such Irish specialities as butter, bacon, and eggs upon a national scale. They well know that, in order to sell any staple article of common consumption to advantage in the British markets, it must be consigned in large quantities of uniform quality. The most notable illustration of this condition of successful distribution is the competition between Danish and Irish butter. The best Irish is better than the best Danish product, but the Danes manage to bring almost their entire output up to the uniformly good level which their co-operative farmers are able to reach. Thus they get, value for value, a far better price than is given to us.'

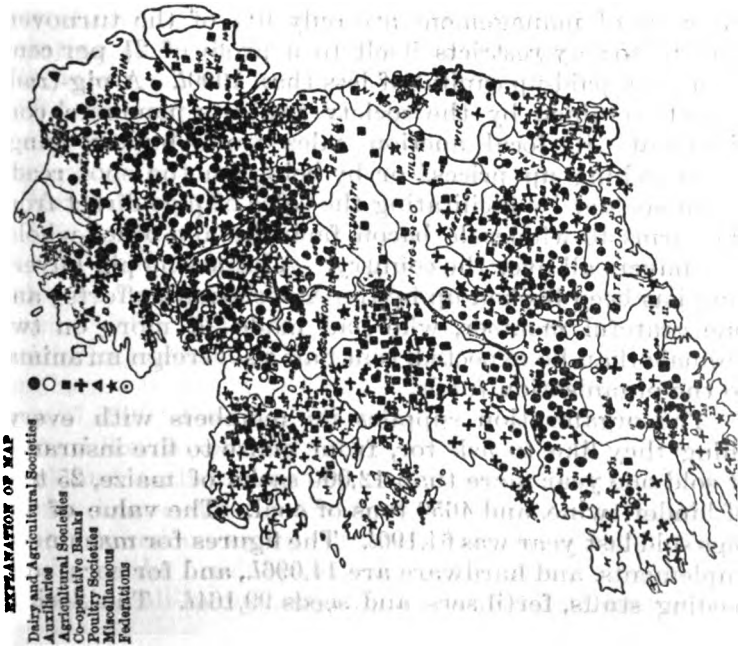
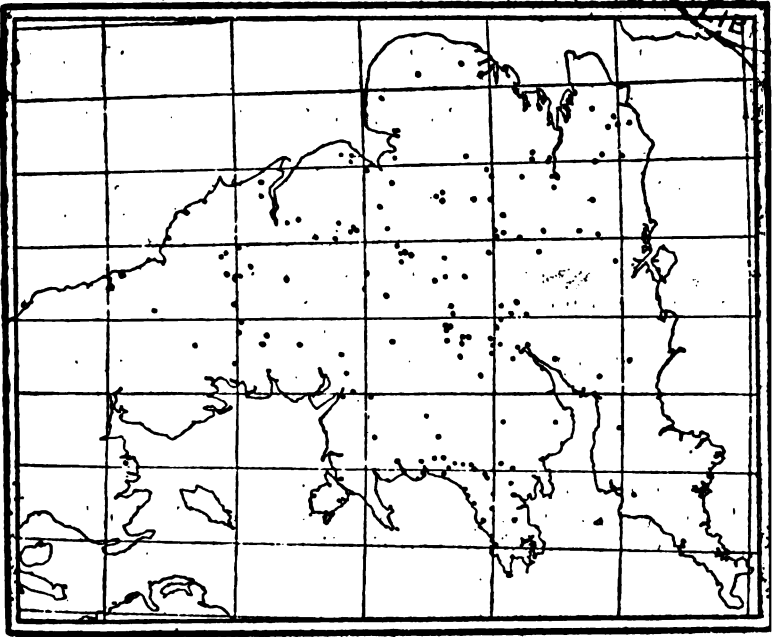
When one remembers the amazing success of the 2,500,000 working men co-operators in the towns—they now feed and clothe 8,500,000 of the population of these islands, and have a share capital of 32,000,000L.\*—it is amazing that it should have been only in recent years that the British farmer should have been attracted by the co-operative principle. Even the English Agricultural Organisation Society, as has been mentioned, owes its existence to the initiative of Irish agricultural co-operators. In Ireland, as a result of fourteen years' uphill work, faithfully described in 'Ireland in the New Century,' there is now the following imposing list of organisations (see map):

Creameries . . . . .	283
Do. (branches) . . . . .	57
Agricultural societies . . . . .	159
Credit societies . . . . .	246
Poultry societies . . . . .	29
Flax societies . . . . .	9
Industries societies . . . . .	51
Beekeepers societies . . . . .	18
Bacon-curing societies . . . . .	2
Miscellaneous societies . . . . .	16
Federations . . . . .	3

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\* Address of president of Co-operative Congress, 'Daily Chronicle,' June 9, 1908.



The annual turnover is 2,000,000*l.*, or from the beginning of the movement, Sir H. Plunkett says, 12,500,000*l.* sterling. The membership is about 100,000. In Scotland, though the national society is only in its third year, a farmer's supply association has existed nearly a quarter of a century and has sales to the amount of 45,000*l.* in the year. Another society associated with the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society shows a profit of 528*l.* The membership of the two societies is 1744.

The growth of the agricultural co-operative movement in England has been steady if not rapid. In April 1901 there were only twelve societies. Before the end of that year the number was doubled. In 1903 there were 72 societies; in 1905, 128; and in December 1907, 171 societies. The accompanying map indicates at a glance the situation of the agricultural co-operation societies of England and Wales. The turnover of the English societies was about half a million last year, and there are more than 10,000 farmers in membership. The largest of the societies has its headquarters at Ipswich. It has been in existence four years only, yet it records sales to the value of 177,000*l.* It has no fewer than 686 members, farming a total of 212,580 acres, or an average of 309 acres per member. The expenses of management are only 0·7 of the turnover; and the society restricts itself to a profit of 2½ per cent. There is a paid-up capital of less than 1000*l.* A pig-trade expert, retained by the society, protects members' consignments to local auction sales from buyers' rings by 'touching up prices,' or by being on the spot ready to do so, and by facilitating the sales of pigs direct from the farms to wholesale bacon factories and other wholesale buyers all over the country. A harassing pig-buyers' ring has been broken up by the Association's efforts; and one grateful member, who had made 2*l.* more on two animals than he expected, sent half a sovereign an animal to the organisation funds.

The organisation supplies its members with everything they like to ask for, from maize to fire insurance. It sold one year more than 12,000 sacks of maize, 25 tons of binder twine, and 4650 tons of coal. The value of the pigs sold last year was 64,190*l.* The figures for machinery, implements, and hardware are 14,096*l.*, and for corn, coal, feeding stuffs, fertilisers, and seeds 99,164*l.* The Society

buys feeding cake by the ship-load, and has shipped a cargo of beans for its members to the north of England at 4s. a sack over local prices. Not the least of the services of the Society is its ability to send goods away when local markets are glutted. More than 10,000 sacks of corn were sold one year in Mark Lane; and the prices obtained for clover seeds were held to be higher by five or six shillings a bushel than could have been obtained elsewhere. There are very few firms now who will not supply the Association on the best trade terms. The organisation endeavours to be represented at all the markets in its area, and, where necessary, forms local trading committees. In a case to which our attention was drawn, a member obtained through the Society certain insurance for 2*l.*, for which he was asked 3*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.* outside. Another member reported that the lowest outside quotation for a mixture of seeds was 70*l.*, but the Society supplied it for 55*l.*

There is also before us a striking comparative table in which are set out the prices of certain seeds charged by the Agricultural Co-operative Federation, a trading off-shoot of the Agricultural Organisation Society, and two well-known seed firms. Fifty-three provincial societies have come into this Agricultural Co-operative Federation. An Eastern Counties Dairy Farmers' Co-operative Society, which has the headquarters of its milk business at Stratford, has sales to the value of 30,000*l.* in the year. At its depôt there is not only cold storage but the latest separating and sterilising apparatus. A co-operative auction-mart at Winchester is represented at Mark Lane, like the Eastern Counties Association. A Winchcombe society is called the Winchcombe Co-operative Mart, and last year had fifteen sales at which cattle, sheep, and pigs were disposed of to the value of about 18,000*l.* The Carmarthen Farmers' Co-operative Society began trading in 1903, in which year it had 103 members. It has now 596, and has a turnover of more than 27,000*l.* Practically every farmer within a radius of six miles is connected with it, we are given to understand, and at the annual meeting 400 were present. This society has a reserve fund of 2000*l.* Its progress is the more encouraging because Mr Yerburch, whose activity as the president of the Agricultural Organisation Society is well known, says he found the initiatory meet-

ing so depressingly unenthusiastic that it would have been difficult for any one to imagine that so strong a society could have come into existence so quickly in the difficult conditions which seemed to exist. This society has two railway depôts, has saved its members certain unloading charges, and claims to have obtained reductions of 10 to 15 per cent. in the price of feeding stuffs, of 20 to 30 per cent. in the price of seeds, and of 30 to 40 per cent. in the price of artificial manures. The Vale of Tivy Society is another organisation which has gained the adhesion of an exceptionally large percentage of the farmers in the district in which it operates. The Farnham, Alton and District Co-operative Association has a turnover of 12,000 $\text{£}$ ., and states that it has effected reductions for the benefit of its members averaging 20 per cent. in the case of linseed cake, 5 per cent. on superphosphate, basic slag, and kainite, and about 7½ per cent. on hop-growers' wire.

It is the experience of this society, as of the Eastern Counties Society and the Scottish societies,\* that a result of founding co-operative associations is to reduce the general level of the charges local merchants and dealers make, and to raise the prices they are prepared to give. Thus many farmers who are in no way connected with the co-operative movement are reaping advantages. The Hereford Co-operative Fruit-grading Society's operations may be illustrated by the following passage in an Agricultural Organisation Society pamphlet:

'A member sent to the society some pears of a well-known table variety, for which, as he had not handled them very carefully, the society was only able to pay him 28s. per cwt. Nevertheless when he received his cheque he came to the office to inquire if a mistake had not been made, and it transpired that, not knowing their value, he had been accustomed to sell them for perry at 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per cwt.'

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\* 'In practically every instance where district societies have taken to buying collectively agricultural seeds, manures, feeding stuffs, implements, etc., an immediate effect has been not only a direct advantage to the members but a considerable lowering of the prices quoted for these commodities by local traders and merchants; and, on the other hand, wherever produce has been collectively put on the market, higher prices have been obtained, which has had the effect of stimulating local traders to offer increased prices for such produce.'—'Report of the Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society for 1907.'

The society which has got to work on the largest scale in egg-collecting has its headquarters at Framlingham. It sold last year more than a million and a half of eggs at prices 'fully 25 per cent. more than previously paid by the local higgler,' and expects to dispose of 'over two millions' in 1908. In this connexion mention should be made of the admirable work of the National Poultry Organisation Society which records a sale last year of 280 tons of eggs at better prices—'in some cases 20 to 30 per cent.' better—'than were obtained previously.'

Many of the branches of the Agricultural Organisation Society are concerned with the disposal of milk. The secretary of the Eastern Counties Dairy Farmers' Co-operative Society, 35,000*l.* of the turnover of which represents milk only, states that 'milk which would frequently have been sold for 1*s.* 7*d.* per barn gallon in the winter months and 1*s.* 2*d.* in the summer months would now make as much as 1*s.* 8*d.* and 1*s.* 4*d.*, and it is generally admitted by the farmers of Essex that this is largely due to the competition introduced into the wholesale trade by the Society.'

At Brandsby and in the Teme valley co-operation has resulted in the North Eastern Railway Company, in the one case, and the Great Western in the other, starting motor services for the farmers' benefit. As the agriculturists of Brandsby district largely purchase their requirements through the Society, much of the freight is consigned to the Society itself. But it also acts as the receiving and forwarding agent for goods consigned to or by individuals. The motors go out of their way to call at member's farms. The rates for heavy traffic are 3*s.* 6*d.* below 3 tons and 3*s.* above. The carriers used to charge 5*s.* per ton and 3*s.* 6*d.* for anything up to a cwt. It is probable that the development of the motor service will lead to the construction of a light railway. A striking illustration of the advantage which the service has been to the farmers of the district is furnished by the increased use of gas lime on the land.

'The land was crying out for lime' (it is stated in 'The Agricultural Organisation Society and its Work'), 'but previous to the establishment of the service the cost of carriage made the price to the farmer almost prohibitive. The Society has now made an arrangement with the gas-works in York to

take all the gas-lime they can supply ; and, whenever there is a deficiency of traffic to Brandsby, the motors load up with gas-lime. There is a ready demand for the lime, and the effects of its use in increasing the fertility of the land have been very marked.'

The chief argument of large farmers against combining to start a co-operative society is usually that agriculturists can nowadays get value for their money when they go into the market with cash in their hands. The reply of the Agricultural Organisation Society is that the Ipswich Society is largely composed, as has been noted, of farmers on a considerable area, who have proved that, both in their buying and in their selling, co-operation is able to give them an advantage. No doubt, as Mr Giles is in the habit of suggesting when approached on the subject of co-operation, many of the rural co-operators of the Continent are peasants in a small way of business ; but in Denmark and Holland large as well as small farmers have undoubtedly profited by co-operative methods. In Denmark the provision of telephones throughout the country, and the measures which the Government takes to deliver the farmers' newspapers promptly, are extremely helpful to the Danish agriculturist. Nevertheless he finds it worth while to be a co-operator. He is often, in fact, a member of five or six different co-operative societies. He has come to believe that it is his part to remain on his farm, and, by means of the latest science and the best practical methods, to raise all he can out of it, and let the trained commercial men in charge of his societies get the best price they can for him for his produce. Under modern conditions, he feels, producing and selling are operations which can be advantageously divided. In other words, like the urban manufacturer, he has found the value of commercial travellers.

Mr Nugent Harris, the secretary of the Agricultural Organisation Society, has stated that, taking the societies affiliated with it as a whole, the reductions in prices effected by co-operative buying 'may be safely put at 15 per cent.' If 22s. 3d. per acre, the sum calculated by the Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression, be the average annual outlay on fertilisers and feeding stuffs in this country, a saving of 15 per cent. obviously means an

addition of 47l. to the net profits on a holding of 300 acres, in other words, the wages of a labourer for a year, and in many counties a shilling or two over.

It is not only that the co-operative farmer is usually able to buy and sell on favourable terms. As the agency which carries out the sales or purchases on his behalf has his interests and not its own to consider, he gets, in many cases, better value for his money. There are before us some noteworthy figures from the Agricultural Organisation Society showing how men who are now members of co-operative societies had formerly been deceived in the quality of the feeding stuffs they bought. It is well known that, in spite of the Fertiliser and Feeding Stuffs Acts, and the provision by the County Councils of means by which agriculturists can have samples analysed at a moderate charge, most farmers never take the trouble to have the quality of their purchases scrutinised. But there is no need to rely on the Agricultural Organisation Society's figures. Let us refer to three analyses made by Dr Voelcker, consulting chemist of the Royal Agricultural Society, reported in the ordinary course, as we write, at the monthly council meeting on June 3. Sample No. 1, a pig meal, was found to contain 'a quantity of weed seeds of worthless character,' and to come below the guarantee in respect both of oil and albuminoids. With his hands strengthened by this analysis, the purchaser obtained 'a liberal allowance' from the vendor. Sample No. 2, a compound manure, was found to differ even more remarkably from the guarantee. 'When I gave notice to the firm that I should have it analysed,' wrote the purchaser, 'they offered to take 1l. per ton less.' They ultimately accepted 2l. 10s. less! Of sample No. 3, a potato manure, bought at 5l. 10s. per ton, the chemist wrote: 'If it cost 30s. per ton I should call it full value.' It is stated that 'a lot of this material had been sold in the neighbourhood.'

These three cases occurred, it should be noticed, one in the north, one in the south, and one in the east of England, all within a month. There could hardly be more convincing evidence as to the existence of a trade in inferior manures and feeding stuffs. An inspector of the Board of Agriculture once told the present writer that the feeding stuffs and manure trade, in which there

are, of course, many honourable men, had been described to him by a farmer as 'a very friendly trade.' The farmer no doubt meant that artificials and feeding stuffs are ordinarily obtained from the firms who buy the purchasers' corn, hay, and straw, and that business relations have usually endured for many years. These business relations are conducted upon a plan of contra accounts, with settlements at long and, for a consideration, adjustable intervals. It will no doubt occur to the reader that if such a system of misrepresentation goes on in 'a very friendly trade,' there may well be an opening for the application of co-operative principles to the purchase of machines, implements, and the various other requirements of the farmer which are neither artificials nor feeding stuffs. We recall the naïve declaration of the chairman of an agricultural co-operative society, that he had learnt more of the business side of agriculture since he had been a member than he had ever known before; and that he didn't know where, outside a co-operative society, a farmer was to get the knowledge he had acquired.

In an age when the railways and all the industries with which the farmer is connected are intent on combination, it is little wonder that he should begin to see that it is necessary for his class also to stand shoulder to shoulder. In view of the marked individuality of the English farmer, it is a marvel perhaps that such progress as the Agricultural Organisation Society is able to report should have taken place. It is true that only the fringe of a great industry has as yet been touched; but, before long, if the past rate of progress is maintained, agricultural co-operation must become a force to be reckoned with. Year by year the societies are able to offer larger salaries to their managers, on the competence of whom, it is obvious, the success of co-operation largely depends. One society already pays its staff 2000*l.* per annum. Year by year also, as more corn, hay, straw and other produce are disposed of direct, without the aid of the middleman, it comes home to the farmer that the merchant's threat, that if he is not given an opportunity of supplying feeding stuffs and artificials he will decline to be a buyer of what the farmer has to sell, is not so grave a matter as it had been thought to be.

One of the wonders of rural economy has been the number of 'dealers' of one sort or another. In a certain five miles radius as many as fifty 'dealers' were counted. It is beginning to dawn on the farmers in many parts of the country that the number of these men may be advantageously reduced.

There is another way in which the farmer's interest in co-operation may be stimulated. During the first six months of this year no fewer than sixty-three additional agricultural co-operative societies were formed; but of this number as many as two-thirds were co-operative small-holding societies. One of the difficulties met with by the small holder has been that, working on a small scale, he could not compete with the big farmer. The tendency of co-operation is to put him on an equality with larger cultivators. The time may come when the large farmer, if he does not embrace co-operative methods, may find himself affected to an appreciable degree by the sales of small holders. The success, however, of such enterprises as the co-operative marts at Winchcombe and Winchester, and another which is being planned at Pershore, will no doubt have their influence on agriculturists; so also, as the Continent becomes better known, will the triumph of the rural co-operative marts in Holland. At these places, as we have ourselves seen, the merchants come to the farmers instead of the farmers to the merchants; and the produce is sold by the co-operators' auctioneer at the prices which are considered remunerative. It is a fact of some importance that Mr Pratt's story of the progress of co-operation abroad should be circulating freely in a shilling edition. His clear and convincing evidence that it is not so much low prices as that co-operative marketing and combined dealing with the railway and steamship companies, which these corporations are only too ready to encourage, that have given the continental producer the advantage he has obtained in the English market, must prove of great service.

There is one advantage that co-operation offers the farmer in the future which should not be overlooked. It is a significant fact that the Board of Agriculture in making its grant of 1200*l.* a year to the Agricultural Organisation Society should have stipulated for the addition to its committee of two representatives, not only

of the Board itself, the National Poultry Organisation Society, and the Small Holdings Association, but of the Co-operative Union. The Co-operative Union stands for a movement of organised self-help which sold 105,717,699*l.* worth of goods over the counters of its various societies last year. The sales of two wholesale societies amounted to 32,390,028*l.* in 1907.\* Co-operative industrial societies themselves produced last year more than 10,000,000*l.* worth of goods, of which more than 4,000,000*l.* are credited to corn-milling. The 7,000,000*l.* worth of goods imported from abroad by two wholesale societies only were, to a considerable extent, the produce of the land.

Here there would certainly seem to be waiting for the British farmer a large market of good payers.† For some time the Agricultural Organisation Society and the Co-operative Union have had an arrangement under which they do not start branches where each other's societies are established. The fusion of existing branches is also encouraged. The Brandsby branch of the Agricultural Organisation Society, to which reference has already been made, contains the following departments: supply of agricultural requirements, dairy, distributive store and mill, and motor service. Each of these has its separate manager and sub-committee. Recently the Surrey committee of the Co-operative Union considered the question of doing a little farming on its own account. It eventually decided instead to 'recommend societies in the districts to support the Guildford branch of the Agricultural Organisation Society by each taking up ten 5*s.* shares.' The Wickham Market Industrial Co-operative Society buys eggs which it sells to urban co-operative societies as far distant as Penge and Lincoln.‡

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\* The turnover of the Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society means 31*s.* 10*d.* per head of the population, the turnover of the English Co-operative Wholesale Society 15*s.* 5*d.*—Dr Hans Müller, Co-operative Congress, 1908.

† 'Not far short of one-sixth of the wages of the workers of the country are expended in co-operative stores, which supply the principal articles of food and clothing for the majority of the population in hundreds of our northern and midland towns and villages, and thus a bonus of about 5*l.* upon an average is added to their annual wages.'—'Nation,' June 13, 1908.

‡ It is not generally known that urban co-operative societies of the United Kingdom already own 2822 acres and rent 6302 acres of land. There was a total of profits last year of 8476*l.* and a total of loss of 4093*l.* One society has 900 acres and two have 500. In addition to these there are two dozen societies with more than 100 acres each. It is probable that in many cases the land has not been long in hand.

It contemplates extending its sales to other classes of goods. The Framlingham Society has also orders from town co-operative societies. Among the largest customers of the Eastern Counties Dairy Farmers' Co-operative Society is the Stratford Industrial Co-operative Society. In the case of all these transactions it is no doubt the day of small things; but they seem to suggest interesting possibilities in the future. A fact of some importance is that the Agricultural Organisation Society of England, the Scottish Agricultural Society, and the Irish Agricultural Society were last month the means of forming a joint Agricultural Co-operative Board for Great Britain and Ireland to forward trading within the movement. When the extent of the financial transactions which take place between the three countries in which they operate, in the three items of cattle, farm seeds, and dairy produce alone, is remembered, it is easy to perceive the great scope which exists for co-operative dealing.

Even on the imperfect statement we have been able to make of the results and tendencies of agricultural co-operation, it will be admitted, we think, that the departmental committee of the Board of Agriculture on small holdings acted with wisdom in recommending 'that all practical steps be taken by Government to promote all forms of agricultural co-operation.' It may seem regrettable that so little progress should have been made in this country that speakers on agricultural organisation at rural meetings have still to encourage their audiences by pointing to the example of Denmark, the whole co-operative system of which was actually inspired by the work of the early co-operative stores of Rochdale. Surely, if slowly, however, agricultural co-operation makes progress in England. Could there be a more striking illustration of the fact than this? A few years ago, as the reports of the Irish and Scottish deputations bear witness, the Danes were perfectly ready to show our visitors all they cared to see of their methods; now, we have been assured, the spread of agricultural co-operation and the development of the small-holdings movement in this country are thought likely to bring about such a competition with Danish produce that it is doubted whether the same facilities for obtaining information should continue to be afforded.

As to opposition to agricultural co-operation on the part of manufacturers and traders,

'Continental experience shows' (says Mr Pratt) 'that agricultural co-operation has been a decided benefit to honest manufacturers and traders. It has greatly increased the demand for agricultural necessities, and has allowed of big orders being got direct from the societies, without any expense in regard to travellers or agents, and without any risk of bad debts. The only persons who need be afraid are the dishonest traders whose seeds, fertilisers, or feeding-stuffs will not bear the test of those strict analyses which a society is so much better able to exact than an individual purchaser.'

In England, as in Ireland, there are to be found in the work of the Agricultural Organisation Society many illustrations of the fact that, in the words of an Irish Report, 'the reflex action upon character is as important as the direct material gain, for which the societies are ostensibly organised.' On this point Mr Aves ('Co-operative Industry,' p. 302) may be quoted :

'It is inexpedient, and perhaps also somewhat pharasaic, in spite of all that may be true that is said of "rings" and attempts to boycott, of sharp practices and shady dealing, to consider that co-operative agriculture has it in any sense as its primary, or even as a very important part of its task, "to work against fraud and injustice" (to quote the words of a propagandist leaflet), or to enable farmers to combat traders who are "constantly imposing" on them. Industrial association is, indeed, in the first place, not a struggle against unfairness of any kind, but rather, when it is the appropriate instrument, the adoption of a new and potentially a better system than the old one, and one that should justify itself, moreover, not only by its economic strength, but also by the more social and more assured basis upon which it would help to place the everyday industrial life of the nation.'

The public profits as well as the farmer. By co-operation, Mr J. F. Mason, M.P., lately pointed out, 'the public gets better dairy and farm produce, the standard of production being levelled up under efficient regulations.' Agriculture generally, he continued, 'is advanced by the organised application of scientific research.' No one will be in doubt as to this who has noticed in Holland—where there are 896 rural co-operative societies—the

keenness with which the farmers examine the daily analyses of their milk which they receive at the creameries, or the way in which breeding for butter has followed upon breeding for milk. It has been the common experience, alike in England and Ireland, that in the districts in which the co-operative movement flourishes the intellectual life of the farming community has been quickened.

Of the future prospects of agricultural co-operation in this country there is perhaps no more searching examination than is to be found in 'The Business Side of Agriculture,' the author of which is, we believe, the editor of the 'Journal of the Board of Agriculture.' He writes (p. 158):

'In itself, co-operation is not a virtue; it is a method of doing business, and, like all other such methods, is subject to its limitations. It is, beyond all cavil, admirably suited to the production and sale of certain classes of farm produce, among which butter and cream are the most conspicuous. It is probably equally well suited to bee-keeping, fruit and vegetable growing, and perhaps to some forms of stock-rearing. But it is not easy to see how it can be applied to such extensive operations as wheat-growing, sheep-feeding, or any of the styles of farming which are usually practised by large farmers, with anything like the same amount of success. At all events, when it encroaches on these domains it will have to meet with an opposition combined, intelligent, and resourceful beyond all present experience. It is not to be supposed that the men who through so many difficulties have fought their way alone and have established themselves in their businesses or their occupation will be driven out of it without a desperate struggle.

'Be that as it may, there are two points in which the English farmer may perhaps learn a valuable lesson from the Irish co-operators. The Irish Agricultural Organisation Society has shown conclusively that in the modern world of trade there exists a superfluity of intermediaries between the producer and the consumer, who live, or at any rate make their profits, out of the labour of the farmer, driving down the prices he is given for his commodities below their true value. Such men serve no useful purpose in the present rapid system of commercial transactions, and are better eliminated. They have shown that one of the secrets of profitable marketing consists in the careful sampling,

grading, and packing of goods for the salesmen, whereby agricultural produce can pass from hand to hand unexamined and untested, in the same way as a bale of textile goods bearing the stamp of some honourable manufacturer. And, finally, they have demonstrated that it is the duty of the farmer to produce, and that the business of trading in his product should not be carried out by him in person, but should be delegated to some agent, whether on the co-operative or the individual system, who should be skilled in disposing of his wares to the best advantage not of himself, but of the farmer. Who knows but that a great fortune may still lie before the English farmer if he will but learn the lesson ?'

The difficulties to which Mr Rogers draws attention in his first paragraph are obvious, but the progress which the Eastern Counties Farmers' Association has already made in the sale of corn seems to be not without significance. It may be mentioned that the same organisation, in its last report, contemplates 'further co-operative action in the direction of manufacturing goods'; it has already grinding and screening machinery. Attention may also be directed to the attempt of the Agricultural Organisation Society to promote the co-operative sale of wool. A leading firm of wool-brokers has stated that the two systems on which wool is now disposed of are 'disadvantageous to the grower.' One co-operative society takes its motto from Carlyle: 'Give a thing time; if it can succeed, it is a good thing.' The progress of agricultural co-operation in a country of large farms can never be the easy sailing some of its less well-informed advocates appear to imagine it will be; but in estimating the prospects of the movement it is well to bear in mind that all the progress that has been made is the work of a few years only. The Eastern Counties Farmers' Co-operative Association, the sales of which for twelve months will probably amount by December 1908 to more than 200,000*l.*, is but in its fifth year.

'Agricultural prosperity,' His Majesty said at Kilkenny, 'largely depends upon improved educational methods, co-operation, and increased facilities for distributing produce.' 'For a complete solution of our agricultural problem,' Sir Horace Plunkett writes, 'a satisfactory land tenure and the introduction of modern business

methods must be supplemented by the teachings of modern science applied to the practice of farming.' As to their systems of land tenure, English and Irish farmers had never less to complain of; and of the advance in agricultural education, as of agricultural co-operation, there is ample evidence. The activity of a score of agricultural colleges, the Report of a committee of the Board of Agriculture on agricultural education, and the financial encouragement which the Rothamsted Experimental Station—the forerunner of all European agricultural stations—has received outside State sources, are not less satisfactory 'signs' of agricultural activity than the high character and large circulation of such agricultural journals as the 'Field' and 'Farmer and Stock-breeder' in England, the 'North British Agriculturist' and 'Scottish Farmer' in Scotland, and the 'Irish Homestead' in Ireland. The remarkable annual consumption of artificial manures, along with an increasing recognition of the fact that they cannot profitably take the place of that refreshment for growing plants which is supplied by decayed vegetation left in the ground under an economical rotation of crops, and the keen interest which is taken in the breeding of improved cereal and forage plants, and in the discoveries and speculations as to nitrogen sources\* and the value of cultivation, tell their tale as plainly as the encouraging statistics of the agricultural Returns. Two works, entitled respectively 'The Soil' and 'Soils,' in addition to Mr A. D. Hall's valuable work mentioned in our list, have been published within four years. Another very useful volume is Mr R. H. Elliot's 'Agricultural Changes and Laying Down Land to Grass' (Simpkin, Marshall and Co.), the telling record of a series of important experiments in providing the soil with *humus* by means of grass and deep-rooting forage plants.

The story of the changes in cropping and stocking to meet modern conditions, unfolded in Mr Pratt's 'Transi-

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\* A practical trade paper, 'The Fruitgrower,' of August 13, 1908, writing of the results obtained in the case of the oat, wheat, and leguminous crops on a farm in Buckinghamshire from spraying with Prof. Bottomley's 'nitro-bacterine,' says: 'These most practical experiments are conclusive, proving without a doubt that it will pay well to spray not only pulse but cereals and clover with nitro-bacterine.'

tion in Agriculture,' is one of the most stimulating chapters in the social progress of our time. Again, while some years ago only a few men were working at the improvement of the milk and butter-producing qualities of cattle, so much is now being done in this direction that the commercial value of the country's dairy herds is steadily rising. Then, by means of breeding for egg production, the laying averages of poultry, which form one of the most valuable by-products of the farm, have been increased to a notable degree. Further, account must be taken, not only of such contentment as the prospect of small holdings may be considered to have brought to the men whom the farmer employs, but of that improvement in the educational methods of rural schools which cannot be long deferred, and must have its effect in increasing the intelligence and health of the labouring class. Finally, the interesting experiments made by a number of firms, with the encouragement of the agricultural societies, in order to find a practical form of farm-motor, should not be overlooked. These experiments, taken along with the more general knowledge of elementary engineering, for which road-motors and the increased use of agricultural machinery are responsible, seem to promise that before long, under favourable climatic conditions, many agriculturists will have at their command haulage power which, if it can never make them independent of horses, must, with the intelligent labour which will be available to direct it, help materially towards economical production. In taking note of improved agricultural methods it is always well to remember Sir John Bennet Lawes' saying, that 'high farming is no remedy for low prices.' The conspicuous 'sign' of the remarkable agricultural progress to which the experienced author of 'The Diary of a Working Farmer' so confidently looks forward 'in the next ten years' is surely this: that our farmers seem increasingly to unite with an appreciation of high farming an ability to obtain for themselves, by education and intelligent combination, more satisfactory financial results from their labour than they have hitherto obtained.

HOME COUNTIES.





## Art. II.—THE FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM.

1. *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.* By A. von Ruville. (English edition.) Three vols. London: Heinemann, 1907.
  2. *England in the Seven Years' War: a study in combined strategy.* By J. S. Corbett. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1907.
  3. *The Correspondence of William Pitt.* Edited by G. S. Kimball. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1906.
  4. *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.* By W. D. Green, M.P. (Heroes of the Nations series.) London: Putnam, 1901.
  5. *Chatham.* By Frederic Harrison. London: Macmillan, 1905.
  6. *A History of the British Army.* By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. Vols. I-III. London: Macmillan, 1899-1902.
  7. *Louis XV et le Renversement des Alliances. La Guerre de Sept Ans.* By Richard Waddington. Vols. I-IV. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1896-1908.
  8. *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765.* By G. L. Beer. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1907.
- And other works.

IN history there are no *choses jugées*. Every generation to whom its national record is not a mere perquisite of professors rightly insists on revising the verdicts that it inherits by the light of the new knowledge it has acquired, and on reinterpreting these in the terms of present problems and the ideals of the national future. The list of books at the head of this article epitomises some of the valuable work accomplished in the last ten years on the age of Chatham, whom a virile popular tradition, backed by the guns of Plassey, Minden, Quebec, and Quiberon, has canonised as a national hero, a figure whose personality and achievements have not unjustly been held to anticipate and make possible the aspirations of modern Imperialism. It is indeed singular that neither in his own day nor since has the career of William Pitt tempted an English historian of the first rank to embark on an exhaustive and scientific biography. English readers have still to be content with the sympathetic study by Lecky, Macaulay's two brilliant essays, the

competent, straightforward narrative by Mr Green, and the interesting but perverse and unequal monograph by Mr Frederic Harrison. English scholars have left to Prof. Redlich 'The History of English Parliamentary Procedure'; to Prof. Salomon the revised biography of Chatham's greatest son; and to Dr von Ruville the ransacking of British and Prussian archives in search of the material for an adequate life of Chatham.

When the last-named work appeared in German three years ago, scholars at once recognised the importance of this solid contribution to our knowledge of Chatham and his period. The English translation published last year is welcome as placing at the disposal of all British readers the results of von Ruville's researches. The translation is, on the whole, competently done; and the book has benefited by a revision, particularly in details of colonial history, by Prof. Egerton, who has also written a brief introduction. Prof. Egerton has left Dr von Ruville to speak for himself, though he indicates succinctly the new material used, and the chief points in which he dissents from the German writer's verdicts. Most readers who weigh the evidence will agree with Prof. Egerton rather than the biographer in the general estimate. For, grateful as historical students must be for the learning and research in von Ruville's book, and for the independence of his judgment and the absence of bias in dealing with controversial questions in English history (notably in the relations of Frederick the Great with Chatham, Bute, and George III), they will find it difficult to accept many of his conclusions. The attempt, for example, to explain Pitt's conduct on two specific occasions as influenced by a legacy, the first from the Duchess of Marlborough, the second from Sir W. Pynsent, is originality pushed to the length of conjectural special pleading, and repugnant to established facts as to Pitt's character. We cannot be surprised, therefore, when his biographer proceeds to account for Pitt's clinging to office in his second Ministry as due to his desire to retain the emoluments of the Privy Seal, and to suggest that his hostility to North was aggravated by a presumed knowledge that North's wife had been a possible rival for Sir W. Pynsent's estate. Yet Dr von Ruville throughout strives to justify Pitt as a national hero.

## THE FIRST EARL OF CHATHAM

Mr Corbett's study of the Seven Years' War is a closely argued examination of Pitt's strategy by an expert whose previous work on English naval history has placed our students of our national development under a deep debt. As a refutation of Henry Fox's shallow criticism that Pitt's combined expeditions 'broke windows with guineas,' it is unanswerable; and Mr Corbett has utilised, for the first time, in his chapters on the Peace of 1763, the complete correspondence of the Sardinian Ministers, Solar and Viry—that Viry of whom his royal master remarked that he loved mystery so dearly that if he could have made a mystery of his own death he would have done it.

The share of the British army is set out in Mr Fortescue's indispensable and well-written narrative. The continuous indictment of civilian blundering, of the sins of politicians and a parliamentary régime, will appeal to every soldier. It would be more convincing if Mr Fortescue could prove that the absolutist monarchies invariably avoided disaster, corruption, and favouritism, and if he would not shake our confidence in his political judgments by assertions that the Seven Years' War was due to a Pompadour's determination to avenge the naughty epigrams of Frederick the Great. Perhaps Mr Fortescue believes that Salamis was the result of a curtain-lecture by Atossa, and Actium of the length of Cleopatra's nose. The French view can be studied in the great work of M. Waddington, whose lucidity of style and thorough exploration of the archives make his criticisms on English statesmen and English policy doubly interesting and profitable. In Mr Beer's monograph on the critical epoch of British colonial policy we have the most recent addition to the literature, *bien documenté*, by which American scholars have revolutionised the history of the American Revolution.

But the fact that we are to-day better able than before to understand Chatham and his age is primarily due to systematic pioneer work on the original sources. Of these the Pitt-Pringle papers in the Record Office, the vast Newcastle correspondence, and the Hardwicke papers in the British Museum are the most important. Both these collections have been skilfully utilised by Dr von Ruville and Mr Corbett; and Miss Kimball has

supplemented their researches by publishing two volumes of Pitt's official despatches. The student can now enter without trouble the great Minister's Cabinet and look over his shoulder as he planned the campaigns that changed the destinies of a vast continent. Given this reasoned and vivid insight into the man and his methods, every reader will rise from a study of these documents with a heightened admiration for Pitt's power of work, grasp of principle, clearness of aim, and mastery of detail. The Duke of Grafton's 'Autobiography'\* is also a document of the first order, more elaborate, but not less valuable, than Lord Shelburne's memoir in his Life by Lord E. Fitzmaurice.

The letters of Lady Sarah Lennox,† 'prettier than any girl I ever saw,' in whose lap for a few weeks lay the crown of Great Britain, and who lived to be the mother of the Napiers, are prefaced by a precious memoir by Henry Fox, equally remarkable for its revelation of the man and for its omissions. From the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, particularly the Dropmore, Denbigh, Carlisle, Dartmouth, and Stopford-Sackville papers, much can be gleaned. These various sources can now be effectively collated with those already extant in the letters and memoirs of Chesterfield, Gray, and Horace Walpole, the documents in Hardwicke's Life, the Marchmont papers, and the previously printed volumes of the Chatham, Bedford, and Rockingham correspondence. There are still some obvious lacunæ. The Calendar of Treasury Papers has only reached the year 1745. The Newcastle and Hardwicke mss. will bear a good deal of deep-level mining. The documentary jungle round the last ten years of Walpole's Ministry and the careers of Carteret and Henry Fox has not yet been cleared or mapped; and the archives of Holland House may still be able to settle many disputable points in the tangled history of foreign and domestic politics from 1740 to 1760.

The successive phases of Chatham's varied career fall into definite sections, the first of which covers his early

\* 'Autobiography, etc., of the third Duke of Grafton,' edited by Sir W. R. Anson. London: Murray, 1898.

† 'Life and Letters of Lady Sarah Lennox,' edited by Lady Hester and Lord Stavordale. London: Murray, 1902.

training and the last decade of Walpole's supremacy. The industry of Dr von Ruville has not succeeded in adding much of importance to our knowledge of Pitt's early years, though it supplies a very complete account of his forebears, particularly his grandfather, Governor 'Diamond' Pitt. Pitt's birth in the year of Oudenarde (1708) recalls the birth of his famous son in the year of victory 1759. Educated at Eton, he had for contemporaries George Lyttelton, George Grenville, Charles Pratt (Lord Camden), and Henry Fox, and at Oxford two future Lord Chancellors, Northington and Mansfield. In 1732 (N.S.) he was gazetted a cornet in the Second or Cobham's Horse, and not, as stated incorrectly by his biographers, in 'The Blues.' In 1735 he entered Parliament for the family 'rotten' borough of Old Sarum, and at once attached himself to that group of the Opposition variously known as the Boy Patriots, the 'Cobham Cousinhood' or 'Cobham's Cubs.' Shortly afterwards commenced his political connexion with the Opposition centre clustered round the Prince of Wales and Leicester House, which is one of the most characteristic features of Pitt's career and to which he owed his subsequent intimacy with Bute. Pitt's first speech (which occasioned the well-known remark about muzzling this young cornet of Horse and the loss of his commission) was the overture to an elaborately worked-up *crescendo* of attacks on Walpole's character and policy, for which the conflict with Spain offered a splendid opportunity. His support of the British claim, 'as from God and nature,' to override the artificial restrictions of unjust treaties, his denunciation of the Convention of the Pardo as 'a stipulation for national ignominy' voiced the inarticulate sentiment of the new England. He was, in short, already teaching the Court and the Whig drawing-rooms that the sense of the King's subjects must be sought elsewhere than in the House of Commons, or, as Lord Holland later characteristically phrased it, 'encouraging the mob to think themselves the Government.'

Pitt's opposition to Walpole, and his demands for retributive measures on that Minister's fall, were probably sincere. Like many, he had convinced himself that in 'the bottomless pocket of Robin' lay the secret of his extraordinary tenure of power; like many, he discovered

how unjust and exaggerated the charges were. Unlike many, he had the courage, ten years later, publicly to confess his ignorance and injustice. Still later, we have it on the authority of Shelburne that 'he bitterly lamented, not only such personalities, but his opposition to the measures of that wise and excellent Minister.' Walpole's fall, however, brought him bitter disappointment. It is clear he expected to be offered office. But, 'broad' as was the 'bottom' of the new Administration, there was no room for the eloquent ex-cornet. The rebel Whigs passed from the bread and water of an inconveniently crowded cave of Adullam to the sweetness and light of the Treasury bench. They desired the reversion of Walpole's place, not the reversal of his policy. And Pitt had forgotten the power of the Hanoverian sovereign, incensed at his connexion with the mutinous heir to the throne, and his fiery invectives against George's beloved electorate. It was Pitt's first lesson in the weakness of the guerilla independent. The politician who openly aims at 'breaking party' finds then and now that party will praise him and leave him in the cold. The inarticulate voice of young England could drive men from, but it could not drive them into, office. Pitt's character and views were, we may surmise, well known to the limited political world of 1742. It had yet to be seen whether this ambitious and opinionated young man would be more comfortable as a colleague than as a critic.

The second phase is therefore one of continued and violent opposition, this time to Carteret, 'a sole and execrable Minister who had drunk of that potion whereby men forget their country,' the incarnation of costly and useless continental subsidies which prostituted English interests to those of Hanover. Great Britain, Pitt exclaimed in one of those phrases that stick, had sunk to being only a province of a despicable German electorate. Carteret fell in 1744. Several of Pitt's associates in opposition came to terms with the Pelhams; and Pitt was apparently ready to follow their example. But the King, more incensed than ever, was obdurate. Pitt now supported the Administration both in the Jacobite rebellion and in the increased subsidy to Maria Theresa; and in 1746, after a collective ministerial resignation and a failure to form another Ministry, the King sulkily allowed

the offensive and dangerous orator to become Paymaster-General.

Does Pitt's conduct deserve the censure passed on it then and since? Was it simply an unscrupulous ambition to make Ministers' policy stink in the nostrils of their countrymen until the mandarins of St James purchased first his silence and then his advocacy by a place? Unquestionably Pitt desired office—a desire shared by every politician of every age who is conscious of his powers. His conduct as Paymaster—when he renounced on principle, though he was a poor man, large profits sanctioned by usage—proves that he did not seek it to enrich himself, unless we accept the interpretation of the devil's advocate and see in the renunciation a theatrical Pharisaism desiring to make broad its phylacteries. Singularly costly Pharisaism! for it did not bring him even the esteem of those who, like Henry Fox, despised such quixotic Puritanism. Nor would an unscrupulous place-hunter have been so stupid as to aggravate so unnecessarily the implacable resentment of George II. Pitt's attitude towards Carteret, whom later he described as 'without an equal in the upper sphere of government,' is not a second example of ignorance of foreign politics, nor of gross inconsistency, nor of baffled ambition. The clue is suggested by his emphasis at the time on the necessity of English measures, and by his own policy during the Seven Years' War; and these have to be weighed against the principles that had hitherto determined the relations of Great Britain with the leading European States.

The cardinal principle of Whiggism down to 1717 was the danger of Bourbon power and the duty of combating it directly and *à outrance*. For this purpose the continental system of a close alliance with the Hague and the house of Austria—the union of the two sea Powers with the Hapsburg dynasty—was made the basis of Whig foreign policy. Walpole's system, inherited from Stanhope, cut across this; it aimed, not at fighting, but at stalemating, the Bourbon solidarity by maintaining the *entente cordiale* with France, while not neglecting the friendship both of the Hague and Vienna. Hence Walpole's desire to avoid war with Spain, the kindred Bourbon State, since war would necessarily involve the ruin of the Anglo-French alliance. The war of 1739 and

Walpole's fall were therefore, as Ranke pointed out, the fall, not merely of a great Minister, but of a great and successful system, which drove the Whigs back on their original policy, a defensive and offensive alliance with the house of Habsburg against the house of Bourbon. Carteret was the leading exponent of this orthodox Whiggism, the system of William III and of Marlborough. But until 1744 England, though she was spending her resources freely in men, ships, and money, was only an auxiliary, not a principal, in the War of the Austrian Succession. Pitt in 1742 already saw clearly two central facts. The interests of England lay not in Silesia, on the Rhine or the Main, but on the St Lawrence and the fog-bound coast of Acadia. Empire was at stake, and the enemy was France. To make Germany the strategic centre of our efforts was to waste our strength on Austrian, Hanoverian, everything but real English interests. It was false political, and therefore doubly false military, strategy. The continental school was probably right in 1689 and 1702, but this was 1744; and the future of Greater Britain hung on Imperial destinies wholly different in character from those when Marlborough fought for Acadia in Flanders.

The charge of inconsistency, in short, rests on a misconception of Pitt's principles now and in 1757. As he fought Newcastle and 'the Continentalists' in his Cabinet in 1757; so now in 1743 he indicted their policy. True, he desired, as Carteret did, the crippling of Bourbonism; but he was convinced that ministerial strategy was vicious because it ignored the vitalising reason of State, the absolute necessity of Imperial expansion. Some further comments suggest themselves. Pitt's policy was not tried in 1743. In 1746 it was too late. But with Carteret fell the ablest champion of the continental school. Secondly, by 1745, Charles Edward and Marshal Saxe had turned the fight with France into one for the existence of the Revolution dynasty and the control of the home-waters. It is futile, as Gambetta said, to discuss the pattern of the drawing-room carpet when the basement is in flames. It would have been pedantry, not statesmanship, to argue about Hanoverianism when it required every man, gun, and penny we had to keep the Hanoverian dynasty on the throne and the Revolution

system intact. Thirdly, the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) made Englishmen feel, as Frederick the Great felt of Fontenoy and Raucoux, that victories like Dettingen and Louisburg might as well have been won on the Scamander. That treaty made nothing certain but a heavy bill, the resentment of our ally, Maria Theresa, and the immediate renewal of the struggle in America and India. It simply papered over the cracks; and the paste was not dry before the lateral thrust of uncontrollable national forces in Acadia, on the Ohio, and in the Carnatic, widened the gaps in the make-believe structure erected by the diplomatists. But we shall be blind to the significance of Pitt's career and his protests from 1742 to 1744 if we do not credit him with the determination that in the future neither the King nor his Hanoverian camarilla, nor Newcastle and his parliamentary janissaries, should be permitted to re-embark on the discredited and ruinous system of continental subsidies for continental ends to the detriment of vitally English Imperial interests.

The third phase, which ends with the formation of the great Administration, is clear enough in its main features. Until Henry Pelham's death in 1754, Pitt remained a loyal supporter of the Ministry; but with Newcastle as Prime Minister he once more entered on opposition which rapidly developed into open revolt. His fierce attacks in 1755 on the Russian and Hessian Treaties brought about his dismissal from the Paymaster-Generalship; and until November 1756, when Henry Fox 'put the knife to the throat of his colleagues,' Pitt unsparingly denounced the sins both of omission and commission of the Government. A new Ministry was formed under Devonshire, with Pitt as Secretary of State, which lasted until April 1757, when Pitt was again dismissed. Though Great Britain was engaged in a world-wide war, for eleven weeks the politicians haggled, while combination after combination was formed on paper, until, on June 28, Pitt consented to borrow Newcastle's majority and Newcastle bowed to Pitt's supremacy in policy. So the great Administration was set up. England does not love coalitions, but this particular one was the most popular and the most successful Ministry in our parliamentary

annals. The year 1754, in fact, is the most decisive in Pitt's career. To it belongs his marriage with Hester Grenville, which gave him a devoted and high-spirited wife, and also a brother-in-law generous in money matters but obstinate, factious, and ambitious. Temple has been suspected, with good reason, of supplying much of the information, some of the polish, and no little of the venom that keep the Junius letters alive to-day. In public affairs Temple, to apply Lord Rosebery's phrase, was Pitt's hair-shirt.

The motives and objects of Pitt's conduct in these thirteen years still remain disputable. They can be explained in various ways, but they eminently call for explanation. On the surface his acts lend themselves to the unfavourable view of his character and aims expressed by critics so experienced as the King, Newcastle, Horace Walpole, Mansfield, Hardwicke, Carteret, Cumberland, and Henry Fox. To dismiss their verdicts as due to sheer prejudice and jealousy is to ignore the well-established fact that Pitt left on the statesmen of that epoch precisely the same uneasy feeling, deepening too frequently into irritation, suspicion, despair, and hostility that we find later in Bedford, Shelburne, Grafton, Burke and Rockingham. The transformation in 1744 of the scalp-hunting *Apache* of opposition into the loyal supporter for ten years, followed in 1754 by his sudden re-appearance on the blood-trail, startled the rank and file at Westminster as well. As he had treated Walpole and Carteret, so now apparently he would treat Newcastle and Fox and for the same reasons. On the other hand, Pitt's attitude found increasing support in public opinion. His indictment of Newcastle drove the Duke from office. Pitt was forced on the King a second time by the voice of the nation. His second dismissal evoked the rain of gold boxes; and in June 1757 Dr Johnson asserted truly that he was a Minister given by the people to the Crown. Clearly the public judged him very differently from the experienced politicians. But the public knew only his speeches and his actions. It never sat with him in the council chamber.

Why did Pitt break with Newcastle and with Henry Fox? We may take it as proved that from 1747 to 1754 he was on intimate terms politically with the Duke. He

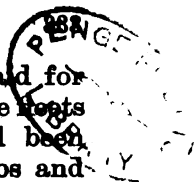
supported the Government, of which he was a prominent member, and sat for one of his nomination boroughs.

If only a hypothesis, it is not an unreasonable hypothesis, that Pitt, realising the strength of the royal dislike, the organised power of the great Whig families, the claims of his rivals, Murray, the silver-tongued, Fox, his equal in debate and business capacity, supported too by Hardwicke and Cumberland, deliberately nailed his colours to the Newcastle mast. Through Newcastle, and with his support, he would in time break down the barred doors into the Cabinet. It is in evidence also that he kept in close touch with Leicester House, whence must come, and perhaps soon, the sovereign who in future would make and unmake Ministers. It is beyond question that in 1754 Pitt expected a place in the Cabinet, and that he regarded Newcastle's refusal to insist on his admission to responsible office as an ungrateful breach of faith. But we cannot say what had been the nature of the previous bargain, or if indeed there was any real bargain at all. If there was an understanding, Newcastle obviously interpreted it differently from Pitt. If Pitt disbelieved in the King's continued hostility, he was wrong; though Newcastle obviously was not the man to coerce his sovereign against his will and against the Duke's own interests. The Duke was rightly convinced that Pitt expected, not merely Cabinet office, but a share in shaping policy; he loved monopoly of power as a miser loves his gold, and he did not think Pitt indispensable. He probably, and with some reason, distrusted both Pitt's character and his political views, and he desired an obedient colleague, not a dictatorial master. The plain conclusion seems to be that both were right and both wrong.

The quarrel with Fox is still more obscure. Fox too had been passed over in 1754. The two rivals acted in concert in making Newcastle and Robinson, the 'boot-jack' that was chosen to lead the House of Commons, ridiculous. Pitt evidently expected that Fox and himself would oust Newcastle; and, when Fox joined the Ministry, he regarded his action as a disloyal desertion. Here again we have no proof that Fox entered into a definite alliance with Pitt, or that he broke his word. On the contrary, Pitt's anger seems to have sprung from his conviction that it was a public duty to deprive Newcastle of

power; and that Fox's entry into Newcastle's Cabinet, by strengthening the shaken Ministry, was treachery to public interest. It must be conceded that Pitt's action throughout lent itself to harsh criticism. Convinced of the purity of his own motives, and conscious of his powers, he forgot that shrewd critics would simply see in his conduct jealousy, ambition, and the desire for revenge. And Pitt was as impetuous in action as in speech. He saw one side of a question and always saw it with a passion that blinded his judgment. But there is no proof that either in his connexion with Newcastle or with Leicester House, or in his vehement opposition after 1754, he sacrificed a single essential principle. There is indisputable evidence that twice after 1754 he peremptorily rejected Newcastle's overtures because office in the Duke's Cabinet would place him in a false position and involve the acceptance of a policy he condemned. From 1754 onwards the evidence accumulated that his country was drifting towards disaster. And the men in power, in Pitt's eyes, were 'muddling through' on the principles that had crippled England in the War of the Austrian Succession. 'Within two years,' he asserted, 'his Majesty will not be able to sleep at St James' for the cries of a bankrupt people.' Braddock's defeat, the loss of Minorca and of Oswego, and the Black Hole at Calcutta, wrote his indictment on the wall in letters of fire. 'If,' as Pitt, vividly expressed it, 'if he saw a child (Newcastle) driving a go-cart close to the edge of a precipice, with the precious freight of an old king and his family, he was bound to take the reins out of such hands.' For a statesman who is convinced of the peril of his country and of his own power to save her, the path of duty is plain. And Pitt in these two black years marched along it with the superb confidence of genius.

Apart from the remarkable victories, two points in the great Administration of 1757-1761 at once leap to the eye. It started from a record of failure and with a nation in the nadir of despair. The despondent England of 1756, that hugged Hessians and Hanoverians as its sole defence against invasion, that seemed unable to find generals and admirals, men or money, was in three years at the zenith of self-confidence. Leaders had been found to lead—Amherst, Wolfe, Hawke, Ferdinand of Brunswick, Bos-



cawen, Saunders, Peacock, Clive; it provided or paid for two hundred thousand men a year; it equipped large fleets and spent millions like water. The French had been driven from Canada, their fleets crushed at Lagos and Quiberon, their schemes in India shattered, their power in the West Indies undermined, their commerce swept off the seas. Prussia still maintained its own; and our admirals prayed for a serious invasion, as Nelson prayed for the Toulon fleet to come out and taste his quality. Secondly, Pitt's supremacy in the Cabinet, in Parliament, in the nation, was unquestioned and unique. Controversy disappeared. 'Is there an Austrian among you?' Pitt demanded from the Treasury bench, 'let him stand forth.' 'You would,' writes Horace Walpole, 'as soon hear "no" from an old maid as from the House of Commons.'

The strength of the Ministry partly rested on its peculiar coalition character. It included most of the front-bench chiefs, not excepting Fox, who, as Paymaster-General, sacrificed his political ambitions to his lust for wealth; it was backed by Newcastle's well-drilled janissaries; it had the support of the Crown; and through Bute Pitt secured the acquiescence of Leicester House, of the Dowager Princess of Wales, and of the heir to the throne. But its chief claim for national support lay in its policy; and in policy the first and the last word lay with the Secretary of State. Pitt demanded and proclaimed his responsibility; and his success made him omnipotent. Not that constitutional forms were not strictly observed. The orders were the orders of the Crown. The executive action of the various departments followed law and custom. Anson and the admirals, Ligonier and the soldiers, gave their advice as chiefs of the staffs or as experts; an inner group of the Cabinet—Pitt himself, Newcastle, Devonshire, Hardwicke—and the secret committee of the Privy Council, virtually a council of Imperial defence, threshed out the programme, which was ratified, if necessary, by the full Cabinet; but the originating and co-ordinating power was Pitt. In details and in appointments he frequently, not always wisely, gave way or left a free hand to others; but on principles, objects, and methods he was stiff. Over diplomacy, finance, the fleets and the army he kept a controlling grip. 'I told you I would be forced,' growled the King, 'and I am forced.'

'Newcastle and Pitt,' wrote Chesterfield, 'jog on like man and wife, seldom agreeing, often quarrelling, but, by a mutual interest, upon the whole not parting.'

Therein lay Pitt's secret. If Pitt resigned, Newcastle knew that the nation, after a deluge of gold-boxes and the proscription of his opponents, would have him back again. Newcastle therefore wisely made a compromise on the lines of Abraham Lincoln's client, whose wife insisted on red paint, while he wanted white, for their house. The house was painted red. Seldom if ever has an English statesman, not Cromwell even, nor Marlborough, been in such a position. No Englishman, however powerful, has before or since waged a world-wide war in alliance with a state like Prussia, also completely controlled by a single brain, and that a brain of genius alike in diplomacy, war, and civil administration. A parallel may be found in the alliance of France and Sweden under Richelieu and Gustavus Adolphus; but Richelieu with all his splendid gifts had not Pitt's genius for war. The combination of Pitt and Frederick the Great made an epoch in the history of two great States. The modern Empire of Great Britain, the modern Kingdom of Prussia, were saved for their historic missions by the Seven Years' War. Take away the combination of Pitt and Frederick, and can any dispassionate student convince himself that the history of Great Britain and Prussia, and therefore of the world, would have been the same?

Pitt's 'system,' as Mr Corbett happily remarks, is from one point of view as elusive as 'the Nelson touch.' The magic of personality, which has evaporated from the documents, counts for much. A great statesman—we have seen it in our own day in Abraham Lincoln, in Bismarck, and Cavour—is a mysterious power for concentrating in a single human being the divergent aspirations of a nation, to which he then gives expression in a visualised and intelligible form. 'I am not a man,' said Napoleon, 'I am a force.' When we speak of Pitt as an Imperialist, we do not mean that he discovered or created the Empire. We mean that by the alchemy of his own intense vision and political ideals he imposed on England a conception of national development and national ends based on an ideal of Imperial expansion to realise which

the nation must sacrifice everything or cease to believe in its own right and power to exist. In its concrete form Pitt's system is little more than a masterly adaptation of military means to political ends. The object to be attained was first determined by political and moral considerations—broadly, to free the Empire from the Bourbon danger; specifically, to wrest Canada from the French. The military problem accordingly reduces itself to the concentration of a superiority of force on the area defined, which thus becomes the strategical centre. Army and fleet work together on a combined scheme. The function of the fleet is not so much to secure the command of the sea, i.e. the destruction of the enemy's fleet, as to provide the certainty of a military offensive with a superiority of force at the strategical centre. Great Britain therefore, striking with concentrated might in America, acts on the defensive in Europe. The operations in Germany are secondary. Frederick's struggle with Maria Theresa is his affair; our English task is to maintain him as against France partly by money, partly by an Anglo-Hanoverian army whose work is strictly limited to 'containing' the French, to diverting their concentration on the strategical centre, America, and to preventing them from winning in Europe compensations for losses outside it. Eccentric amphibious expeditions, such as those to Morlaix, Cherbourg, Belleisle, and the Isle de Rhé, the mobility of the fleet sharpening the penetrative power of the troops, are used as diversions either against France itself, in order to relieve the pressure on the containing Anglo-Hanoverian army, or, outside Europe, as against Guadeloupe and St Lucia, to divert the enemy's attention from our main operations in America, or to destroy his bases in those parts. But these amphibious expeditions and the containing army must not be permitted to become ends in themselves, i.e. to turn the defensive into a true offensive, or to appropriate a man or a gun required at the strategical centre.

Between this system and that employed in the Austrian Succession War the difference is as fundamental in its principles and methods as it proved to be in its results. As Mr Corbett points out, Pitt did not conquer Canada in Germany, but in Canada itself, by a combined strategy which cut the communications between

the St Lawrence and Brest, and brought Saunders and Wolfe triumphantly up to Quebec, and Amherst's triple enveloping armies from New York to Montreal. How far Pitt is entitled to the chief credit is one of those questions to which even the detailed evidence now at our disposal scarcely furnishes a dogmatic answer. But the more the documents are studied, even if we make due allowance for the ability and science of the silent Anson, the ripe judgment of Hardwicke, and the help of the experienced chiefs—Ligonier, Boscawen, Hawke, and Saunders—the more impressively does Pitt's genius stand out. Pitt was at the zenith of his powers, and he brought to bear on his task a splendid diversity of gifts. It is often said that he had a wonderful eye for the right man; but he certainly made some very poor and some very bad choices, such as Hopson, Bligh, Loudoun, and Abercromby. Three other qualities are more unquestionable.

In the first place, Pitt, like Frederick, made war and diplomacy go hand in hand. War was not an end in itself, but an instrument for carrying out a policy whose justification rested on political grounds. Hence, for example, his determination, not merely that Quebec must fall, but that the lilies of the Bourbons must cease to fly in New France, so that, when the diplomatists began their work, the French would have ceased to hold a single position in Canada. Secondly, he left as little as possible to chance. The scheme of each campaign was laid down in advance at headquarters. The objective, the methods, the number and quality of the troops and ships required, their equipment and finance were elaborately considered; and Pitt's despatches prove his power of work, his sense of responsibility, and a striking attention to detail. With each year the military and naval instruments became better able to carry out the organised efforts assigned to them. Amherst's final campaign in North America was a masterpiece of concerted movement—'one of the most perfect and astonishing bits of work which the annals of British warfare can show.' Thirdly, Pitt's belief that nothing was impossible if England's interests required it, dominates his control and proves that he had the supreme gift of 'nerve.' 'Other officers,' he said to Boscawen, 'always make difficulties:

you find expedients.' Hawke, on the other hand, he pronounced to be 'a very good sea-officer, but no Minister.' For he demanded from his agents the capacity to fight, not for an isolated victory, but for a policy and an Imperial future. Knox tells us in his 'Historical Journal' how 'the prevailing sentimental toast amongst the officers' on the Quebec expedition 'was British colours on every French fort, port, and garrison in America.' And Walpole's characterisation of Wolfe is still more true of Pitt himself: 'the world could not expect more from him than he thought himself capable of performing.' We have almost to forget this spirit of Pitt if we are to do justice to his greatness as a scientific strategist, his greatness as an organiser of the machinery of war.

Mr Corbett points out how, by 1760, the struggle, which had started as one for a limited object, had already passed into a war for unlimited objects. Unless Pitt would forgo his ends or compel France to accept her defeat in the limited area, he must embark on a vast struggle to crush her altogether. Conversely, if France could by redirected efforts break down our defensive in Europe, if Frederick could be crushed, if, by a new political combination, an alliance with Spain, she could revolutionise the political character, the military theatre and conditions of the war, both in Europe and outside it, she might force England to abandon the limited supremacy secured in America, and still wrest peace with honour from disaster. The problem was as much diplomatic as military. It called for a cool, courageous, and able leader; and in Choiseul the Court of Versailles found the man that France needed. Montcalm and Choiseul were certainly leaders worthy of the genius of their country in the twin spheres of diplomacy and war.

The October of 1760 therefore marks a crisis which was unexpectedly accentuated by the death of George II. 'The new reign,' observes Lord Holland, 'was a new world of which we could know nothing beforehand.' The new king was young, ignorant, and obsessed by a 'system' of his own. He gloried in the name of Briton (which he could not spell), and he was as anti-German as the Tories under his great-grandfather could have wished. His chief adviser, Bute, was more incompetent and vain

than his master, and equally inexperienced. George III promptly acted as Lady Susan Strangways wished him to do. He 'did things which made his Ministers aghast.' Pitt had now a triple task—to maintain his supremacy in the Cabinet, to defeat the new policy of France, and to make a satisfactory peace, and he failed in all three. Our material, British and foreign, for explaining the reasons of this failure is remarkably extensive; and throughout we can trace the complicating interaction of three problems which combined to produce a situation of disconcerting difficulty.

First, would there be a ministerial reconstruction, or, as the wits put it, would the king employ Pitt, Scotch (Bute), or Newcastle coal? Secondly, was the peace to be a general one, or to be preceded by a separate arrangement between France and Great Britain? More particularly, how far would Great Britain stand by Prussia and insist on a restoration of the *status quo* of 1756 in Germany? Could and would France purchase peace with England by persuading Austria and Russia to restore Prussian territory occupied by their troops? Thirdly, would France, by Spanish intervention, diplomatic or military, alter the attitude of England, both towards herself and the German problem? Pitt's answers to these questions throughout were simple. If his policy was rejected he would resign. 'I will be responsible,' he said, 'for nothing that I do not direct.' Honour and interest required that Frederick must be restored to the *status quo* of 1756. The terms with France must be such as to remove for ever the menace of the Bourbon power to the Empire. On this point Pitt's views had developed not unreasonably since 1757, and he now urged a policy virtually 'of bleeding France white.' Spanish intervention must be decisively crushed. 'France is on her last legs; therefore meet the house of Bourbon everywhere.'

M. Waddington lays the chief blame for the failure of the negotiations of 1760-1 on Pitt. We cannot agree. They were a trial of strength in which Choiseul's *rusée* but insincere finesse found its match in Pitt's trenchant bluntness. Pitt's diplomacy was of a Bismarckian brutality, but also of a Bismarckian frankness. He played with all the cards laid open on the table, and, not as Choiseul did, with an ace—the second Family Compact—

stolen from another pack up his sleeve. It is at best a very questionable hypothesis that Pitt drove France into the arms of Spain; and, if Choiseul was entitled to fall back on Madrid rather than give way, Pitt was equally entitled to reject the intervention of Charles III as irrelevant insolence, and to take up the veiled challenge, if persisted in, rather than surrender what he regarded as essential. It is demonstrable that Bute and Bedford subsequently abandoned advantages won by British blood and treasure; but the fact is scarcely a sound argument for blaming Pitt because he refused to anticipate their ignominious weakness. On the heads of Choiseul and Grimaldi lies the blame of the lives sacrificed at Havana, Manila, and elsewhere; and Bute's self-satisfied incompetence alone spared Spain from merited retribution.

It is certain now that Pitt demanded war with Spain because he had correctly divined her intentions; it is practically certain that the evidence for this interpretation that he submitted to the Cabinet was not conclusive. The naval and military experts on this military problem, as well as the majority of his colleagues on the political problem, were against him. But Pitt chose to treat the issue that he forced on the Cabinet as one of confidence in himself, and resigned. That this was a serious mistake is clear from the following considerations. If war with Spain was bound to come, it was essential he should have the conduct of it. The enemies of Great Britain were praying and intriguing for his removal; and he granted their prayer. In opposition he was powerless to influence the negotiations for peace. There are occasions—and this was one of them—on which great Ministers are bound to subordinate personal feeling, even principles of policy, in order to preserve their previous achievements. Pitt forgot the cool wisdom of a master of State-craft: '*La politique est l'art de s'accommoder aux circonstances et de tirer parti de tout, même de ce qui déplaît.*' Had he consented to bridle his fiery temper and remain at his post, the dignity and self-restraint under unjust provocation which he showed after his resignation would have been of inestimable value. True, Frederick in the end—no thanks to Bute—was not betrayed; the country knew that it was Pitt's star that conquered at Havana and Manila and Martinique; it gave him credit for his

unanswerable protests against the terms so eagerly swallowed ; but, had Pitt been in power, England would not have forfeited Frederick's confidence, nor would the treaty have required the congenial and vindictive proscription of the Whigs, and the wholesale corruption of the Legislature by Henry Fox, to extort its acceptance from Parliament. The history of the next twenty years showed that to have parted from Frederick with mutual goodwill would have been a small price to pay for the endurance of Newcastle's intriguing perfidy, Bute's mulish stupidity, the ingratitude of George III, and the tantrums of Temple.

The Peace of 1763 left Pitt at the height of his fame. But the last fourteen years of his career belied the brilliant promise of the great Administration. Persistent gout crippled his activity, warped his temper, and clouded his judgment. His influence at Court, in Parliament, and with the public waned. In the momentous constitutional issues raised by Wilkes he fought in vain for justice, law, and sanity ; he championed to deaf ears the cause of parliamentary reform ; in foreign and Imperial affairs his counsels were neglected and much of his work undone ; in the American problem he pleaded with all his eloquence and courage against a policy whose miserable consequences he predicted only too truly. At his death he left Great Britain without a friend or ally, battling with a formidable coalition of the Bourbon Powers, with the Colonies in open revolt, Ireland in arms, and British power in India at grips with a league of the native States from Delhi to Mysore, from Bombay to the Circars.

The blunders of the King and his successive Ministries created many of the difficulties and aggravated those they did not create ; but Pitt cannot be acquitted of regrettable and avoidable mistakes. His refusal to join Rockingham's first Administration was a public calamity ; his own second Administration was a grave error of judgment. His attack on the Quebec Bill, which reconciled Canada to British rule, would gladly be forgotten by all who believe in his statesmanship. His violence of language, his wayward temper, and the cultivated mystery of his plans and motives inflamed the hostility of his enemies and alienated the sympathy of his friends and natural allies. The name

of the Opposition, pronounced Horace Walpole, is anarchy. Pitt unfortunately made the anarchy more anarchic. He was the despair of Rockingham, Conway, Burke, and Fox, even of Camden, Grafton, and Shelburne. And it may be questioned whether he had really diagnosed the profound significance of the American problem—the unseen revolution wrought by the character and working of colonial institutions, the new ideals of an independent national life, the astonishing material development, the increasing defects of the old colonial system as a system of Imperial government and defence, the economic pressure of the commercial code, and the momentous change effected by the annexation of Canada and the Peace of 1763. The Opposition, indeed, in 1775, quite as much as the Throne, needed ‘to be instructed in the language of truth.’ The fundamental principles of Imperial unity were, in fact, at conflict with the fundamental principles of constitutional progress and economic expansion. Their reconciliation could only be permanently found in a renovation of the Imperial structure framed to meet the new facts and the new ideas in politics and economics. But Pitt lived and died in the mercantilist faith, shattered as a system of economics in Ireland as well as in America by the forces to which Adam Smith gave classical expression, shattered as a political system by the rights that Pitt claimed and the aspirations he voiced for his fellow American and Irish citizens.

The sequel was to Pitt indeed a tragedy. Either America and the house of Bourbon must be crushed—a victory for the fatal policy of George III—or the house of Bourbon would extort American independence and undo in America and Europe the results of the Seven Years’ War. Perhaps, therefore, he was happy in the opportunity of his death. Englishmen, with the exception of George III, whose incapacity to forget or to forgive recalls Charles I’s treatment of Eliot, have agreed to obliterate Pitt’s failings. Grave defects made him a colleague ‘gey ill to live wi’,’ for he demanded a subordination to his will and a consideration of his feelings which he never seemed to think others had a right to demand from himself. And these defects marred more than his character. The statesman in a self-governing country who fails to grasp the reasons for, and true use

of, the machinery and conventions that self-government requires in order to attain its ends, formidably fetters his own power for good. Pitt, like Carteret, never assimilated the essential connexion between parliamentary and party government; like Bolingbroke, under whose tinsel shibboleths names were confused with things, he found to his cost that the rival to the true party system is not a national union, but faction, a kaleidoscope of dissolving and selfish groups. 'I know no man,' pronounced Lord Holland in 1761, 'who can so ill bear up against an attack when no court supports him.'

Pitt's studied neglect of organised association with public men for public ends put him at the mercy of Henry Fox and Newcastle, of Bute and his brother-in-law, Lord Temple. It made him first the tool and then the victim of George III. Of finance, too, the groundwork of all domestic and Imperial questions in Great Britain, Pitt showed neither knowledge nor adequate appreciation. He lacked the patient and penetrating mastery of men and affairs which in parliamentary England kept Walpole in power twenty years. But even in Pitt's most serious limitations are revealed elements of grandeur and a quality of rare distinction. His personality defies the analytical balance-sheet of the psychological historian. It came as a gift to his own age that it sorely needed. On every question that he touched he stamped the impress of a spirit peculiar to himself. At his best he left alike on friends, rivals, and critics, an ineffaceable conviction of extraordinary and inexplicable power. The record of his achievements is written on our Empire to-day; and his conception of that Empire was a nobler legacy than the victories by which he sought to realise it. Inspired and united by a common charter of inalienable civic rights—government by and for the governed, by and for free speech and free institutions—the Empire, as Pitt passionately proclaimed it to his generation, stood for the guardian and ideal of English liberty, the winning of which had made his England great in the past, and the maintenance of which alone could keep her great in the future.

C. GRANT ROBERTSON.





### Art. III.—MEDIEVAL SPORT.

1. *Le Livre du Roy Modus et de la Roynne Racio* (1328–1338). Latest edition. By Elzéar Blaze. Paris, 1839.
2. *Le Livre de Chasse* (1387–1391), or *Gaston Phœbus*. By Gaston III, Count of Foix and Béarn. Edited by Joseph Lavallée. Bureau du 'Journal des Chasseurs.' Paris, 1854.
3. *Roman des Déduits* (1359). By King John of France, while prisoner in England. Edited by the Duke d'Aumale. Philobiblion Society, vol. II. London, 1855–6.
4. *La Chasse Royale*. By King Charles IX of France, and dedicated to King Louis XIII of France. Edited by H. Chevreul. Paris, 1858.
5. *Libro de la Montería* (1342–1350). By King Alfonso XI of Castile and Leon. Edited by José Gutierrez de la Vega, in the 'Biblioteca Venatoria.' Three vols. Madrid, 1877–9.
6. *Das Jagdbuch Kaiser Maximilian I* (1499–1502). By Maximilian I, King of the Romans. Edited by M. Mayr and W. A. Baillie-Grohman. Innsbruck: Wagner, 1901.
7. *Master of Game* (1406–1413). By Edward, second Duke of York. Edited by W. A. and F. Baillie-Grohman. London: Ballantyne and Co., 1904.

WHEN the sportsman turns out his hunters to grass or hangs up his rifle in the rack, the perusal of the writings of bygone Nimrods affords a fascinating occupation for his enforced leisure. To delve into the records of long-dead sportsmen distinguished by their skill or by their dash or by their unsurpassed powers of endurance, to follow up some much-discussed question of natural history bearing upon one's favourite sport, or to unearth from dusty tomes some long-forgotten event bearing on a disputed point of modern sportsmanship—these one and all give zest to one's reading. There is an undeniable element of sport in getting upon the 'slot' of some error made by a medieval scribe or early printer who, unwittingly, has made nonsense of some passage, and in managing, hundreds of years afterwards, to track it home by questing in rare old black-letter tomes or in original MSS. treasured up in one or other of the

great English or continental libraries. It is a chase in which library shelves are the coverts drawn, and where the quarry can be harboured only by dint of wide reading and perseverance, the bitter sweets of the pursuit being enhanced when a false scent has lured one to cast about on a wrong line.

During the golden age of venery—to give the science of hunting its ancient name—when the chase was, next to war, the principal occupation of gentlemen, it was supposed to afford the best possible training for the soldier. For was it not, until the adoption of gunpowder for sporting purposes, a form of hand-to-hand combat which obliged the sportsman, armed with sword or spear, to meet savage beasts at close quarters? The long list of crowned heads who succumbed to bears, wild boars, and stags, when, single-handed, they attempted to slay the quarry standing at bay or rushing at them, is the best proof that such belief was not unwarranted. Another tenet to which most men of gentle blood subscribed was that none but those who were devoted to sport could retain health and reach a green old age, or even, it was whispered, go to heaven when they died. Curiously enough, that iconoclast among monarchs of the eighteenth century, Frederick the Great, was the first who ventured to raise his voice against the older view by declaring, in his ‘*Anti-Machiavel*,’ that because such famous warriors as Turenne, Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and Gustavus Adolphus cared nothing for sport, the ancient creed was unworthy of belief in the century enlightened by his cynical philosophy.

No more telling illustration could be cited of the surpassing esteem in which hunting and hawking were held in the Middle Ages than the fact that the nine principal writings on these subjects in France, England, Germany, and Spain were penned by crowned heads or persons of royal rank. On the oldest of these, an elaborate treatise in quaint medieval Latin by the Emperor Frederick II, we will not dwell here,\* for it deals exclusively with hawking, a subject about which this strenuous sportsman was able to write with a fulness and skill

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\* ‘*Reliqua librorum Friderici II Imperatoris de Arte Venandi cum Avibus, cum Manfredi Regis additionibus*,’ composed about 1247, after thirty years’ preparation.

which makes his book as indispensable to the scientific hawker of to-day as it was to his predecessor seven hundred years ago.

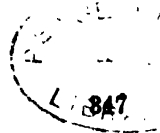
It is perhaps hardly necessary to mention in this place that, however much we may pride ourselves upon our national love for hunting, there is no disputing the fact that venery came to us from France. From that country emanated the rules, ceremonies, vocabulary, and traditions of the chase, in which every man of gentle blood had to be versed. All these things came over to us with the Normans, as did also the language, which remained the legal and court tongue for quite three hundred years after the battle of Hastings. This being so, it is not surprising that the literature of medieval hunting, down to the beginning of the fifteenth century, sprang from French sources, and was put on paper by Frenchmen. Hence it comes that of the seven classics on venery with which we propose to deal, the three or four principal ones owe their existence to French *veneurs*.

Of the identity of the hand that wrote the most ancient of these works, 'Le Livre du Roy Modus,' we know nothing definite in spite of the quantity of ink that has been spilt to settle this point. It is quite probable that its title, the 'Book of King Modus and Queen Racio,' is not meant to indicate royal authorship, but that it represents an allegorical symbolism, 'Modus' standing for method, and 'Racio' for reason, as the unknown author explains in the second or non-sporting part of the book. 'Roy Modus' is a curious medley of venery (to which the first part is devoted), of religious mysticism, and war. The 'Songe de Pestilence,' which is the singular title of the second portion, has to do with dreams in which Satan, in the shape of a gay Lothario, tries to overcome Virtue, represented by a beautiful virgin whose bedroom window the Evil One tries to gain; while the third and concluding part of the book relates to the wars in Brittany. The sporting portion of 'Roy Modus' is conceived in a didactic spirit, i.e. apprentices ask questions which are answered by the master. The opening chapter is devoted to that very ancient discussion, whether hunting or hawking should be considered the most attractive of all sports? and when that problem has been solved in very long-winded fashion, the real business is attacked.

To stag-hunting no fewer than twenty-one chapters are devoted. We learn all the minutiae of tracking the hart to his lair; how to unharbour him, how to hunt him, and how to overcome all his ruses; how to blow the numerous hunting signals; how to kill the hart at bay, and how to perform the *curée*—the name given to the various ceremonies stringently prescribed for the brittling of the stag and the rewarding of the hounds. Then follows a chapter on dogs, in which 'Queen Racio' takes the lead. Two chapters on hind-hunting, and one each on the fallow buck, the roe, and the hare follow. The wild boar has twelve chapters appropriated to him; and two others deal with the hunting of the wild sow. Then the wolf, fox, and otter, with a chapter each, conclude that part of the book devoted to hunting 'with strength of hounds,' to use the Old-English term. And, although on some rare occasions nets might be used, as in otter-hunting in large rivers, still 'Roy Modus' so far has been instructing his apprentices in the noblest kind of hunting, i.e. the chase of wild beasts in the open country or in the forest with running hounds, which was the sport of royalty and of the ruling classes.

Then, addressing himself to the poor man who is not able to hunt with hounds, 'Roy Modus' proceeds to instruct him how to take wild animals in nets, traps, and snares. That kings did not disdain participating in the sport of netting wild boars is shown by a passage which is of interest, as it affords some clue to the date when the work was written. 'Roy Modus' mentions, namely, the circumstance that he once saw the late King Charles IV take, in the forest of Breteuil, in one day, *six-vingt* (120) wild boars. As this sovereign died in 1328, the book must have been written subsequent to that year. 'Roy Modus' adds that these 120 *bestes noires* did not include those that were stolen, so we may presume many a boar got spirited away during these great court hunts, when the whole country-side was impressed by the *corvée*, and hundreds if not thousands of beaters were employed.

Our next sporting classic is a drier and more workmanlike treatise on Spanish venery. It is the 'Libro de la Montería,' written by King Alfonso XI of Castile between the years 1342 and 1350. It is divided into three



books ; the first deals with the different kinds of chases in Spain, the second treats of hounds, their diseases and cures ; while the third enumerates the different forests in Castile and Leon and the beasts that were to be found there. It presents no feature of special interest, and, as it has never been translated, only Spanish scholars can peruse it. It was first printed in the year 1582 by Argote de Molina.

The next book in chronological order has features of special interest for Englishmen, for it was dictated by a French king on British soil—or at least a part of it was—while he was a prisoner of England. This sovereign was John the Good, the chief prize garnered by the Black Prince at the battle of Poitiers. The scribe who penned the ‘Roman des Déduits’ at the king’s dictation was his *maistre chapelain*, Messire Gace de la Buigne, who had followed his master into captivity. This man—his name is spelt in a variety of ways to which it is unnecessary to refer here—must have been a fine all-round sportsman, gifted with poetic genius and withal of a most lovable character, for it was the lot, probably unique in its way, of this distinguished cleric to have served as chief chaplain to three consecutive kings of France, Philip VI, John II, and Charles V.

The first three years of King John’s captivity were passed in London at the Savoy Palace. Then, when the peace negotiations had been broken off on account of the huge ransom demanded by Edward III, it was deemed safer to take him and his son away from London ; and he was removed in the spring of 1359 to Hertford. The education of John’s fourth son, the valiant Prince Philip, who had earned for himself, in spite of his youth, on the bloody field of Poitiers the name of *le Hardi*, had been entrusted to Gace de la Buigne ; and the latter tells us that the ‘Roman des Déduits’ was commenced at Hertford, ‘by commandment’ of the king, in order that the prince might learn to ‘eschew the sin of idleness and become well informed about morals and virtues.’ The book was evidently completed in Paris at a later period, for ‘le dit Gace le parfist à Paris’ is the concluding sentence of the passage dealing with the authorship of the book. Another result of the discontinuance of negotiations for peace was that the king’s retinue was

reduced by thirty-five persons ; and Gace de la Buigne was among those who went back to France. The researches of the Duc d'Aumale have unearthed within recent years Gace's safe conduct, which bears the date of June 20, 1359 ; and it is this circumstance which probably hindered the completion of the book on English territory.

As to the book itself, it is to be feared that to the impatient modern reader, who desires to get at the marrow of the subject as quickly as possible, the '*Roman des Déduits*,' even if he will face the obsolete French in which it is written, will prove tedious literature, for he must wade through a mass of encumbering allegories and longwinded moralising. However typical this may be of the fourteenth century, when secular works, free from religious flavouring, were practically unknown, their perusal to us of the twentieth century may prove a sore affliction. Gace divides his book into two parts, the first being an allegorical account of a feud between the virtues and the vices, while the second consists of the ancient controversy between hunters and falconers concerning the attractions of their respective '*déduits*.' The author recounts the advantages of each sport, and warns the prince that, if he wants to become a good sportsman, he must avoid greed, luxury, idleness, and envy—good reasons for such abstemiousness being, of course, given. Then follows a description of a day's hawking, the sport being, however, a dead failure, because Pride and Anger are allowed to accompany the sportsman. Various misfortunes befall the falconer ; a valuable hawk is lost, another is killed ; and, angered by his bad luck, the rider spurs his horse, which, taking the bit between its teeth, gallops off and tumbles him into a ditch.

On another day the Virtues go out hunting unaccompanied by the Vices, but they find them already on the spot when they arrive. A fight ensues, and the Virtues are victorious. A council is then held, and the possibility of excluding all vices from the ranks of sportsmen is ingeniously discussed. '*Reason*' objects, and declares that the Vices have so many supporters in all parts of the world that it would be impossible to keep them out. A supper follows ; it is served in a large room where there are two fireplaces, which are much appreciated by the

sportsmen, more particularly so as the chimneys do not smoke, which was evidently a rare virtue in the days of huge open grates. Gace exclaims, 'Blessed is he who made these chimneys, for from them issues no smoke.'

After some preliminary civilities as to who should take the chief places at table, the seats of honour are given to 'Honneur' and 'Vaillance,' as belonging to the royal house of France. Merry tales of sporting adventures follow the repast till the time comes to retire. Each guest present wants to pay his own reckoning, but 'Honneur' declares he will pay them all, that being the prerogative of royalty. Thus does the wise old chaplain veil his lesson of *noblesse oblige* for his pupil's benefit. Then we get another account of a battle royal between the Virtues and the Vices, which takes place near the Louvre; amusing as it is, the lack of space obliges us to omit it, for the next scene, depicting a 'chasse royal' or court stag-hunt, claims our attention. It is described with great spirit, but the reader is never allowed to get away from moralising truisms. When the hounds finally give tongue, the chaplain gets into a state of sporting fervour. He boldly declares that no man ever heard melody to equal the music of hunting hounds: 'No alleluia,' he exclaims, 'has ever been sung in the chapels of kings that is so beautiful and that gives so much pleasure.'

The hunt takes place in the week of the feast of St Madeleine (July 22), in the heart of the stag season, and if it is indeed meant to represent a stag-hunt in England, one is glad to hear that such grand harts as this one is—he bears a head of twenty-eight points—roamed British woods in the year of grace 1359! He was in 'high grease,' fat and heavy as at no other season of the year; so the king hopes to take him without casting off any relays. When the chief huntsman asks him whether he should not slip one relay of 'grey hounds' (*sic*), he will not hear of it; and finally, after the usual attempts of the wily old deer to shake off the hounds by seeking the change and taking refuge in a herd of grazing deer, the hounds bay him, and he is despatched by one of the *veneurs*. Curiously enough this task, generally performed by the chief personage present, is in this instance relegated to

one of the huntsmen, probably so as not to instil into the young prince's mind any desire to undertake himself this risky running-in on a stag at bay. As a signal of the stag's death the 'prize' is blown; and (again cried Gace), 'No man who hears such melody would wish for any other in paradise!'

After the death the *curée* is described with a minuteness that shows what care was bestowed upon these ceremonies, and how punctilious sportsmen then were in the observance of their forefathers' customs. Then the king takes up the antlers of the stag and duly admires the great burr, the heavy beam, the numerous tines, and the finely pearly surface. After many words of praise he asks of the chief huntsman who had harboured the stag. When told, and informed that the man claimed an *arpent* of wood (half a hectare, or about two and a half acres) as his reward, the king awards him three *arpents*. Then comes the hunt supper; and we hear all about the various tit-bits of the stag, which were reserved for the king. Story-telling follows, and the tales appear to have been somewhat 'tall,' for the king can but smile at some of them. But Gace reminds the reader that not everything told on such occasions must be considered untrue, for strange adventures do befall the sportsman, which those who know nothing of such matters would not credit, and he quotes the old proverb:

‘De chiens, d’oiseaulx, d’armes, d’amours  
Pour une joie cent doulours.’

But it is high time that we proceed to the next much more workman-like classic on venery.

For several reasons 'Le Livre de Chasse,' or 'Gaston Phœbus,' as it is commonly called, must be considered the most important ancient work on our subject. The author of it has freed himself from the moralising traditions of his predecessors; he sticks to his task, and he writes with the extraordinarily full knowledge resulting from a long life devoted to sport. As to his personality, there is, it is safe to say, no writer on the subject, royal or other, ancient or modern, who presents such an interesting individuality as does the friend of the kings and queens of England, France, Aragon, and of other sovereigns, the worshipped patron of Froissart—Gaston,

sovereign lord of Foix and Béarn, and kinsman of England's Plantagenets.

His principalities were buffer-states between France and Spain, extending from Pau to the Atlantic, and comprising some of the wildest regions of the Pyrenees, where, as the author tells us, the mountains swarmed with bears and chamois. Thanks to Froissart's inimitable chronicle, we know more about Gaston and his regal court at the castle of Orthéz than we do of almost any medieval personage of his time; and, while history is full of his deeds as warrior, his book gives us a clearer insight into the sporting life of the fourteenth century in southern Europe than does any other work down to quite late times. Several contemporary writers have left us independent accounts of Gaston's dash and unsurpassed endurance in the pursuit of wild beasts.

Gaston's hunting establishment surpassed all others. Of hounds he had sixteen hundred; his horses, of which he had six hundred splendid specimens in his train on the famous occasion of his meeting the Black Prince at Tarbes, were among the finest in the world; the *beaux palefrois* mounted by his gorgeously-armoured knights, the *élégantes haquenées* ridden by fair ladies. His greyhounds were particularly celebrated; and Froissart, we know, brought him from England four famous ones, called Tristan, Hector, Brun, and Rolland.

As Gaston had travelled much in his earlier years, visiting the far-off regions of eastern Prussia, where warlike heathens were to be killed and wild beasts of all sorts and kinds were to be slain, few men of his time had wider experience, and none had greater skill in putting his knowledge on paper. His book is singularly modest and straightforward in tone, and he avoids the personal pronoun as if it were some vile trap to be shunned by all knightly *veneurs*.

Broadly speaking, 'Le Livre de Chasse' can be divided into three parts; the first discusses the natural history of the animals that were hunted; the second the manner of hunting them; and the third deals with hounds, and with traps, snares, and nets employed for the destruction of beasts of prey. At the end of the book we get Gaston de Foix's 'Oraysons' or prayers, in which the doughty old sportsman, bowed to the ground by the tragic fate of

his only son, whom he had slain accidentally, pours out his grief.

As the next book with which we shall presently have to deal is, in its main features, a copy of 'Gaston Phœbus,' we need not say more of the contents in this place, but will rather devote a little space to the bibliography of this interesting work. Gaston tells us that he began it on May 1, 1387, which was four years before he met his death on a bear hunt. Probably the four secretaries, of whom Froissart gives us such an amusing account, were kept busy following his dictation as he strode up and down the great hall in Orthéz castle when failing daylight put an end to the day's sport.

Some of the forty manuscript copies that have come down to us are beautifully illuminated; and one copy in particular deserves the distinction of being called the finest hunting-book that exists. The smooth vellum leaves of this exquisite codex have probably been turned over by more famous people than those of any other book; for MS. 616, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, can look back upon a most adventurous career, and upon extensive journeyings throughout civilised Europe.

The eighty-eight illuminations which adorn this unique folio volume are of the finest French workmanship; some famous illuminator of the first half or middle of the fifteenth century, whose identity is unfortunately unknown, having executed them with the minute care that was then devoted to this attractive graphic art, particularly when intended for royalty. They are of the highest interest, not only for the sportsman, but also for the antiquary, and for the student of ancient costumes and of arms of the chase.

It was this very book which Francis I, that great connoisseur of illuminated works, singled out as his favourite, and took with him on his ill-fated campaign to Italy which ended with his capture at Pavia. Among the treasures looted from the royal pavilion by Georg von Frundsberg's 'Landsknechte' was this precious volume; and from one of these expert plunderers the art-loving Bernhard von Cles, Bishop of Trent, bought it as the booty-laden trooper was returning homewards after that glorious day at Pavia. The bishop, recognising, no

doubt, its great value, presented it to an even greater collector than himself, the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, founder of the famous Ambraser Sammlung, where it remained for over a century. How and why it finally, in the year 1661, came to be presented to Louis XIV is a puzzle which it is difficult to solve. The fact is proved by an inscription on the fly-leaf, according to which 'le Roi Soleil,' in an audience which he granted on July 22 of that year, at Fontainebleau, to the Marquis of Vigneau, received the volume from his hands. As Vigneau was one of Turenne's generals, it may have been looted by the latter's troops somewhere in the Netherlands, whither the book may have drifted, with other Habsburg treasures, after Archduke Ferdinand's death.

The 'Grand Monarch' deposited it in the royal library; and it never should have left those sacred halls. But Louis XIV showed little respect for his own laws when it suited him to break them. Regretting his gift a few years afterwards, he demanded it back; his son, the Count of Toulouse, becoming the next owner of it. From him it passed to Orleans princes, the late Duc d'Aumale being the last of them. At the outbreak of the 1848 revolution the codex formed part of the private library of Louis Philippe in the Château of Neuilly near Paris. There it very nearly came to a deplorable end; for, when the royal residence was plundered and fired by the mob, the MS. escaped destruction only by a miracle. But for the heroic efforts of M. Joseph Lavallée, who published the best modern edition of it, and who, at the risk of his life, rushed into the burning building, it would have shared the fate of the other priceless contents of Neuilly. As it was, its cover and silver clasps were so charred by the flames that it has been found necessary to rebind it and to clean its margins, which were bespattered with blood.

There exist thirty-nine, or possibly forty, copies of 'Gaston Phœbus' in manuscript form; of 'Roy Modus' thirty-one are known. All the fine copies of both books, with one single exception,\* are in the great public libraries at Paris, Vienna, Dresden, Rome, etc. The Ashburnham library contained one unilluminated copy of 'Gaston

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\* The exception consists of what is probably the second best copy of 'Phœbus,' preserved in the Phillipps library at Cheltenham.

Phœbus,' which, at the 1899 sale, was secured by the present writer.

Both 'Gaston Phœbus' and 'Roy Modus' attracted, as was but natural, the attention of the early printers. Of the latter, the first of the nine existing editions was printed in 1486 (the same year in which the 'Book of St Albans' was first printed) by Neyret, at Chambéry. The last copy sold fetched 10,000 francs (Pichon sale, 1869); while the oldest issue of the existing six editions of 'Gaston Phœbus,' printed by Antoine Verard of Paris in 1507, brought at the same sale 9900 francs. The last copy of it sold (Ashburnham sale) did even better, for it fetched 595*l*. We see from these figures that Frenchmen, who are the principal collectors of old sporting literature—the craze for it has still to cross the Channel—have made it an expensive hobby. But there is an undefinable charm about these early hunting works that, to every lover of books, easily explains these high prices.

In what high esteem 'Gaston Phœbus' was held by the leading sportsmen all over Europe is shown by the unconscionable manner in which the book was plagiarised, in many cases without a word of acknowledgment on the part of the borrowers. Of the latter offence the author of the next work we have to consider, England's most important medieval sporting-book, 'The Master of Game,' was not guilty, at least not to the extent that some others were; for the turbulent Plantagenet prince who translated it does not fail to acknowledge more than once that he is indebted to 'Phœbus, Erle of Foys, that noble hunter.' Considering, however, that all but five of the thirty-six chapters in the 'Master of Game' are verbatim translations from the Frenchman's book, Edward, second Duke of York, might have stated more explicitly to what a preponderating extent he had 'lifted' matter from his kinsman's *magnum opus*. This he does not do. If we remember the notorious life of this royal arch-plotter, Edward of York—better known to readers of Shakespeare as Henry IV's 'dangerous cousin,' Earl of Rutland—we must be glad that the Frenchman's authorship was not altogether passed over in silence.

Strange as it must appear, considering the poverty of England in old sporting literature, the Duke of York's 'Master of Game,' of which there are some nineteen

manuscript copies in the principal libraries of England was allowed to remain hidden away on dusty shelves until the year 1904, when, for the first time, this classic was printed. The editors, who, in their selection of the best MS., were guided by the authorities of the British Museum, have printed the ancient text side by side with a rendering in modern English, adding copious footnotes, an appendix, in which the long-obsolete terms of venery are explained, a glossary of hunting terms, and finally, a bibliography in which the existing medieval books on the chase and their various editions up to the year 1600 are dealt with, the whole making a bulky folio volume.

It was high time that the 'Master of Game,' after its retirement of nearly five hundred years, should see the light of day in print; for an extraordinary amount of incorrect information, if not nonsense, had been disseminated about English hunting as pursued prior to Henry VIII's time, when references to the subject become more frequent and detailed. Before that period only two treatises dealing with sport in England were written, or rather only two have come down to us. The oldest, 'Le Art de Venerie,' written in old Norman French by Edward II's huntsman, William Twici or Twety, between the years 1320 and 1328, consists of some 200 lines only, and is probably only a fragment of an older treatise. As Twici did not hesitate to repeat such venerable myths as that the hare is at one time male, at another female, we cannot accuse him of original research. The other treatise is the much overrated and apocryphal 'Book of St Albans,' which somehow became so popular that four and twenty editions followed the first one of 1486, though, as a contribution to hunting literature, its value is infinitesimal.

And now to give a brief account of the 'Master of Game.' It begins with a prologue of which the first few lines, consisting of a dedication to Prince Henry of Wales, are original; the rest, with all its fine moralising, is taken bodily from the French work. In the original passages the Duke of York says that he has written 'this litel symple book' for his cousin, 'Henry, eldest sone and heire unto Henry IV, Kyng of Ingelond and of Fraunce,' and has called it 'Master of Game' because he holds that position at the latter's court.

In the first chapter, which treats of the hare and her nature, there are only two original sentences. After remarking that they slay hares elsewhere with small and large nets and with gins and hare pipes, the author says that they are killed in England with greyhounds and with running hounds by strength, adding, 'truly I trow no good hunter would use of' the first-named means. The next nine chapters deal with the hart, the fallow buck, the roe, the wild boar, the wolf, the fox, the badger, the wild cat, and the otter. Others treat of the 'manners, habits, and conditions of hounds,' one chapter each being devoted to the five principal breeds—the running hounds, the greyhounds, the alaunts (a large and very ferocious breed supposed to have been brought originally from the Caucasus), the spaniels, and the mastiffs. Then is interpolated a chapter, 'What manners and conditions a good hunter should have,' the author meaning by this word a 'sportsman,' and not his horse. Of the latter there is not a word said throughout the whole book, for in those days hunting consisted, not of riding to hounds as we understand that term to-day, but of tracking the beast that was being hunted to its haunts by means of hounds who picked out the scent, the sportsman helping them with voice and horn, and encouraging them to follow the tracks of the same animal throughout. A man rode on horseback in order to keep near the pack, to check them when they 'hunted the change,' to 'sore astry' them if they ran riot or got on the slot of 'rascal,' as all young deer were called, and to be at the bay before antlers or tusks could work havoc among the pack. He was not mounted for the pleasure of riding. Throughout medieval venery the hounds were the essence of the chase; and it is not too much to say that it would be difficult to find a single passage where the hunting-horse is deemed worthy of an adequate description.

The next two chapters deal with hounds and how the kennel is to be managed. Nothing could be better than this description; it displays a pleasing sympathy with man's faithful friend and a kindly care for his welfare. Then we are told how couplings are to be made and how hounds should be walked. After this we have a chapter about a 'hunter's horn,' and this is as good a place as any

to say a few words respecting the important part played by the horn in medieval hunting. It is plain that, while not everybody could blow the numerous signals, every one was willing to make a 'right merry noise' with the horn. Jacques du Fouilloux, the genial author of the *Sportsman's Bible*—as his '*La Venerie*' (1561) was often called—chides ignorant blowers of horns and bugles for hindering hounds, rather than helping them, by their lack of skill; and as the translator of this work into English, who is generally believed to have been Turbervile, does not hesitate in applying this censure also to English sportsmen, we can take it that the 'Master of Game's' complaints regarding the abuses of the hunting-horn were as much in place in the sixteenth century as they were a hundred years before.

Hunting-horns of English make appear to have been celebrated throughout Europe, French and German lords sending to this country for them. Louis of Orleans, brother of Charles VI of France, paid 117 francs for twenty-three hunting-horns sent him from London. The best treatise on old hunting-music and signals is Hardouin's '*Trésor de la Venerie*,' written in 1394, the only existing manuscript copy of it being illuminated with fourteen miniatures graphically describing the occasions when the different notes were to be blown.\*

All but one of the remaining fourteen chapters deal with stag-hunting. Five of these are quite original, and, needless to say, they are for this reason of special interest to English readers. They give all the minutiae of the premier sport, the last chapter of all describing how 'the King hunts in forests and in parks for the hart, with bows, greyhounds, and stable' (shooting from stands).

The concluding short epilogue voices in gentle, not to say humble, language the royal author's desire that the reader, 'where there is too much superfluity, should abridge,' and 'where there is too little of good language, that he will add more,' for 'not presuming that I had overmuch knowledge and ability to put into writing this royal, disportful, and noble game of hunting so effectually that it might not be submitted to the correction of all gentle hunters . . . according to the customs and manners

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\* Baron Pichon published it in 1855, but the work is scarce.

used in the high noble court of this Realm of England. The five original chapters teem with terms of venery that with us have long become obsolete. We hear of the 'scantilon,' or measure of the stag's slot; of 'fumes,' or droppings of that beast, to which much attention was paid, as they were sure indications of the beast's size and condition; of the 'stynt,' or check in consequence of a false scent. We are told incidentally that 'Latimer' and 'Beaumont' were common names for the lymers, or tracking-hounds (tufters). We are fully instructed about the various 'motes' or signals to be blown, of 'recheating,' of 'routing and jopeying lustily' to the hounds; of 'vauntlaying,' or casting off relays before hounds have passed; of the various cries, such as 'Cy va! cy va!' and 'Devour! devour!' which the master of game or sergeant of the hunt shall 'cry skilfully loud, every wight holloaing and every hunter blowing the death,' and about numerous other signals and cries to which we cannot refer for lack of space.

When, finally, the stag 'has been run to and enchased and retrieved, and so oft relayed and vauntelayed to, and that he seeth that by beating up the rivers and brooks, or foiling him down, or rusing to and fro', he cannot help himself, then he turns his head and stands at bay.' Now followed more hubbub and blowing of horns and 'holloaing all together, and blowing motes and recheating and sounding the "forlonge,"' which was a signal to those who had got off the line on a false scent, and which signal the absent ones had to answer by blowing the 'perfect.' 'And when the bay has lasted long enough, then should the deer be spayed with a sword behind the shoulder forward to the heart.' Then the lymer hounds were led up to the dead stag, and the animal was 'en-corned,' i.e. the antlers were turned with the points towards the ground, the throat being turned upwards so as to allow the ceremony of skinning to proceed in the duly prescribed form. Then followed the right merry scene of the *curée*, or, as it was also called, the 'inquiring,' i.e. the rewarding of the hounds with certain tit-bits from the stag's interior anatomy. These bits, mixed with the blood and served on the skin, made a famous mess for the ravenous hounds, various ceremonies marking the proceeding with more blowing of

horns and holloaing. On returning home, if the stag was the first slain with strength that season, or the last one of the year, the hunt officials were to be given wine, 'and nothing but wine, that night, for the good and great labour they have had, that they may more merrily and gladly tell what each of them hath done all the day, and which hounds have run best and boldest.'

A chapter on the hare is also full of the ancient spirit of venery. Here we get more hunting cries, for, from the moment that the hounds were let out of the kennel, when 'Ho ho, arere,' and 'Sto mon amy, sto atrete,' appear to have been the proper cries, to 'Hors de couple, avaunt, cy avaunt,' with which they were uncoupled; from 'La Douce, la il a este'; 'Illeoqs, illeoqs'; 'So-how, so-how'; 'How-here, how-here'; 'Oyez a Beaumont, le vailaunt!' to the various cries used to signal the death, there was an endless roster to go through.

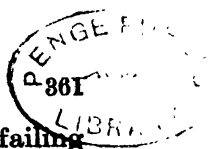
And now a final word about the 'illustrations' in the 'Master of Game.' Unfortunately English art was in a backward condition in comparison with that of France at the time when Edward III's grandson penned this English classic, which he almost certainly did while a prisoner in Pevensey Castle. Only two of the existing nineteen manuscripts are adorned with drawings of any kind, and these are of very inferior artistic merit. For this reason the editors of the 1904 edition of the 'Master of Game' deemed it advisable to illustrate their work with photogravure reproductions from the superb illuminations in the unrivalled copy of 'Gaston Phœbus' in the Paris National Library. To convey an idea of the beautiful colouring of the originals, the title picture of 'Gaston Phœbus' was reproduced in facsimile, seventy-seven stones being required for this purpose. This edition also contains replicas of the best of the drawings in the English ms. preserved in the Bodleian at Oxford.

A closer study of his pages convinces one that the Duke of York must have been thoroughly impressed with the correctness and truthfulness of Gaston de Foix's parent work. Only on very few occasions does he disagree with him. Once he records this respecting a point about which experts to this day appear to entertain divergent opinions, namely, whether stags when pressed by hounds run for choice with or against the wind.

Gaston says, 'The stag fleeth oft forth with the wind so that he may always hear the hounds and that they may not scent him.' Edward of York remarks, 'Nevertheless the stag's nature is for the most part to flee on the wind till he be nigh overcome, or at the least sideways to the wind, so that it be ever in his nostrils.'

The Duke of York was not destined to survive his book for many years, for he died a glorious death on a fine October morning, leading the vanguard of a famous hunt at a covert called Agincourt.

Our next sporting classic takes us far away from British forests to the mountains of Tyrol, then still the home of the lordly ibex, as they are to-day the haunts of the agile chamois and of the proud alpine stag. Maximilian, when he caused his chief forester, Carl von Spaur, to take down 'for his pleasure, utility, and use' the 'Gejaidpuech' or 'Jagdbuch,' was still King of the Romans, for it was completed about 1502, or some half-dozen years before he attained the Imperial crown. Maximilian, as every one knows, was not only a notable sportsman, but a patron of letters and art, and some of the most interesting as well as curious books produced in any country during the closing years of the fifteenth and the beginning of the following century originated with this extraordinarily versatile monarch. Those that relate to our subject, besides the one we have to deal with, were 'Theuerdank,' 'Weisskunig,' and the 'Secret Book of the Chase'; a book on falconry and one on fishing coming also under the head of sporting books; while a profusely illustrated folio volume called 'Freydal' deals with the various manly exercises to which young nobles were then addicted, notably tilting, tournaments, fencing, and certain forms of dancing then fashionable at courts. Maximilian's books show the spirit of the modern age which his reign is supposed to have inaugurated. There is about his writing no longer that absence of the personal pronoun and of self-advertisement observable in the works of his more modest predecessors. He moved with the time, or rather he was ahead of it; and the spirit of family glorification shown so undisguisedly in those of his books dealing with the fortunes of the Habsburgs, is not suppressed when he comes to speak of his own doings as Nimrod.



In the book which we have to consider, this failing does not come to the fore as much as in 'Theuerdank' and 'Weisskunig'; for the 'Jagdbuch' contains few references to personal adventures, but consists of a topographically arranged register of the principal chamois and stag shoots in northern Tyrol frequented by the Emperor, and of the approximate head of game. Apart from the local interest, the book throws light upon the way the drives were arranged, and enables one to arrive at conclusions regarding the disputed question whether mountain game has decreased or increased in those localities where the modern system of preserving it, by protecting it as much as possible against poachers and vermin, is in vogue.

From the descriptions as well as from the interesting illuminations in it, surroundings that have been made familiar to us by a perusal of the older books on venery are brought to our notice. The stag seems to have been hunted in the mountains of Tyrol in much the same way as that in which Gaston pursued the harts of the Pyrenees and the Duke of York hunted the forests of Northampton and Sussex; though, of course, marked differences, arising from national characteristics or changes in the surroundings, such as England's deforestation, were already then beginning to come to the fore. Very soon these variations became more marked; and by the end of the sixteenth century French, English, and German methods had come to differ considerably. The French departed least from the original lines; the English had degenerated to coursing and shooting in parks; while the German lords had become possessed by a mania for huge battues in which vast quantities of game were slaughtered.

Maximilian, who was a great believer in the cross-bow, and for a long time would have nothing to do with firearms, used to shoot his stags with his favourite arm while seated on his horse; at least this is what one of the illuminations shows us, and it is corroborated by an incident narrated in one of his other books, according to which he once narrowly escaped death owing to his cross-bow going off in his hand while he was pursuing a stag through a thick wood on horseback, the bolt penetrating the rim of his head-gear. From this we gather that he was accustomed to shoot game in this

manner, which differed from anything related by Gaston de Foix. In the latter's book the illuminations invariably depict mounted huntsmen armed only with sword or spear. Of Maximilian's method of spearing the nimbler chamois we need not say much, for it was peculiar to the Alps. The Pyrenean representatives of this species, the 'bouc ysarus,' as Phœbus calls them, was, so far as one can judge from illustrations and descriptions, always shot with the cross-bow, the long-bow not having retained the popularity it did in England until later days. The original of Maximilian's 'Jagdbuch' must have left its native land several centuries ago, possibly at the same time that the 'Gaston Phœbus' (ms. 616) drifted towards the Netherlands. It was discovered a decade ago by the present writer in the Burgundian, now the Royal, Library at Brussels. The illuminations are by the hand of Jörg Kölderer, one of the Emperor's factotums, who illuminated parchments, built castles, or painted frescoes with equal diligence if not with equal skill.

Our last sporting-book by a royal hand takes us well over the middle of the sixteenth century, and makes us acquainted with a young king of particularly unhappy memory, for its author, Charles IX, the weak son of the bloodthirsty Catherine de Medici, expiated the massacre of St Bartholomew by a terrible end. M. Chevreul, the editor of the three modern reprints of 'La Chasse Royale,' has done his best to prove that Charles IX was naturally of a good and noble disposition, but was perverted by the education he received and by the example of his ruthless mother. Whatever he became, he started on his career as an unusually keen sportsman, distinguished by simple habits, abstemiousness, and extraordinary perseverance in everything connected with the chase. In moments of excitement the cruel strain he had inherited came to the fore, and he would chop off the head of a mule or of a cow to test the edge of his sword and the strength of his arm with as little compunction as he set his hounds upon harmless cattle and let them be strangled before his eyes. Of a highly excitable and nervous nature, he would jump on his horse before dawn and with his trackhound harbour the stag himself, and hunt him for six or eight hours at a stretch.

On one occasion he performed a feat of very unusual character, namely, that of taking a stag by himself, literally galloping the animal to a standstill, having neither hounds or assistants with him. Baif and François d'Amboise, the court poets, celebrated this feat in verse.

Charles died at the age of twenty-four (1574); some said by poison. Others maintain that he killed himself by blowing his hunting-horn so incessantly when out hunting; but it is more probable that he died from pneumonia after a particularly fatiguing chase. Of the terrible scenes of his deathbed most people have heard the particulars. He dictated his book to his secretary, Nicolas de Neufville, during the last years of his life. The greater part of his work deals with the sport he loved best—stag-hunting, the 'nature' of the stag coming in for the usual ancient lore taken from Aristotle, Oppian, Pliny, etc., though he draws the line at believing the fable about stags reaching the age of six hundred years. On the other hand he gives credence to the tale that maggots occasion the shedding of the deer's antlers, for do not, he declares, the cavities and perforations at the burr show where these animals wriggled out of the head. His description of the hunting itself, and of the various breeds of hounds employed in the chase, are very much to the point and give us a capital insight into the methods then prevailing and the type of hounds used—the 'chiens courans noirs,' the 'chiens gris,' and particularly his favourite breed, the 'greffiers,' which were first bred by Louis XII.

And here we must sound the 'prize' and conclude the day's hunt in the library of sport with that charming summing-up of Gaston de Foix's dictum by Edward of York:

'There is no man's life that useth gentle game and disport less displeasable unto God than the life of a perfect and skilful hunter; . . . and that he never saw a man that loved the work and pleasure of hounds and hawks that had not many good qualities in him . . . whether he be a great lord or a little one, or a poor man or a rich one.'

W. A. BAILLIE-GROHMAN.



#### Art. IV.—THE INNS OF COURT.

1. *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records, 1505–1714.* Edited by F. A. Inderwick, Q.C. Three vols. London : Sotheran, 1896–1901.
  2. *The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn. Black Books, 1422–1845.* Four vols. Lincoln's Inn, 1897–1902.
  3. *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn, 1569–1669.* Edited by Reginald J. Fletcher, M.A., Chaplain of Gray's Inn. London : Stevens and Haynes, 1901.
  4. *Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple, 1501–1703.* Translated and edited by Charles Trice Martin, F.S.A., with an inquiry into the origin and early history of the Inn by John Hutchinson, Librarian Four vols. London : Butterworth, 1904–5.
- And other works.

THE tercentenary of the grant by James I, on August 13, 1608, of a patent to the Benchers of the Inner Temple and Middle Temple, which is the only formal document concerning the relations between the Crown and the Inns, supplies an incentive to review the history of those ancient foundations. They have been—in the words of the patent, as translated for the use of the Royal Commission on the Inns of Court and Chancery in 1854—

‘for a long time dedicated to the use of the students and professors of the laws to which, as to the best seminaries of learning and education, very many young men, eminent for rank of family and their endowments of mind and body, have daily resorted from all parts of this realm, and from which many men in our own times, as well as in the times of our progenitors, have by reason of their very great merits been advanced to discharge the public and arduous functions as well of the State as of justice, in which they have exhibited great examples of prudence and integrity, to the no small honour of the said Profession and adornment of this realm and good of the whole Commonwealth.’

The document contains no reference to any previous grant or charter; and, in spite of theories to the contrary, the reasonable supposition is that there was none. At the same time the passage which places the Inns in the same

category as 'the best seminaries of learning and education' suggests the source from which assistance may be derived to trace their origin. Dr Rashdall's valuable history of the medieval universities does not appear to have received attention from the writers on the history of the Inns of Court, except the Rev. R. J. Fletcher, whose introduction to the 'Pension Book of Gray's Inn' contains the best account of their early history. The Chiswick Press co-operated with the editor in producing a handsome volume. Equally admirable in all respects are the 'Inner Temple Records.' Mr Inderwick's illuminating introductions to the volumes form a continuous history of the Inn from the earliest times of which there is record down to the end of the reign of Queen Anne. The 'Black Books of Lincoln's Inn' were prepared for publication by Mr W. P. Baildon; and in the prefaces Mr J. Douglas Walker draws attention to the chief items in the entries. The 'Records of the Middle Temple' were published under the direction of Mr C. H. Hopwood, who made a calendar of the minutes of the Parliament in a separate volume; otherwise, with the exception of the brief introduction upon the early history of the Inn, by Mr John Hutchinson, they are published without note or comment, or even an index of subjects. The registers of the admissions to Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn have also been printed, but only annotated selections have been made from the lists of the Inner Temple and Middle Temple.

The essential functions of a true university, as defined by Dr Rashdall, 'are to make possible the life of study, whether for a few years or during a whole career, and to bring together during that period, face to face in living intercourse, teacher and teacher, teacher and student, student and student.\*' In their origin the universities were scholastic guilds either of masters or students. The masters formed a voluntary association, enacting rules for admission to membership, which was accompanied by feasting and the giving of presents. The social side of their organisation was as prominent among the masters and scholars as in the guilds of tradesmen and apprentices. The new doctor was required to give a

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\* 'Universities in the Middle Ages,' II, 714.

feast upon the attainment of his degree, while even more magnificent entertainments were provided sometimes, such as tilts and tournaments.

From the beginning the Inns of Court possessed, and they still retain, the main features of the life of the university, based upon the procedure of the medieval guild. As they were guilds of masters, the natural inference is that the serjeants, the doctors of the law, were the founders; but the available evidence is to the contrary. The earliest records of the relations between the two bodies show that the serjeant, upon attaining his degree, entirely severed his connexion with the Inn. If the serjeant were afterwards chosen to be a judge, he might then have the opportunity, with his brethren, to exercise the domestic jurisdiction which they possessed as visitors, and which survives in the appeal to the judges from a refusal of the benchers to call a student to the Bar. No affinity can be traced between the masters (who formed the governing body of the Inns) and the serjeants. The masters possessed the monopoly of granting the degree—the call to the Bar; but there is no evidence to show when and from whom they derived it, though it may be assumed that the judges were the original source of the authority. It is probable, 'if reliance may be placed on the analogous practice at the Bar of Paris, that the master testified to the attainments of his pupils being such as to entitle them to be admitted to audience at the Bar of the Court.\*' It was to the justices that Edward I† committed the duty of maintaining the supply of professional advocates, which was required upon the final disappearance of *cleri causidici* from Westminster Hall, about the middle of the thirteenth century. So soon as the students came together in any number to learn from the masters, the necessity would be felt for an inn or hostel of residence.

The earliest mention of a hostel containing apprentices of the law—the term does not necessarily mean students—occurs in the Year Books in 1348. From about the same period may be dated the beginning of the four Inns of

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\* Introduction to 'Black Books of Lincoln's Inn,' i, xl. In some of the forms of procedure in Lincoln's Inn Mr Douglas Walker traces indebtedness to the University of Paris.

† 'Rolls of Parliament,' i, 84.

Court, which are almost coincident in antiquity, similar in constitution, and identical in purpose. The migratory habits of the medieval scholar are frequently apparent in the early history of academic institutions, so that there is no need to endeavour to trace the steps by which the apprentices of the law first reached their present abiding places, which were in use previously as *hospitia*. The earliest direct piece of evidence of apprentices of the law dwelling in the Temple occurs in Walsingham's account of Wat Tyler's rebellion in 1381. The Knights Hospitalers, or Knights of St John of Jerusalem, let the property to the lawyers for the sum of twenty marks per annum, merely reserving the church, with its two chapels of St Nicholas and St John, the adjoining chapel of St Ann, and such tenements as they required for their own use. From the end of the fourteenth century may be dated Chaucer's description, in the Prologue to the 'Canterbury Tales,' of

'A gentle maunciple was ther of a temple . . .  
Of maistres hadde he mo than thryes ten,  
That were of lawe expert and curious;  
Of which ther were a doseyn in that hous,  
Worthy to ben stiwardes of rente and lond  
Of any lord that is in Engelond.'

Commentators upon this passage have laid stress upon the mention of the Temple—though Prof. Skeat regards it merely as an allusion to an inn of court—and have made no note of the thirty governing masters suggesting an organisation in the nature of a guild.

Dugdale, in his 'Origines Juridiciales,' tells us that, notwithstanding the spoil by the rebels under Wat Tyler, the number of students so increased 'that at length they divided themselves in two bodies, the one commonly known by the Society of the Inner Temple and the other of the Middle Temple.' Thus the university in the Temple took part in the general movement which led Dr Rashdall to describe the fifteenth century as 'the era of university buildings.' 'About the year 1440,' he writes, 'the universities all over Europe were endeavouring to provide themselves with buildings of their own.\*' In the year 1440 the Inner Temple is mentioned for the first time;† and in

\* *Op. cit.* II, 463.

† 'Paston Letters' (1895), I, 41.

1442 the 'Black Books of Lincoln's Inn' record a 'drinking' with the members of the Middle Temple. Another entry in 1466, referring to the four Inns of Court, mentions 'both the Temples.' We are thus enabled to see the corporate forms of the two societies slowly emerging from the mists of the past. Neither can claim seniority to the other. The one body underwent the normal development and grew into two, possessing absolutely equal rights in the church and contiguous property, which have been maintained down to the present time. The process of gestation is described in a MS. among the Inner Temple Records, which states that during the reign of Henry VI the lawyers

'were multiplied and grown into soe great a bulke as could not conveniently be regulated into one Society, nor, indeed, was the old hall capable of containing so great a number, whereupon they were forced to divide themselves. A new hall was then erected, which is now the Junior Temple Hall, whereunto divers of those who before took their repast and diet in the old hall resorted, and in process of time became a distinct and divided Society.' \*

One of the most conclusive pieces of evidence of the complete equality of the two houses is afforded by the dispute which arose in 1620 as to the administration of the Holy Communion by the Master of the Temple to the Benchers. It was contended that he showed a preference to the Inner Temple. After some discussion the matter was referred to a small committee consisting of two Benchers of each Inn. They came to the conclusion, unanimously supported by the members of the two societies, that there was no difference in the matter of antiquity. A method of alternative administration was adopted to show an equal consideration to both Houses.

Sir John Fortescue, whose treatise '*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*' was written about the year 1470, makes no allusion to the origin of the Inns, but gives an interesting account of their condition in his day. There were ten lesser Inns, called Inns of Chancery,

'in each of which there are an hundred students at the least; and, in some of them, a far greater number, though not con-

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\* '*Inner Temple Records*,' i, xviii.

stantly residing. The students are, for the most part, young men. . . . After they have made some progress here, and are more advanced in years, they are admitted into the Inns of Court, properly so-called. Of these there are four in number. In that which is the least frequented, there are about two hundred students. . . . The students are sons to persons of quality; those of an inferior rank not being able to bear the expences of maintaining and educating their children in this way.'

The curriculum contained various subjects of general education, so that the Inn of Court did not differ much from the medieval continental university, in which law was the leading faculty. There was the same system of discipline, of celibate life, of a common hall, of residence in community, and of compulsory attendance at the services of the Church. The educational requirements were steadily raised during the sixteenth century. It is difficult to define the status of the Inns of Chancery in their earliest days, but by the time of Fortescue the relationship of each one to the Inn of Court to which it was attached approached to that of a college to its university. The Inn of Court appointed Readers for its Inns of Chancery, settled the precedence of the principals, admitted their members at a reduced fee, and entertained their ancients at grand feasts and festivals. Each Inn of Chancery had its own hall for meetings, moots, readings, and festivity. The Inns of Chancery seem to have fallen into decadence during the reign of James I and gradually diminished in importance, until the proceedings in 1900, before the Court of Chancery, in regard to the sale of Clifford's Inn, marked their final disappearance.

The records of Lincoln's Inn are in existence for nearly one hundred years before the volumes remaining in the custody of either the Middle Temple or the Inner Temple. The former date from 1501 and the latter from 1505. It has been supposed that the earlier records were kept in some common repository, where they suffered destruction, but an entry on the first page of the 'Middle Temple Records' suggests that the books of the society were in the care of the Treasurer. The more probable assumption would seem to be that at this period the organisation of the two Societies was so far solidified as to afford material for a 'Liber Constitutionis' for the information of the chief

governor, but that the proceedings of the administrative assembly, known as the Parliament, had not yet attained sufficient importance to necessitate the preservation of a continuous record in the custody of the Inn. A description of the Inns, written for the information of Henry VIII by Sir Nicholas Bacon and his two friends, Thomas Denton and Robert Cary, states that a Parliament was summoned 'every quarter, one or more if need shall require, . . . for the good ordering of the house and the reformation of such things as seeme meet to be reformed.'

To the year 1563 has been traced the origin of the Barristers' Roll,\* which is an authoritative record of the members of the Inns of Court who are entitled to practise in the Courts. By a statute of that year 'all manner of person or persons that have taken or hereafter shall take any degree of learning in or at the common lawes of this realm, as well utter Barristers as Benchers, Readers, ancientes in any house or houses of Court,' were required to take the Oath of Supremacy. Various modifications were made in this rule, both by statute and the orders of the Benchers, until, by another Act in 1688, the oath itself was changed and all oaths were required to be taken in open court either of the King's Bench or quarter sessions. At the same time the names were enrolled, and the lists are preserved in the Public Record Office. By the Promissory Oaths Act, 1868, barristers were no longer required to take the oath; but Cockburn, C.J., considered it to be highly desirable that a roll of barristers should still be preserved in the Crown Office. The signing of the roll is one of the incidents after call to the bar.

In 1574, according to a return preserved in the Public Record Office,† Gray's Inn had the largest number of members, and perhaps on that account took a lead among the Inns.‡ There were in the Inner Temple 15 benchers, 23 utter barristers, and 151 other gentlemen. The total number of Middle Templars was one more, comprising 11 benchers, 40 utter barristers, and 139 other gentlemen. The Inner Temple had 92, and the Middle Temple 100 chambers. To the latter may be added the chambers,

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\* Mr W. C. Bolland, 'Law Quarterly Review,' xxiii, 439.

† Printed in the 'Inner Temple Records,' i, 468.

‡ See 'Black Books of Lincoln's Inn,' i, 222, 251.

## THE INNS OF COURT

not exceeding ten in number, into which the old hall was converted by a special exception in the orders of the Privy Council against the erection of new buildings. Reference may here be made to the building in front of the Middle Temple Hall, which was pulled down during the spring of 1908. The claim has been put forward that it was the oldest building in the Temple, and was built in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. To it Spenser is supposed to have alluded in the lines :

‘those bricky towres  
The which on Themmes brode aged backe doe ryde,  
Where now the studious lawyers have their bowers  
There whylome wont the Templar Knights to byde.’

There is nothing in the passage to suggest Brick Court in preference to any other brick building in the Temple; and the structure removed was certainly not the oldest portion of the court, as there were earlier chambers on the west side, facing Middle Temple Lane, the chief dividing line between the properties of the two Inns. The lane is not now of the same importance as when a right of way for the citizens of London lay through the Temple, in order that they might take boat to Westminster from the Temple Stairs.

There are traditions about visits by Queen Elizabeth to the Middle Temple Hall, but they are unsupported by documentary evidence. The beautiful structure with its fine hammer-beam roof has been the scene, however, of many memorable incidents. In the introduction to the ‘Inner Temple Records,’ Mr Inderwick refers especially to the admission, *honoris causa*, of Sir Francis Drake in 1582. In the minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple, under date August 4, 1586, there is a special memorandum in reference to his reception in the Hall by some of the benchers upon his victorious return from the West Indies. The wording of the entry suggests that he was already a member. He may have joined the society at some date between 1524 and 1551, for which period the records are missing. In addition, at the Middle Temple, Sir Martin Frobisher, Admiral Norris, and Sir Francis Vere were admitted together on February 2, 1592, and Sir John Hawkins on February 24, 1594. None of the other Inns received these celebrated Elizabethan seamen; and it is

difficult to believe that it was a mere accident which led to their welcome by the Benchers of the Middle Temple. Taken in conjunction with other facts in the history of the Inn at this period, their reception provides the basis for a suggestion that the colonising enterprises of the closing years of the sixteenth century were closely associated with the Middle Temple.

From 1588 to 1596 Miles Sandys, brother of Archbishop Sandys, was Treasurer of the Inn. Among his contemporaries was Richard Hakluyt, who inspired in his young cousin of the same name a desire for geographical knowledge. The lad, then studying at Westminster School, came to visit his elder relative in his chambers in the Middle Temple, and 'found lying open upon his boord certeine books of cosmographie with an universall mappe.' Enquiries led to a long 'discourse' from his cousin, which resulted in the formation of a resolution that he 'would by God's assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.' Richard Hakluyt, the elder, had chambers in the Inn from 1555 until his death in 1591, and was made an associate with the Bench in 1585 on account of his seniority. Among Miles Sandys' fellow Benchers was Thomas Hanham who joined in the welcome of Drake, and whose second son Thomas, also a Middle Templar, was one of the grantees of the Virginia patent of 1606. The 'Molyneux Globes,' of which the Inn possesses the only copy in existence, were published in 1592. It is generally supposed that they were included in the bequest of Robert Ashley the founder of the library, who is known to have been interested in geographical discovery. Among his contemporaries were the Treasurer's nephews, Sir Edwin Sandys, Treasurer of the Virginia Company, and George Sandys,\* who for a time acted as governor of the infant colony.

The expedition sent out in 1602 by Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been admitted to membership of the Inn as a young man in 1575, was under the command of Bartholo-

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\* The identification of the 'Dictionary of National Biography' is accepted above, though no reference appears to have been made to the records of the Middle Temple, which show that both the Treasurer and the Archbishop had sons named George. There would seem to have been five Middle Templars in each family.

**mew Gosnold, another Middle Templar.** To the regret of all historians who have desired to describe the events which led to the birth of the American nation, the early records of the Virginia Company cannot be traced. With their aid it might be possible to establish further close relationship between members of the Inn and the foundation of the infant commonwealth. The existing records show that several members held assignments of land in Virginia, and that committee meetings of the company were held in the Middle Temple. Thomas Collett, who was nephew of Nicholas Ferrar, and is generally understood to have been assistant-secretary to the Virginia Company, lived to be one of the 'ancient' members of the Inn. He was admitted in 1619, called to the Bar November 24, 1626, and made a Bencher November 5, 1652; and an entry in the Records shows that he was still there in 1663. On both sides of the Atlantic, therefore, members of the Inn took a prominent part in the 'birth of the American nation.' No other Inn can claim a similar connexion.\*

The extension of the buildings necessitated by the growth of the two societies naturally suggested to the Benchers that they should be sure of their title to the property, upon which had been spent large sums of money. Accordingly, application was made to King James, whose patent in 1608 confirmed it to them in perpetuity for an annual payment by each society of 10*l.* per annum. It was commuted in 1676 for the sum of 80*l.* and a life interest to Charles II's queen. As an acknowledgment of the King's goodwill, the two Inns presented to him a gold cup of the present value of about 3500*l.* It was pawned by Charles I among other plate and jewels to an Amsterdam merchant, and does not appear to have been redeemed, nor is it known to exist in any collection in Holland. The patent is preserved in the church in a chest under the Communion table.

Of the condition of the Inns of Court at this period there remains a contemporary record of the highest authority. Sir Edward Coke† describes the course for the

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\* Further evidence in support of this claim was given by the present writer in the 'Green Bag' for April 1908.

† Proeme to Third Report, pp. xxxv, xxxvii.

young student coming from a university to one of the eight Inns of Chancery and thence to an Inn of Court.

'Each of the Houses of Court consists of Readers above twenty; of Utter Barristers above thrice so many; of young gentlemen about the number of eight or nine score, who there spend their time in study of law, and in commendable exercises fit for gentlemen.' The Utter Barristers were chosen from the mootmen after eight years study or thereabouts. 'Of Utter Barristers, after they have been of that degree twelve years at least, are chosen Benchers, or Ancients; of which one, that is of the puisne sort, reads yearly in summer vacation and is called a single Reader; and one of the Ancients that had formerly read, reads in Lent vacation, and is called a double Reader; and commonly it is between his first and second reading, about nine or ten years. . . . Of these Readers are serjeants elected by the King. . . . Of serjeants are by the King also constituted the honourable and reverend judges.'

The Benchers made orders for the good government of the Inn and punished offenders either by fine, by forfeiture of their chambers, by putting out of commons, or, in extreme cases, by expulsion from the House. The Reader was the representative of the Inn for educational purposes. Students were obliged to attend his readings upon a particular branch of law, which occasionally furnished the material for published treatises. But the extent of his learning occupies an insignificant place by the side of the magnificence of the feast which he was expected to give during the period of his reading.

From the Readers was chosen the Treasurer, who was the 'principall and supreme officer' in the Inn. The control of affairs was at first exercised by Governors, but the increase in the financial business necessitated the appointment of a separate officer; and naturally, in process of time, a large amount of power passed into his hands. The post was created at Lincoln's Inn in 1455, but more than a century afterwards Governors were still appointed at the Inner Temple. Gray's Inn appears at one time to have had two Treasurers; and at the Middle Temple there was an Under-Treasurer who was a member but not a Bencher of the Inn. Mr Inderwick defines the duties of the Treasurer as follows:

'(1) To admit to the Society such as he thought fit; (2) to assign chambers to members of the Inn; (3) to collect the

pensions or dues and to receive the fines on admissions to chambers; (4) to pay the rent to the Lord of St John's and the cost of all repairs done to the chambers, and generally to maintain the Inn; (5) to pay all wages and to appoint subordinate officials; (6) to render yearly an account of his office, to be audited by members [? Benchers] of the Inn.'

These duties were performed subject, in a greater or less degree at the different Inns, to the approval of the Benchers. Some Treasurers had more authority than others, especially when they were continued in office for a period of years instead of retiring at the end of one; but a new Treasurer has been chosen each year since the seventeenth century. At the present time the office rests rather upon customary right than specific enactment. As *ex-officio* chairman of all committees, the Treasurer may take an important part in the deliberations and work of the society.

The office of Referee is peculiar to the Middle Temple. By deed of Charles Cox, dated September 30, 1637, two barristers were to be chosen by the Treasurer,

'to be Referees, free mediators, and composers of such differences, suits, and demands as shall be voluntarily submitted and refer'd by any person whatsoever, to their hearing and determination, who are to give attendance in the Common Dining Hall of the Middle Temple, two days in every week in term time, viz. every Wednesday and Friday from two till five o'clock in the afternoon, freely without fee received on either side, to hear and do their best endeavours to determine all such controversies, suits, and demands as shall be submitted unto them.'

Each of the Referees received 20*l.* per annum, derived from property in the City called Scales Inn.

To trace the numerous changes which have taken place in the system of legal education since Fortescue's days is beyond the limits of this article; but the orders made by the Privy Council and adopted by the Benchers in 1614 may be epitomised, as they consolidate the rules existing at the time of the patent and form the foundation of subsequent regulations. On account of 'the great abuse in the lodging and harbouring of ill subjects or dangerous persons,' the Inns were to be searched for strangers at regular intervals. 'For that the societies

ought to give a principal example of good government in matters of religion, and to be free not only from the crime but from the suspicion of ill-affection in that kind,' every gentleman was required to receive Communion annually under penalty of expulsion. As these institutions were ordained chiefly for the profession of the law, and secondarily for the purposes of general education, 'no knight or gentleman, foreigner or discontinuer' was to be admitted to lodge there, so that they might not be turned from *Hospitia* (inns) to *Diversoria* (taverns). In order to preserve the difference between a councillor at law, 'which is the principal person next unto serjeants and judges, . . . and attorneys and solicitors, which are but ministerial persons, and of an inferior nature,' no attorney or solicitor was henceforth to be admitted of any of the four Houses of Court. Owing to the excessive number of lawyers, no Inn was to call to the bar in one year more than eight; and, in order that they might be sufficiently grounded, none was to practise until he had been three years at the bar, 'except such utter barristers that have been readers in some Houses of Chancery.' The requests from distinguished personages to the Benchers that their *protégés* might be called to the bar had helped to increase the numbers to an undesirable extent. In order that due attention might be given to learning, a minimum duration was enforced for the reading, while playing and other disorders were to be put down. Finally, decency in apparel and due regard for the governing authorities were required from the members.

The first regulation as to the search for strangers was especially necessary as the Temple was a place of sanctuary. Dissolute and evil-disposed persons obtained entrance by surreptitious means, to the annoyance of law-abiding and decent people. Their presence was harmful to the young students, who, without the assistance of these rough characters, were too frequently disposed to riot and debauchery. The right of sanctuary was abolished in 1624; but the Temple and some other ancient places were still used as refuges by malefactors and debtors. At last, as Lord Macaulay records, the nuisance became so great that another Act was passed in 1697 to effect its complete suppression.

Besides granting to the two Inns the property of

which they were tenants, the patent also assigned to them 'all that Church, edifices and buildings of the Church used for or dedicated to Divine Worship, Prayers and celebrating the Sacraments and Sacramentals, commonly called the Temple Church,' with the condition that they should be well and sufficiently maintained by the two Inns. The appointment of the Master of the Temple was reserved to the Crown; but the two Inns alternately choose his assistant, the Reader. It would be beyond the present purpose to give a history of the church and to describe in detail the building,\* but something must be said of its condition at the time when it came into the possession of the Inns. It was fallen into an almost ruinous condition.

'The roof was dilapidated; the glass in the windows was broken; the venerable monuments of antiquity, and the more modern but not less costly and elegant structures of the Elizabethan era, unprotected from injury by accident or design, had fallen into decay; the pews were rotten, and even the iron bars that should have held the windows were themselves consumed by rust.' ('Inner Temple Records,' II, xxvii.)

The surroundings were entirely out of harmony with the precincts of a sacred edifice. The Benchers at once issued orders for the remedy of this state of affairs. The improvement in its condition was to their own advantage, as Dugdale tells us that the church 'all the terme time hath in it no more quietnesse than the Pervyse of Pawles, by occasion of the confluence and concourse of such as are suters in the law.'

The increased security of tenure assured by the grant of James I was followed by further building. The Inner Temple gateway was erected in 1610. The room above it is decorated with the arms of Prince Henry, who died in 1612, and, having escaped the Fire of London, is now preserved to the public use in perpetuity under the care of the London County Council. The procedure in the erection of new buildings was for a member to obtain permission from the Benchers to provide himself with a set of chambers at his own cost, as the Inn had no capital

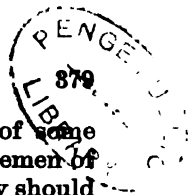
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\* Both have been admirably accomplished in 'The Temple Church,' by T. Henry Baylis, K.C., and 'The Temple Church,' by George Worley.

fund for the purpose. In return the undertaker was allowed to call the building by his own name and to have a personal right of occupation for life and a further right to nominate a certain number of successors from among members of the Society who might become tenants, without any payment to the Inn. Naturally it was often Benchers who were able to carry out these undertakings; but, if they had not their own buildings, it was customary for them to be admitted into a set of chambers reserved as Bencher's Chambers, with special rights as to exclusive occupation or terms upon which members were entitled to joint tenancy. Some of the officers of the courts, such as the Clerk of the Crown Office and the Prothonotary of the Common Pleas, had offices in the Temple. In addition to the buildings for the members there were various stalls and shops, which were allowed by the Benchers, but regulated from time to time.

The increase in the membership of the Inns, combined with the prosperity of the period and the general tendency to indulge in luxury, led to extravagant entertainments, of which the elaborate masques before the Court were perhaps the chief. The proceedings of the Inns do not contain any particulars, except as regard the expense, which was raised by a levy upon the members. In response to a request of Charles I, a masque was presented before him by the four Inns, organised by Masters of the Bench, which is estimated to have cost more than 21,000*l*. Early in the reign of James I the revels within the Inns gave place to plays performed by the members or professional players.

The reign of Charles I was not marked by any important changes in the constitutions of the Inns or the life of their members. The plague frequently interfered with their course of study, and sometimes necessitated what was practically the removal of the Inn out of town to Hertford or St Albans. But the outbreak of civil war disorganised the routine. As corporate communities the Inns took no part, except on one notable occasion. On January 4, 1641, five hundred gentlemen from the Inns of Court armed themselves and marched to Whitehall to offer their services to the King. On the same day the House of Commons appointed commissioners to acquaint the Societies



'That this House hath taken notice of the practice of some gentlemen, that have endeavoured to engage the gentlemen of the Inns of Court . . . to come down to the Court if they should be required: that this House has sent for the gentlemen that were with them, as Delinquents; and do believe that their crime will prove to be of a high nature.'

Individual members took part in the contests in conspicuous positions on both sides. For several years no rent was paid to the Exchequer, no salary to any Master of the Temple; and there were no commons in the House. No treasurer was elected, and no accounts were audited. The Inns, left to the care of the few who remained with the servants, were invaded by strangers. The property suffered; and it was not until some time after the country was sufficiently quiet for the Benchers to resume their ordinary procedure that the Inns regained their full vitality. In 1653 an attempt was made to impose the assessment for the army upon the two Temples. The committee found that there was no precedent, as the Societies were only supported by contributions from the members, and so had no capital or income upon which to base an annual payment. They therefore decided that the Inns of Court should be treated as other seminaries of learning; and Parliament confirmed their decision. The proposal in 1657 for a parliamentary enquiry into the constitution of the Inns came to nothing.

The Restoration was even more welcome in the Inns of Court than it was generally throughout the country. The suppression by the Puritans of the festivities which, so to speak, were the elixir of life to the Inns, was resented; and it is doubtful whether the Parliamentary orders received loyal compliance. With the return of the King the Inns resumed their former customs, with an evident intention to make up for lost time. Charles II was frequently present at the feasts and revels of the different Inns, sometimes as a guest of the Reader, sometimes, it would seem, *incognito*. Dugdale gives an account of one such visit, when the King, accompanied by the Duke of York, came to the Inner Temple at the invitation of the Solicitor-General, Sir Heneage Finch. 'Fifty select gentlemen of the Society in their gowns' waited upon them at dinner, accompanied by the music

of 'xxv violins, which continued as long as his Majesty stayed.' At the next Parliament the Duke was called to the bar and bench. Even more sumptuous was the entertainment given at Lincoln's Inn by the Duke of York's Solicitor-General, Sir Francis Goodericke; on this occasion the King was again accompanied by the Duke of York, together with Prince Rupert, the Dukes of Monmouth and Richmond, the Earls of Manchester, Bath and Anglesey, Viscount Halifax, the Bishop of Ely, Lord Newport, Lord Henry Howard, and 'diverse others of great qualitie.'

'Towards the end of dinnar, his Majestie, to doe a transcendant Honor and grace to the Society, and to expresse his most gracious acceptance of theire humble duty and affection towards him, was pleased to comaund the Book of Admittances to be brought to him, and with his owne hand entred his Royall Name therein, most graciously condescending to make himselfe a Member thereof, which high and extraordinary favour was instantly acknowledged by all the members of this Society then attending on his Majestie with all possible joy, and received with the greatest and most humble expressions of gratitude, it being an example not presided by any former King of this Realme.'

It is worthy of note that in several instances the royal visits pass without mention in the Records of the Inns, so that the absence of any entry in the Middle Temple or Gray's Inn Records is not conclusive evidence that Charles II did not also pay visits to those Inns. John Evelyn, who was a member of the former, records several sumptuous entertainments; and Roger North, writing of Francis North's Reading feast at that Inn in 1671, says:

'I cannot much commend the extravagance of the feasting used at these readings; and that of his lordship's was so terrible an example, that I think none hath ventured since to read publicly.'

He presents the other side of the picture, showing a scene of debauchery, tumult, and waste. The prodigality of the period may be held accountable for this indulgence; but the Inns of Court may have been led thereby to anticipate rather than follow the change in the manners of the Court and its *entourage*, as the cost of the feasts was a serious obstacle in the way of the acceptance of the

office of Reader. The revels, in which a mock prince held his court, were continued for more than half a century. Mr Inderwick states that they 'ceased, so far as there is any record of them in our time, before the Commonwealth'; and he quotes Evelyn's Diary to show that they were continued in the Middle Temple. An entry, however, in 1697 refers to 'a riotous and revelling Christmas, according to custom,'\* in the Inner Temple; and the last revels in any Inn of Court are stated to have been held in the Inner Temple Hall at Candlemas 1733. They were conducted with the ancient ceremonies; and among the company was the Prince of Wales *incognito*.†

In the years following the Restoration, plague frequently made its appearance in the Temple. The members found safety in flight, with a consequent interruption to study and the business of the Societies. The Great Fire wrought serious havoc in the Inner Temple, but barely touched the buildings of the Middle Temple. A committee of Benchers was appointed promptly 'to settle all matters in reference to the rebuilding of the Society,' which was undertaken upon the method previously in vogue by individual members bearing the cost of erection, and in return receiving certain rights from the Benchers. They were to pay no fine on admission to the chambers, but to have a grant for three consecutive lives, with power during that period to admit thereto, and to receive payment of fines for admission from any persons who were members of the Inn, with a preferential right to former occupants. The Inn itself undertook the rebuilding of the library and the moot-chamber beneath. The work was carried out so expeditiously that within four or five years the whole Inn was rebuilt and the members furnished with more substantial and healthier residences. Several minor conflagrations occurred within the Temple, but one in 1678 did almost as much damage in the Middle Temple as the Great Fire in the Inner Temple. It lasted from eleven o'clock on Sunday night, January 26, to noon on Monday, and laid bare a large part of the Inn. One of the sufferers was Elias Ashmole, the antiquary, who lost a portion of the Tradescant collection. The work of

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\* Diary (Dobson's ed.), iii, 333.

† Wynne's 'Eunomus,' p. 292.

rebuilding, so Roger North relates, was the cause of considerable friction between the members and the Benchers. After lengthy negotiations the Society placed themselves in the hands of Dr Nicholas Barbon (son of Praise-God Barbon), who had been employed in rebuilding the City. The troubles of the Benchers were not at an end, for after many vicissitudes 'there was at length a fail (as always in Barbon's affairs), so the House was fain to take upon them the winding-up of the matter.'\* During the Middle Temple fire the Lord Mayor and the sheriffs came down with a view to rendering assistance, but his sword was borne erect as if he exercised authority in the Temple. The assertion of that claim was always a source of conflict, especially on the part of the members of the Inner Temple. The 'leading case,' so far as it received judicial cognisance, occurred in 1669, and is fully recorded by Pepys. It had no definite result. A more friendly feeling existed between the Corporation and the Middle Temple; and on several occasions, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, aldermen and sheriffs were admitted, *honoris causa*, to membership of that Society.

Between the years 1600 and 1700, practically the whole of the Temple, with the exception of the church, was replaced by new buildings. More air and a fresh supply of water were the surest safeguards against the ravages of the plague, which disappeared at the close of the seventeenth century. The stability of the administration and ancient procedure of the Inns remained unaffected by the external changes. They maintained their ancient privileges undisturbed by any additional requirements on the part of the Crown or Privy Council, and so obtained an increased feeling of independence. One thing was being abandoned; the costly entertainments to high officers of State, which had been carried to extravagant dimensions during the century, were recognised to be undesirable. Thus the student coming from the university to the Temple in 1700 would find himself called upon to pursue much the same kind of life as his predecessor in 1600, though his intention, in a greater number of instances, would be to continue the study of the law instead of departing into some other walk of life.

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\* 'The Lives of the Norths,' iii, 60.

The materials for a complete record of the eighteenth century are not yet available. The published records of the Middle Temple stop at 1703, and those of the Inner Temple at 1714. There is a singular lack of information from external sources. The impression is that the eighteenth century within the Temple was a period of torpor or, it may be, of rest, after the gaiety of the seventeenth, in preparation for the developments of the nineteenth through increased attention to the preliminary study for the practice of the law. The deed of partition between the two Inns in 1732 suggests that at that period they were engaged in imparting methodical arrangement to their affairs. In some of the buildings the residents on the ground floor were tenants of one Society while the occupants of the first floor were tenants of the other; and the absence of any clear division between the two entirely accords with what has been suggested above as to the process by which they grew from one body to existence in separation.

To the period of the partition deed belongs 'Master Worsley's Book,' as it is called, though the authorship is doubtful, containing 'Observations on the Constitution, Customs, and Usage of the Honourable Society of the Middle Temple.' The writer deals fully with a matter which was a constant cause of disturbance in the Inn—the right of the governing body to regulate its affairs without consultation with the members. The ancient custom was that the Benchers made orders for the government of the Inn; but during the vacations they effected a kind of abdication when the members within certain prescribed limits were allowed to rule themselves. The result was a period of license, when the Lord of Misrule held sway. In later days this custom was taken more seriously, and constant endeavours were made to enforce some order in abrogation of the Masters' rights, to take effect when they had resumed control. Much of the trouble which arose in the course of these proceedings may be attributed to a lack of restraint on the part of a number of high-spirited young men; but in the Middle Temple the controversy seems to have been a more serious matter. In 1730 the barristers and students in 'Vacation Parliament assembled' drew up a long declaration, in which they asserted that, although the

order and government of the Society were lodged in the Masters, 'yet a liberty of proposing such occasional alterations and amendments as the circumstances of times and things might render necessary, is and must be reserv'd to the other part of the Society in Parliament assembled.' They claimed the right to hold their Parliament at any time, as there were always matters calling for attention; while the Masters said that the junior members were not entitled to confer together or make representations to them except in regard to matters arising during vacation. The official who compiled the book supplies a long answer to the petition which the Masters of the Bench had already provided in reply to a similar agitation in 1630. The book also gives an account of the call of the Serjeants in Easter term 1736, showing that the ancient ceremonies were still in force. The visit of the King of Denmark to the Temple on September 23, 1768, is an example of the continuance of the traditional hospitality of the Inns. He was welcomed by the Benchers of both Societies on his arrival by water to lunch in the Middle Temple Hall, *en route* to a reception at the Mansion House.

During the closing years of the eighteenth century the names of young students coming from the possessions of Great Britain across the seas are found upon the admission books of the Inns of Court. In particular, the Middle Temple included among its members men destined to take a leading share in the separation of the States of America from the mother-country. The Middle Temple is represented by five signatories to the Declaration of Independence, including the four representatives of South Carolina. Edward Rutledge, afterwards Governor of that State, and Thomas Lynch were admitted to the Inn in 1767. Thomas Heyward, who became a judge, and Arthur Middleton were entered ten years before. The fifth Middle Templar, Thomas McKean, signed the Declaration as one of the Delaware representatives. He is said to have written the Constitution of his State in one night. Although President of Delaware, McKean resided in Pennsylvania, and was appointed first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court on July 28, 1777. He held the office until he was elected Governor of the State in 1799.

Even more distinguished was the career of John

Rutledge, Edward's eldest brother, who was admitted to membership of the Middle Temple on October 11, 1754, and was called to the bar on February 8, 1760. In the following year he returned to South Carolina. At the age of twenty-two he began to practise and was soon successful. Chosen at the age of twenty-six to represent his State, his forensic abilities enabled him, although the youngest member of Congress, to take the same prominent position in the Senate House as he had held in the courts. Rutledge is believed to have drafted the greater part of the Constitution of South Carolina. Under it he became first President of the General Assembly and Commander-in-Chief. In the latter capacity he was required for a time to set aside peaceful pursuits, and displayed his versatility by his courage and activity upon the field of battle. On the termination of his executive duties he was again elected a Member of Congress in 1782. After two years' strenuous service for his country, Rutledge became judge of the South Carolina Court of Chancery. Seven years later, upon the reorganisation of the courts of law, he was made Chief Justice. Finally, Rutledge was chosen to be chairman of the committee of five who drafted the first Constitution of the United States, and, upon the resignation of John Jay, was nominated by Washington to be the second Chief Justice. Thus the legal knowledge which he had acquired during five years study at the Middle Temple was the basis of his remarkable contribution to the advancement of his country, and the mainstay of his whole career.

The nineteenth century was marked by the resumption of royal visits to the Inns of Court. The published records of Lincoln's Inn close with the opening of the new Hall and Library by Queen Victoria on October 30, 1845. The address presented to her Majesty on that occasion referred to the fact that 'nearly two centuries have passed away since the Inns of Court were so honoured by the presence of the Reigning Prince'—a reference to the visit paid by Charles II in 1672. On the occasion of Queen Victoria's visit, the Prince Consort, who had studied English law under the direction of Mr William Selwyn, was admitted and elected a Bencher of the Inn. Sixteen years later, when the Prince of Wales (now his Majesty the King) visited the Middle Temple for a similar purpose, he was

admitted to membership, called to the Bar, and elected a Bencher. Prince Christian was made a Bencher of the Inner Temple at the opening of the new hall in 1870. His Majesty served the office of Treasurer of the Middle Temple in 1887, and is now the senior Bencher.

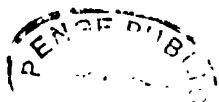
The rise and development of subsidiary organisations during the last century have overshadowed the position of the Inns of Court, but the ultimate authority remains with the Benchers. A board of examiners tests the capacities of a candidate who has not a university or similar qualification; but the Inn of Court requires satisfactory credentials before he can be admitted as a member after passing the test. No one can compel them to admit a student, just as no one can question the rejection of a student by the authorities of a university. Although the Benchers of the four Inns have delegated the duty of examining the educational qualifications of the candidates for admission to the Bar to the Council of Legal Education, constituted in 1852, they decide all other questions relating to their fitness. The rules as to the admission of students, the mode of keeping terms, the education and examination, the calling of students to the Bar, and taking out of certificates to practise under the Bar, are contained in the consolidated regulations of the four Inns of Court. The pursuit of certain occupations is regarded as incompatible with the practice of the law.

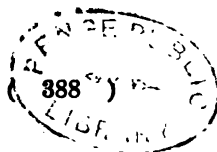
In matters of professional conduct minor jurisdiction is exercised by the circuit-mess, which was originally formed for the social purpose of dining by the barristers practising on a circuit. Similarly, there are organisations attached to quarter sessions. The chief authority in matters of legal etiquette and professional conduct is the General Council of the Bar, which, in 1894, succeeded the Bar Committee constituted in 1883. It is supported by the four Inns of Court, who are directly represented by sixteen members. It possesses no direct disciplinary powers, and its rules are only matters of etiquette and not of law. Its rulings have the support of the profession, but are not binding outside it. The Council is recognised as the representative of the Bar by the judges and Legislature. It is always ready to afford guidance to barristers in their relations with solicitors and clients or their status in the courts; but any incident requiring disciplinary con-

sideration, even if it occurs in the courts, is referred to the Benchers of the Inn by whom the offending barrister was called to the Bar.

On November 2, 1903, the King of England, for the first time in his right as a Bencher and not as an invited guest, took his place at the Bench table on Grand Night. Another event, unique in the annals of the Inns of Court, occurred at the Middle Temple during the present century. On May 9, 1905, Mr Joseph Choate became an honorary Bencher upon his resignation of the post of American ambassador at the Court of St James. British subjects had previously been admitted to that honour in the persons of Lord Ashbourne and Sir Edmund Barton at Gray's Inn, and Lord Robertson at the Middle Temple ; but no non-British subject had ever before been received into the governing body of an Inn of Court. The association of the Middle Temple with the establishment of sound government in the American Commonwealth and the admission to membership of the representatives of another great Republic—the Venetian ambassadors, Antonio Foscari and Pietro Mocenigo, became members in 1614 and 1617 respectively—afforded some reason for this departure from precedent. The action of the Benchers was cordially appreciated on the other side of the Atlantic, and has been reciprocated by the admission of Mr Bryce to membership of the American Bar Association. These incidents in the recent history of the Inns show that the words of King James' patent have received an extended application in the course of time. Whatever may be the differences in the practice of the courts or the qualifications of members of the Bars of the States of America and Australia, the Dominions of Canada and New Zealand, the colonies of South Africa and the West Indies, they all recognise their common ancestry in the four Inns of Court, and regard the standard of sound justice and true liberty upheld by their members as the model for their own professional lives and conduct.

C. E. A. BEDWELL.





## Art. V.—VAGRANTS, BEGGARS, AND TRAMPS.

1. *Report of the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy, 1906.* [Cd. 2852.]
2. *The Book of Vagabonds and Beggars (Liber Vagatorum).* Edited by Martin Luther in the year 1528; now first translated into English, with introduction and notes. By J. C. Hotten. London: Hotten, 1860.
3. *Vagabondiana.* By John Thomas Smith. London: Chatto and Windus, 1874.
4. *A History of Vagrants and Vagrancy.* By C. J. Ribton-Turner. London: Chapman and Hall, 1887.
5. *Crime; its Causes and Remedy.* By L. Gordon Rylands. London: Fisher Unwin, 1889.
6. *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages.* By J. J. Jusserand. London: Fisher Unwin, 1890.
7. *The Autobiography of a Super-tramp.* By W. H. Davies. With a preface by Bernard Shaw. London: Fifield, 1908.

And other works, Reports, and State Papers.

INTEREST in vagrants and mendicants is universal, for they have existed in all civilisations, ancient and modern; their suppression has taxed the ingenuity of legislators in England for twelve hundred years; and moralist, satirist, poet, dramatist, and novelist have dwelt upon them, with affection or dislike, in the literature of all the chief countries in Europe. Like some other survivals of antiquity, they are more picturesque than desirable members of society; but they are no longer a danger to it. The evils arising from the many thousand parasites—beggars, tramps, and wastrels who are still distributed throughout the land, although many and serious, are by no means so detrimental to the community as they were in past generations. The general advance of civilisation, the extension of education, philanthropic effort, and other causes have been far more effective in checking the evils of vagrancy in modern times than any direct legislation of a penal kind.

Though theoretically the social system in Anglo-Saxon times in England admitted of no vagrancy, yet from various causes it existed, and many laws were passed by Saxon monarchs to prevent wanderers and fugitives

roaming the country; while the Church taught the exercise of charity and almsgiving to the homeless poor. Slavery and the usual brutality arising from it, incursions by hostile neighbouring tribes, bad seasons or plague among cattle, inability to work from failing health and age—such were among the causes which sent many on a wayfaring life. The criminal fled to the woods and roads; and there has never been a time when men did not wander from a desire for change, a desire to flee from the monotony of mere existence. There is a fever in the blood which drives men to wander, affecting rich and poor alike; and this is a factor which no legislation can ever entirely eliminate in dealing with the true vagrant class. Whatever poetry is in the vagabond lies here, and it is this that gives him a place in the literature of all ages.

Under the Conqueror and his sons most of the causes which led to vagrancy remained as in Saxon times, some indeed becoming intensified under Norman rule. The Forest Laws pressed on the people with terrible severity. Vast areas were converted into game preserves, and harsh restrictions increased the natural enmity between the vanquished and the conquerors. Bands of men roamed the woods and forests killing the game and drifting into highway robbery, the natural result of living in open defiance of laws whose penalty was death. The civil wars of Stephen's reign filled the cup of misery to the brim for the poor. Similar evils resulted from the tyrannical rule of John; and the Barons' War in the reign of Henry III filled the land with beggars, vagabonds, and robbers—even knights and esquires taking to highway robbery, as the Act of Concord testifies (1266).

The gradual disappearance of villenage, by loosening the ties that bound the labourer to the land, gave a great impulse to vagrancy. But the first great general release from all such servitude resulted from the Black Death of 1348. The land over large areas lay untilld while crops rotted in the cultivated ground; wages rose with the increased demand for labour, and the farmers were unable or unwilling to pay what was asked. The labourers took to the road to sell their service to the highest bidder, or to idle as they wished. The idler became the sturdy beggar who would neither reap nor sow as long as he could otherwise live. A royal ordin-

ance was framed in 1349 (ultimately embodied in the Statute of Labourers passed by Parliament) making labour compulsory, regulating wages, and reducing them to the old standard. But the spirit of independence grew stronger day by day and the struggle more bitter between the peasant and the rich, so that even branding with a red-hot iron on the forehead was added to the other penalties. But it was impossible to enforce these ordinances; labour had to be got, and the employers were willing to evade the statutes to get work done. The reign of Richard II saw the climax of the economic struggle in the Peasant's Revolt. Statute followed statute after his accession; stocks were repaired and put up everywhere; and permission to move about had to be obtained from the justices, with a document stating the cause of a man's journey and the date of his return. But in 1383 an ordinance of the king declared that 'feiters (idlers) and vagrants' were more abundant than at any previous time. The wayfarer without a written permit was now rendered subject to imprisonment. Poor scholars, on going to or coming from the university, or on pilgrimage, required a permit from the chancellor, without which they were liable to a penalty under statute 12 of Richard II. The poor begging scholar lingered in Ireland down to modern times; and stories are told of him among the peasantry at the present day.

The 'Coming of the Friars' had a very important influence on the wayfaring life of the Middle Ages. Taking poverty as their bride, as did St Francis, the begging friars existed on the alms of the poor; and thus the Church openly gave its approval to vagrancy. But soon afterwards the mendicants began to adopt other means of making money. 'Thei becomen pedleris, berynge knyves, pursis, pynnyes and girdlis and spices and sylk and precious pellure and favouris for wymmen.' A class of pseudo-monks also arose and tramped the country with their wives or concubines, practising the greatest irregularities and giving great scandal to Church and State. The regular orders called them 'beg-hards,' and these sturdy beggars, 'legitimate sons of belial,' were denounced with the greatest severity at home and abroad. 'We do not deny,' says Conrade, the Bernardine monk, to the innkeeper in Erasmus's brilliant col-

loquy, 'but sometimes wolves, foxes, and apes are clothed with this habit'; and nowhere has the argument been better put, 'that the same garment covers many honest men.' Against the mischief arising from ecclesiastical mendicancy, and the abuses of the Church generally, the literature of Europe teems with satire. Chaucer's company of pilgrims includes the richly-clad monk with horse and greyhounds, the wanton and merry begging friar, the rascally pardoner and sompnour—all excellent subjects for satire as they wend their way to Canterbury to solicit heaven's grace; and they need it.

Of the great forces tending to break up social order and lower the condition of the poorer classes, Chaucer tells us little; he lived in a world apart; democratic tendencies did not touch him. But *Piers Plowman*, being a man of the people, and living among them, hears their cry of suffering and sorrow; he sees the evils, social, political, and ecclesiastical, of his time, and describes all with a burning sense of shame and indignation, denouncing, in a white heat of passion at times, the scheming rogues and vagabonds who thrive upon the charitable and abuse their good nature, but turning with the tenderest note of pity to the poor, the infirm, and the oppressed. The number of vagrants on the highways at this period was very great. Minstrels, pedlars, herbalists, and quacks were always on the road; there were the four orders of mendicant friars, the pseudo-monks, the pilgrims to the various shrines—especially Walsingham and Canterbury—and the usual throng of labourers, tramps, beggars, and robbers. *Piers Plowman* sees this Vanity Fair and describes it with all the finished detail of a Dutch painter.

'Beggars go fast about till their bags and their bellies are crammed to the brim. Lying for food, they fight at the ale-house and go to bed in gluttony; they rise with ribaldry, these robber knaves. Pilgrims and palmers ply together to seek St James and saints at Rome, and have leave to tell lies all their life-time after. Heaps of hermits with hooked staffs go to Walsingham with their wenches; great long lubbers, loath to work. All the four orders of the friars are preaching to the people and glozing the gospel for profit of their bellies. These lewd hermits look pleasant to get men's alms in hope to sit at even by the hot coals with legs unbound and open at

ease resting and roasting themselves, drinking deep until they drag themselves to bed.'

As for the beggars generally—brew-houses are their churches; they hold to no law. Some break the back and others some bone of their children, and go begging with them ever after.

'There arn mo mis-shapen among such beggers  
Than of meny other men that on this molde walken.'

The maiming and injuring of children for the purpose of appealing to the pity of the public, giving them, as it was shockingly called, 'the arms and legs of the Almighty,' is a custom that has been practised for centuries, and is not unknown in our own day. Barclay's 'Ship of Fools' (1508) tells the same tale as Piers Plowman :

'Manglynge their facys, brekyng theyr bonys  
To stere the people to pety that passe by.'

Spiders and beetles were often enclosed in a cockle-shell, which was placed to the eye of the child and held in position by a bandage. The child suffered torture and was often blinded by the cruel process. Reynolds describes this abomination in the 'Mysteries of London,' as occurring in his day; and it is but a few years ago that a woman was sentenced in Paris for this crime.

The evils of vagrancy were not lessened in England during the reigns of the kings of the houses of Lancaster and York; and the Wars of the Roses only intensified the social disorder of that age of bloodshed. Vagabondage of the worst kind was at times rampant, and the rabble band of Jack Cade was able to keep the king's forces at bay for six weeks; while the soldiers returning from France after Pecquigny plundered their countrymen to compensate for the plunder denied them by the Peace.

All through the Middle Ages vagrancy was general in the principal countries in Europe, and begging as a trade was thoroughly organised. Some of the ablest pens in all literature have described its advantages from the beggar's point of view. Irides, in Erasmus's 'Beggar's Colloquy,' says :

'We have more liberty than any King upon earth; we live secure in peace or war; we are not pressed for soldiers nor

taxes; if we commit anything that is illegal who will sue us beggars; the common people are afraid to offend us, out of a certain source of reverence as being consecrated to God.'

The song in Beaumont and Fletcher's 'Beggar's Bush' re-echoes these sentiments.

'Cast our caps and cares away,  
This is beggars' holiday. . . .  
Be it peace, or be it war,  
Here at liberty we are,  
And enjoy our ease and rest;  
To the field we are not pressed. . . .

When the subsidy's increas'd,  
We are not a penny sess'd;  
Nor will any go to law  
With a beggar for a straw,  
All which happiness, he brags,  
He doth owe unto his rags.'

Aleman, in his 'Life of Guzman d'Alfarache,' says, 'The life of a beggar is a delicacy without bone, an uninterrupted stream of pleasure, an employment free from care and full of recreation.' The medieval attitude of mind towards the beggar is well put in 'The Cloister and the Hearth' by Cul de Jatte, one of the raciest rascals in all the vagrant train in English literature:

'Why, beggary was an ancient and most honourable mystery. What did holy monks and bishops and kings when they would win heaven's smile? Why, wash the feet of beggars, those favourites of the Saints. . . . That foot was washed by the greatest king alive, Louis of France, the last Holy Thursday that was; and the next day, Friday, clapped in the stocks by the warden of a petty hamlet.'

Gerard's letter telling of his days with Cul de Jatte gives a strikingly realistic description of mendicity in the Middle Ages. Of the life of the modern vagrant it would be hard to find a more vivid and entertaining picture than that given by Mr Davies in his 'Autobiography.' Told in a style which is admirable for its unaffected matter-of-fact simplicity, Mr Davies' adventures on the highways and railroads, and in the prisons and work-houses of the United States, whether really autobiographical or not, form a story full of novelty and interest,

and make the unconventional reader feel that there are many lives less enjoyable than that of the professional beggar, at any rate while youth and health are on his side.

In France, beggars from an early period committed gross atrocities and practised every kind of fraud and villainy. They assumed a regular form of government, elected a king, framed a fixed code of laws, talked a language peculiar to themselves, and became a menace to the peace and welfare of society. Their frauds, rapacity, and crime seem to have outvied the deeds of their brother rascals in England; and the legislation of France in the Middle Ages ran on the same lines as that in this country, with a view to meet similar evils. They called their king Coesre, an impudent assumption of the name of the great Persian monarch. His royal robes were made from one thousand rags of all colours; he held a yearly council, received reports and tributes from his subjects, and administered justice amongst them. Many of the mendicants were runaway scholars like Pierre Gringoire, and lapsed clerics, who taught the novices the *argot* language, and performed other duties which exempted them from paying tribute. The whole kingdom of beggars was divided into an elaborate series of tribes, each having its special kind of begging to pursue and known by a special designation. Relegated to the Cours des Miracles, they were a dangerous pest to the city of Paris, their quarter becoming, like the Alsatia of London, one into which officers of justice seldom entered, and where the law of the land was little feared. Victor Hugo has powerfully portrayed the one and Walter Scott, in lighter colours, the other; and both probably owe something to 'Rinconete and Cortadillo,' one of the 'exemplary' novels of Cervantes. Here Monipodio rules over a hornets' nest of swaggering ruffians in Seville; and the reader's wonder is divided between the business-like arrangement of their criminal deeds and their impious, but apparently sincere, profession of religion.

Human credulity has always made it possible for the mendicant and knave to thrive; and, as we read of the gross impostures successfully practised at the beginning of the Renaissance, we wonder how people could be deceived by them. Yet who is there who has not been

imposed upon by the specious letter-writer, the framer of the scheming circular, the benevolent or religious impostor? There is an extraordinary similarity between the practices of the beggars and vagrants at home and abroad in the Middle Ages. Skin diseases, inflammation and ulcers were counterfeited by the juice of plants, a mixture of lard and blood, and other nasty devices; they disguised themselves with patches, bandages, plasters and crutches so as not to be known from day to day in the same place; they paraded as maimed soldiers from the wars; they showed forged certificates of having been bitten by wolves or dogs, or having escaped from the prisons or galleys of the infidel Turk; they posed as dropsical or otherwise diseased; women padded themselves to appear as if with child, or begged with a child at breast and another carried at back or side; they counterfeited the demoniac or epileptic by feigned fits and soap in the mouth to create froth, inflicting wounds as proof of sincerity; others stood almost naked in public places pretending extreme want and starvation, like the 'shivering Jimmies' of a later time; and so on, through a long list, with the vendors of worthless medicines, the dealers in magic, the interpreters of dreams, the finders of treasures, and the never-ending sellers of the secret of converting base metal into gold.

The wandering minstrel, originally highly honoured in court and hall, gradually lost caste, and by the later Middle Ages had sunk to the level of the mendicant and was legislated for as such. Phillip Stubbes, in his 'Anatomy of Abuses,' rails at

'such drunken sockets and bawdye parasites as range the countreyes, ryming and singing of uncleane corrupt and filthie songs in tavernes, ale-houses, innes, and other publique assemblies.'

The herbalist, the quack, the diviner and reader of stars, times, and seasons have always thriven on human credulity. The quack's powders, pills, plasters, and draughts were mostly made of harmless ingredients; but sometimes the knave's imagination ran riot and they became a very hell-broth from a witch's cauldron. With ready wit, unblushing effrontery, and audacious lying he pushed his nostrums on a gulled public. Ben Jonson has drawn

a finished picture of him in Volpone's impersonation, 'the Fox,' selling powders that preserved the beauty of Venus and Helen, specimens of which had been specially brought to him from Troy. Another rascal, Subtle, 'the Alchemist,' no doubt drawn from the life, lets us into some of the secrets of his compounds.

'Man's blood, hair o' the head, burnt clouts, chalk, merds and clay, powder of bones, scalings of iron, glass, and worlds of other strange ingredients, would burst a man to name.'

The 'Liber Vagatorum,' to which Luther wrote a preface, a most interesting little work, and the first of its kind on the subject in Europe, gives a spirited account of the beggars and vagrants that infested Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and also a glossary of the vagrants' language, which has its own special interest. Charles Reade must have used it, and also Dekker's pamphlets, in drawing the character of Cul de Jatte. The touch of sanctity attaching to beggars was fostered by custom. Their feet were washed on great occasions by kings and ecclesiastics; and in return for the alms which they received they would fast on All Saints' Day, the beggars' jubilee, and pray for the givers or their relatives. To this custom, which was called 'souling,' Shakespeare refers in the words, 'to speak puling like a beggar at Hallowmas.' The distribution of soul-cakes on this day in rural districts long remained a survival of the old begging custom.

The beggars, vagrants, and general rascality of the city of London congregated, at the beginning of the sixteenth century,

'In the Berbycan and in Turmyll strete,  
In Houndesdyche and behynd the Flete,'

to quote from an interesting poem of the period, 'The Hye Way to the Spyttel Hous' (circa 1535). This was the old St Bartholomew's hospital, founded by Rahere in the reign of Henry I. The district retained its evil notoriety for a century at least as the resort of beggars, vagabonds, thieves, and other abandoned wretches. Turnbull Street had an evil notoriety in Shakespearean literature; but it was not until the reign of Queen Anne that the purlieus of St Giles' achieved unenviable distinction from such inhabitants. 'The Hye Way to the Spyttel

Hous,' which gives the earliest examples of beggars' *arîget* to be found in any English work, describes the crowd of 'myghty lubbers' that went on the streets and highways daily to public places like Westminster and St Paul's, to fairs and markets, making their way on stilts and crutches with limbs tied up, counterfeiting diseases, exposing false sores, and the many other devices already detailed. 'These dysceyts they use worse than ony devyll.' Their methods of appeal varied according to circumstances person, and place, and were carefully prepared beforehand. Guzman d'Alfarache describes his instruction in this respect in Rome, and gives also the statutes of the kingdom of beggars in that city. The different national modes of asking alms are described as follows :

'The Germans beg by singing and in troops, the French by their praying, the Flemings by their respectful bowings, the Bohemians by fortune-telling, the Portuguese by their crying, the Italians by long harangues, the English by abusing, and the Spaniards by their haughty growlings.'

This touch of English character in the mendicant class, proverbial in 'beggars' abuse,' is interesting when found so far back as the end of the sixteenth century, and so far afield as Spain.

Vagrancy and begging assumed serious proportions in the reign of Henry VIII. The causes were many. Simon Fish, in his 'Supplicacyon for the Beggars' (1529), boldly attributes the evil state of things to the heavy burden of the Church, half the wealth of the country going into its hands. The burden lay in its vast estates ; the tithes on kind and wages ; the probates and masses ; the fees for burial, confessions, absolutions, blessings of churches, altars and bells ; the exactions of pardoners and summoners ; and the pence given to begging friars, estimated at twenty pence yearly per household—a mighty total it must have been when all told. Some 50,000 members of communities were turned out by the suppression of the monasteries, large numbers of whom went into vagrancy ; and the general condition of things grew rather worse than better. Another 'Supplication of the poore Commons' (1546) says :

'Then had they hospitals and almshouses to be lodged in, but now they lie and starve in the streets. Then was their

number great, but now much greater ; and no marvel, for there is, instead of these sturdy beggars, crept in a sturdy sort of extortioners.'

The trade of the country was increasing ; but rents rose, wealth was ill distributed, and the personal extravagance and indulgence in dress and show, after the example set by the king, caused a cruel waste of money. The gradual enclosure of the commons and consequent evictions threw many out on the road to sink or swim in the general stream of vagrancy. The condition of the people baffled the court. 'If you do not remedy the evils which produce thieves,' wrote Sir Thomas More, 'the rigorous execution of justice in punishing thieves will be in vain'—a truth as clear as crystal, and as clearly neglected all down the ages.

The tendency to convert arable land into pasture was considered conducive to idle and vagabond habits ; a law was passed in 1534 to prevent this, and no owner of land was permitted to have more than 2000 sheep, under a penalty of 3s. 4d. per sheep above that number. Like all sumptuary laws it was ineffectual ; for about sixteen years later another supplication was printed, 'The Decaye of England by the great Multitude of Sheepe,' in which the writer pleads with great force for the breaking up of the grass lands in the eastern counties to give occupation and more food, for want of which the people were driven to beg or steal. The Irish cattle-driving question is not new ; over three and a half centuries ago England had to face it, and failed to do so by legislation. By an Act of 1530, licenses were granted to the aged poor and impotent persons to beg within strictly defined areas. Able-bodied or 'sturdy' beggars were to be tied naked at a cart-tail and whipped through the town until the blood flowed, and then domiciled for three years. Scholars of universities begging without permits were to be whipped in a similar manner ; and pardoners, proctors, cheats, quacks, palmists, players of unlawful games, and actors of forbidden plays were to be whipped for two days, with mutilation of ears and the pillory for second offences. Harrison tells us that during the reign of Henry VIII the number of street vagabonds and thieves, petty and great, who were hanged was 72,000.

On her accession Elizabeth was brought face to face with the general discontent of the lower classes ; and a

vagrant train, whose number it was then impossible to estimate, of sturdy beggars, dangerous vagabonds, thieves, cutpurses and drawlatches, wandered up and down the land addicted to every vice and villainy. In 1569 a general search was ordered throughout the kingdom; and 13,000 vagrants and rogues, 'masterful men,' were arrested. London adopted severe measures of repression; and all the sick, diseased, impotent persons and children were sent to hospitals. The State papers show that stocks and whipping were generally applied. Nevertheless, the enclosure of the commons and the clearing of woods and forests went steadily on, with the consequent evictions; and the discontent was great in many places. The inhabitants lived under a system of terror from the sturdy vagabonds who robbed, plundered, and fired dwellings. The repressive measures of Henry's reign were enforced with rigid severity, and many a 'doxy' had had half a dozen husbands who successively adorned a gallows. In 1562 and again in 1572 attempts were made to deal with the indigent and disabled poor by local machinery. Convicted vagabonds and rogues were, as Harrison puts it, 'to be greevously whipped and burned through the gristle of the right eare, with an hot iron of the compasse of an inch about.\*' A second offence was felony; and for the third the punishment was death without benefit of clergy. Houses of correction were established for offenders who were whipped on entering; and, if they proved recalcitrant, they got the lash again, were put in irons, and given hard labour on restricted diet. Jonson's 'Bartholomew Fair,' which, perhaps with the exception of Richard Brome's 'Jovial Crew, or the Merry Beggars,' introduces us to more vagabond rascality and knavery than any other drama in English literature, shows that punishment was genuine in them.

'*Ursula*. You know where you were taw'd lately; both lash'd and splash'd you were in Bridewell.

'*Alice*. Ay, by the same token you rid that week, and broke out the bottom of the cart, night-tub!'

Stow tells us that in 1581 as many as 100 were taken in a night; the suburbs were not safe even in daytime.

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\* 'Description of England,' book II, chap. x.

The Queen was menaced one evening in Islington ; and by next day sixty-four persons were arrested. The number of thieves and vagabonds hanged yearly at this time, according to Harrison, averaged from 300 to 400, about a fifth of the number in Henry VIII's time, according to the same authority.

Elizabethan literature teems with references to the beggars, vagrants, cheats, drabs, knaves, and rogues that infested the country and were such a pest to all law-abiding and industrious citizens. How well Shakespeare knew those parasites is not only attested by many allusions, but by his drawing from the vagrant train some of his best characters. Edgar, in his assumption of the character of Tom o' Bedlam ; Autolycus, typical of a universal class ; Christopher Sly, pedlar, bearward, and tinker ; and the ruffian band that followed Falstaff—all show the dramatist's intimate knowledge of those 'vagrom men,' concerning whom Dogberry gives orders according to strict statute law. The condition of lunatics at the time, and for many generations after, was pitiful in the extreme. Bedlam, poor and overcrowded, was incapable of providing for London alone, and many poor creatures, more or less harmless, were licensed to roam the country and exist on charity. They wore an iron ring on the arm, and a horn from which they drank hung suspended round the neck ; they carried a long staff and were sometimes clad in a most fantastic costume, being decorated with feathers, ribbons, and coloured patches. The result of course was that the public was grossly imposed upon by pretended lunatics, who were known as 'Abram men,' from which came the phrase 'to sham Abraham' ; and so clever were the impersonations that they deceived the most experienced people. They approached a village or house in lunatic fashion, wildly whooping, dancing or capering about, and delivered a fantastic appeal or a crying, whining request as suited the occasion. They often terrified women and children, who were glad to get rid of them on any terms ; and, being looked upon as afflicted of heaven through no fault of their own, they received, as a rule, generous treatment.

Of the many books dealing with the vagrants, cheats, and rogues of the period, the most remarkable is Harman's 'Caveat or Warning for Common Cursetors val-

garely called Vagabones.' He was plagiarised in the most barefaced manner by writers in his own day, notably by Dekker, and subsequently by many others. Disraeli seems not to have known his work, but now it is accessible to all readers in the New Shakespearean Society's publication. The book is a classic on Elizabethan rascality; and there is little to be known of 'these rowsey, ragged rabblement of rakehelles,' as the author calls them, that he does not tell. Harman was a justice of the peace in Kent, and for many years devoted himself to the study of this confraternity. He punished them severely at times, and enforced the law with strict justice and impartiality. He made friends with the rabblement of both sexes, and by a judicious extension of leniency, when not much was at stake, he wormed their strange experiences from them until he became a mine of information on their orders, manners and customs, deceitful practices, general rascality and slang, of which he gives us the first vocabulary in English. The book is a model of its kind, for the author lightens, with tales and illustrations, the description of the twenty-three classes of vagrant rascals then existing, which makes us live again with the elder brotherhood of our own day—those who pick pockets, counterfeit coin, forge certificates, tempt servants to pilfer for ribbons and pinchbeck jewellery, assume relationship, beg for the price of a coffin to bury a wife or husband, and practise all the other tricks with which mankind, down through many centuries to the present day, have been familiar in most European countries.

The reign of James I saw no improvement in vagrancy; new Orders in Council were made, and the old whippings, brandings, and hangings went on as before. The overcrowding of London from the rural districts, and the consequent mendicity, gave rise to many regulations, while an attempt was made to rid it of wastrels by a plantation scheme in Virginia, but it failed in 1622. Sir Matthew Hale points out that the spread of beggary was due 'to the leaving it to the care of every parish to maintain their own poor only.' Not one justice in twenty, he says, enforced the law of sending the beggars back to their own parish; the officials brought them to the borders of the adjoining parish and left them there. Act followed Act in a monotonous procession all through

the eighteenth century, but nothing seemed to check the supply of beggars, tramps, and rogues that swarmed over the country. London grew worse as its population increased ; and no one was safe from the depredations of the vagabonds and robbers that infested the capital. The highwaymen robbed openly on Hounslow Heath, while the lurking thief, scheming as a whining beggar, levelled the passer-by at Lincoln's Inn with a blow of his crutch, and then robbed him, as Gay describes in 'Trivia.' The highwayman he has immortalised in Captain Macheath. The slums and purlieus of the City became a byword, and its evil and overcrowded bridewells, sponging-houses, and prisons, a disgrace. The workhouses were shunned by the deserving poor, where, as Defoe points out, they would have to mix in the common herd of vagrants, night-walkers, and thieves. Of the common lodging-houses, then as now a hot-bed for breeding the pestilence of vagrancy and crime, Fielding draws a startling picture, as they existed in St Giles' and Shoreditch, in his masterly essay, the 'Enquiry into the increase of Robbers.' 'What good,' he forcibly asks, 'can arise from sending idle and disorderly persons to a place where they are neither to be corrected nor employed?' and he sums up the whole situation in a sentence—'Labour is the true and proper punishment for idleness.'

The general failure to suppress crime made possible the character of Jonathan Wild, whose name has become a synonym for the traitorous thieving villain, and whose career has been sketched by Fielding in that masterpiece of satire and studied irony, 'The History of the life of the late Mr Jonathan Wild the Great.' He stood, no doubt, too, for the character of Peachum in the 'Beggars' Opera.' Scott set the fashion of clothing rascality in the cloak of romance in 'The Fortunes of Nigel,' although Defoe long preceded him in his picaresque novels; but there is little that is attractive in the characters of Moll Flanders, Roxana, or Colonel Jack. The limit of extravagance in serious romance is reached in making Jack Sheppard a hero and born of gentle blood. To this day the eighteenth century is a fertile field with our novelists in the short story or the long, abounding as the age does with the picturesque elements of danger on the highways, flying coaches, turnpikes, crowded inns, and strange

dens of thievery and crime. But by none has the romance of the roads been better described than by its own novelists, Fielding and Smollett; and every note in the whole scale of wayfaring incidents has been struck in 'Tom Jones,' 'Joseph Andrews,' 'Roderick Random,' 'Peregrine Pickle,' and 'Humphrey Clinker.' But, of all that the eighteenth century has produced in regard to his class, perhaps the most finished and spirited picture of the 'vagrant train' is Burns's 'Jolly Beggars.'

The railway has driven romance from our rural highways without appropriating it to itself. The rapid growth of towns in the nineteenth century, with their special provisions for the vagrant, has reduced his life to a deadly prosaic level. The old uncertainty in regard to food and lodging at the end of a day, which gave zest to life, is now denied him; and the voluminous body of evidence and reports in the last fifty years, from officials of all kinds, shows that the modern vagrant is a creature almost beneath contempt. His itinerary is a pure matter of arrangement; when in funds, he spends his night in the common lodging-house; when not, the casual ward accommodates him. He arranges where to eat his Christmas dinner, and gives notice on the walls of the casual ward beforehand: 'Saucy Harry and his Moll will be at Chester to eat their Christmas dinner, when they hope Saucer and the rest of the fraternity will meet them at the Union.' The vagrant of to-day gets a bath; his clothes are dried and disinfected; he is fed and supplied with a nightshirt; and if he is ill a doctor attends him. Treated like this, why, in the name of wonder, should he work and become a thrifty and respectable member of the community? The whole system is an elaborate machine for the manufacture of wastrels. The poetry and romance which surrounded the vagrant in days gone by have vanished from the atmosphere of the modern casual. The 'jolly beggar' is as extinct as the king's bedesman. His successor to-day has been well described as *sine re, sine spe, sine fide, sine sede*.

Here and there, however, in rural England a certain variant of the old type is still met with; and there is no more perfect example than the 'Swain of Arcady,' so skilfully drawn by Dr Jessopp. Loafing Ben, on the grounds of true merit, takes a place among the best of

the submerged class in literature. He appeals to all of us in running away to sea and becoming a loafer from reading 'Robinson Crusoe.' Who could escape being inoculated by the great romance? It accounts for endless childish castle-building, countless wild imaginings, and much wandering from Defoe's days till now. Ben loafs, reads Crusoe in the alehouse, sleeps 'accordin', and makes 'no more count of them rats than if they was fleas,' though their tails 'tickled his face sometimes.' Cold? 'he didn't know what folks meant by being cold,' and 'he didn't hold wi' rheumatics.' The danger to Ben is that he is liable to be driven into the ranks of the tramp when chivied by officious police. That divine uncertainty as to food and drink which is the breath of his existence gives place to a sense of security when there is no necessity to rise to Mark Tapley's philosophy and be happy in all circumstances. Ben becoming a tramp is Ben washed, with clean shirt and bed within walls. It is Ben metamorphosed in habit, like Crusoe returned to civilisation. He becomes demoralised by contact with the tramp; from honesty he sinks to petty larceny. His old habit of sleeping out asserts itself, and he is arrested, or he is taken up for begging and gets his regular periods of fourteen days; becoming accustomed to prison, he graduates in crime, and as he sinks becomes more and more a burden on the community at large. It is infinitely better to leave Ben alone than to try to reform him by the Vagrancy Acts of the nineteenth century.

So patent is the failure of the present method of dealing with the vagrant that the Departmental Committee on Vagrancy in their Report (sect. 4) say:

'We are convinced that the present system neither deters the vagrant nor affords any means of reclaiming him; and we are unanimously of opinion that a thorough reform is necessary.'

There is little satisfaction in this when we consider the legislative effort made in the nineteenth century and the enormous expense incurred in carrying out remedial measures. Scores of Acts were passed, notably that of 1824, which repealed all previous Acts on vagrancy, while workhouses, night asylums, and casual wards were erected by hundreds throughout the land. There are 638 casual



wards in England and Wales ; and, as the Committee point out, there is a general lack of uniformity in their method of treating the vagrant ; in many the two nights' detention is not enforced, nor is the allotted task done. The expense is not commensurate with the good accomplished ; the tramp, on the whole, enjoys the experience ; he can always look forward to decent quarters, and with all the greater satisfaction since it costs him nothing. Free food and shelter can do nothing to check tramp habits ; on the contrary, they foster them. The gravamen of the charge against the system in the Committee's Report may be summed up thus : It encourages vagrancy ; it attracts vagrants to towns ; it demoralises the recipients ; it is a source of danger to the community in spreading disease.

It is the opinion of the Committee that ' the vagrant who is *bona fide* in search of work is very rare.' Experience has always shown that, as a general rule, when offered work he does not take it ; his excuse is that he is looking for work, but ' he prays that he may not get it.' The life of the professional beggar and tramp is spent in practising the arts of deception ; his one object in every appeal made is to impose upon the charitable feelings of the public in order to profit by it. Idleness is ingrained in them ; they have no character to lose ; to appeal to their manhood to work for a living is useless. Hence it is that the decent poor, who practise no deception, who possess character and self-respect, will not stoop to beg or tramp ; and even if driven by starvation to ask alms, they fail for want of the beggar's art. The children of parents of depraved habits see no wrong in idleness and vice ; wrong-doing becomes habitual with them from their infant years ; they have no conscious principle to direct them to do right, and no sense of shame to check them from lying, deceit, and petty theft. The duty of the State towards such children is clear. It is they who in course of time fill the ranks of the vagrant and criminal classes ; and the real root of the remedy for this terrible waste of human life and energy lies in checking the supply from among the children of the land.

The number of children condemned to the slavery of a tramp life is estimated by Mr Bramwell Booth at 5000. The Bill now before Parliament is intended to check this great abuse. Children are actually sold at the

present time; they are dragged over weary roads from day to day with tired limbs, ill-clad, cold, and wretched, soliciting alms on which the tramp exists. Every infant child has a claim on the State to see that it gets its chance to live and grow up a useful citizen; and the State must either see that the parent or other responsible person fulfils his duties to the child, or relieve him of the burden and inflict on him adequate punishment for the neglect of his duties. The after-life of children reared in industrial schools has proved so satisfactory that the principle should be extended; but proper care should be taken that no temptation is put in the way of parents to shirk their responsibilities towards their children.

The evils of vagrancy are still great; and so long as indiscriminate almsgiving exists begging will flourish. The practice of charity is of divine command; but let the charitable see to it that those who receive alms are deserving of it. Sir Eric Buchanan, secretary to the London Mendicity Society, tells the Committee that the London beggar is quite unhelpable. 'A total of 100,000*l.* a year is given to beggars in the metropolis by the public to relieve their personal feelings without troubling themselves whether the case is helpable or unhelpable.' The number of vagrants in casual wards in London on January 1, 1905, was 9768, and on July 1, 8556. A census, taken on July 7, 1905, of persons having no settled home or visible means of support in common lodging-houses and elsewhere in England and Wales, shows that the number was 62,212. Admitting that this figure is inexact, if we take into account the casuals and those in prison for offences under the Vagrancy Act, we still have a great army of from 60,000 to 70,000, half of whom at least are professional beggars and contribute nothing to the State, but live entirely at its expense; the cost in alms alone to all classes of vagrants is estimated at 3,000,000*l.* annually.

This gigantic sum of money is a premium on vicious habits, a mighty instrument for the manufacture of beggars, tramps, and thieves. As we look back on the social history of this country for the past thousand years, nothing is more remarkable than the fact that laws have proved ineffectual to stem the current of vagrancy, and that legislators have continued the same besom-like

system of trying to stem it by passing them. The old ruthless laws did nothing but swell it. Every kind of legislative Act that the wit of man could devise has been put in force to suppress the vagrants—whippings, the stocks, the pillory, branding, mutilation, hanging, imprisonment, and hard labour—but he seems as invulnerable as if he had been plunged in the Styx; his indomitable adaptability to all conditions renders him impervious to every shaft and bolt hurled at him by legal machinery. ‘Labour, the true and proper punishment for idleness,’ as Fielding long ago pointed out, has never been properly tried in these countries; if the heel of Achilles lies anywhere in the vagrant it lies here. The short sentences and prison treatment, which are now universal, are wholly unsuitable, as the Committee point out. In 1904 there were 32,845 committals for breaches of the Vagrancy Act, of which more than three-fourths were for fourteen days or under. These short sentences are useless as a corrective, and long terms of imprisonment for such offences would be an injustice; besides all this, the whole prison machinery is most costly, and little if any good is done by it.

The Committee recommend the establishment of labour colonies on the continental plan; and the Report contains much interesting and valuable information on such institutions in Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland. There are none in England, but certain voluntary establishments exist which deal with those who are in danger of drifting into the true vagrant and criminal classes. Hadleigh was founded by the Salvation Army at a cost of 140,000*l.*; it has 2000 acres of land and 1000 acres of foreshore, and here agriculture and brick-making are carried on by the inmates, who number 250 on an average. After the initial cost of building and clearing the ground, the colony should prove largely self-supporting, and, as far as possible, self-supplying. After a proper term of detention and a satisfactory report on his improvement in character and habits, the vagrant—it is to be hoped no longer such—should be released and a place found for him in the ordinary ranks of industry. How best to help the *bona fide* wayfarer is, with us, an unsolved problem. The continental ‘Wanderschein’ or way-ticket system must be adopted in any scheme of colonising the vagrant. At present there is no means of distinguishing

a genuine worker seeking employment from the professional tramp.

While we believe the system of colonisation is the only one that can give good results in reforming the vagrant, it is at best but a belated remedy. The root of reform lies in checking the supply of vagrants from the ranks of childhood. In a pamphlet published by Mr Bramwell Booth, 'The Abandoned Child,' he makes an intensely powerful plea for the children, estimated at 30,000 in England, who are doomed to be cast into the common sink of the criminal and abandoned class of the worst kind. The figures arrived at are the result of a special enquiry by an experienced agent throughout the country, among officials of all kinds, police, and the officers of the various philanthropic organisations. The senses are shocked and stunned by a perusal of the hideous disclosures given in this pamphlet; there is nothing more revolting printed in English. We seem to move in a sphere inhabited by vile, incestuous monsters and satyrs; and the scenes described might well flash from some burning scroll torn from the records of Gehenna. Mr Booth demands the rescue of these children by every available means, such as their removal from their awful surroundings, and the compulsory establishment of industrial schools; and, if but a tithe of what he states is true, the outraged sense of the British people, once these facts are known, will see that, so far as remedial legislation can prevent them, these wrongs shall cease, and that this abominable sacrifice of innocent children on the altars of vice shall no longer disgrace the manhood and womanhood of England.

JOHN COOKE.





## Art. VI.—MUNICIPAL TRADE.

1. *Municipal and Private Operation of Public Utilities.* Report to the National Civic Federation, New York, 1907. Three vols. London : P. S. King and Sons.
2. *The City: the Hope of Democracy.* By Frederic C. Howe. London : Fisher Unwin, 1905.
3. *On Municipal and National Trading.* By Lord Avebury. London : Macmillan, 1906.
4. *Municipal Ownership in Great Britain.* By Hugo Richard Meyer. London : Macmillan, 1906.
5. *The Dangers of Municipal Trading.* By R. P. Porter. London : Routledge, 1907.

THE whole controversy concerning municipal trade is without doubt 'overshadowed by the larger issue of whether we are prepared to make a great experiment in collectivism'\* or not; and consequently those who have formed very definite opinions on the main questions raised in this larger controversy find it comparatively easy to arrive at decisions on the less important issues, now so frequently discussed, concerning the proper limitation of municipal enterprise. But there are thousands of Englishmen fully endowed with common-sense who deny, more or less vigorously, that they are socialists, but who, nevertheless, declare that they are not to be deterred from advocating any proposal merely because it is generally held to be socialistic. Any hint that there is an element of contradiction in this attitude leaves them quite unmoved. In these circumstances it is as well to consider what the words 'socialist' and 'socialistic' mean when thus used, and also whether there is in truth any confusion in the minds of those who thus use them.

It is often easy to trip up the man of common-sense by pointing out some verbal inexactitude—a proceeding which is, however, generally quite useless. On the other hand, much may sometimes be learnt by extracting the inner meaning of views which are widely held concerning matters of general interest; and for this purpose certainly it is best to use words in the sense generally

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\* 'Quarterly Review,' October 1906, p. 438.

attached to them. Now in ordinary conversation we are apt to consider the immediate effects of any reform rather than the ultimate aims of the reformers. Thus, when any proposed legislation is spoken of as being 'socialistic,' the main underlying thought is generally that the legislation in question would have the immediate effect, if brought into operation, of transferring rights and properties (other than money) from individuals to the State; whilst by a 'socialist' is meant a man who wishes to carry such legislation to extreme lengths; and by 'socialism,' the state of things desired by socialists. No doubt, by the introduction of the word 'extreme' into these definitions—if they can be dignified by that name—a certain vagueness is introduced. But is this objectionable when the words are in fact vaguely used? Then it may be said that reforms, even if highly socialistic, are sometimes accompanied with but little transference of property from private proprietorship; as, for example, when houses are built by municipal workmen on municipal land with bricks made in a municipal brickyard. But the acquisition of property by the State by a direct transference from private owners is at all events an indication that the legislation authorising it will usually be held to be socialistic, and such a transference, therefore, serves as a good clue to the meaning of this term in ordinary conversation.

Accepting the foregoing as giving a correct general idea of the meanings intended to be conveyed by these words, it cannot be held to be illogical for any one to deny being a socialist, to object to socialism, and yet to advocate certain socialistic legislation. The man of common-sense may well hold that there are many general arguments of great weight telling against all socialistic measures, whilst demanding, as regards any particular measure, to be convinced that these arguments are not outweighed by other considerations before he will consent definitely to condemn it. It is true that his individualistic principles have, as a rule, never been very clearly formulated. His dislike of socialism is, however, probably founded on the half-thought-out belief that a transference of rights and properties to the State may result in the power of the Government over the individual being increased to an undesirable extent, in a

demoralising dependence of the citizen on the State, in a decrease in the number of persons in positions to initiate improvements, and in a lessening of the personal incentives to exertion; and consequently, that the ultimate results of socialistic reforms would generally be that progress of all kinds would be checked, to the detriment of all classes of society. In fact all but extreme socialists, who put no limitations whatever to State rights, must admit that there is a problem to be solved; for the sane individualist, however extreme he may be, cannot go as far as this in the opposite direction and wish to deprive the State of all functions. In certain cities in America the sewers were at one time owned by private companies and managed with the object of making a profit; but in all our town councils put together there is probably no individualist so extreme as even to wish to stand up in his place in order to advocate the transference of sewage systems to private ownership. An arbitrary line with regard to the duties of civic authorities must be drawn somewhere, though the principles which should guide us in making this demarcation are not easily formulated. In the case of municipal trade, our man of common-sense has, in fact, to consider with regard to each separate proposal how far in truth his instinctive objections to State interference should lead him in his opposition to any proposed additions to the functions performed by municipalities. In discussing this point he will no doubt be entering unawares on the great socialistic controversy. Such being the case, some light may perhaps be thrown on this minor issue of municipal trade by considering its connexion with the larger issue of socialism.

In England the majority of municipal trades have been established by cities purchasing going concerns from private companies; and, if the transference of property from private proprietorship to the State is held to be an indication that a reform is socialistic, then municipal trade certainly must be included within this category. Municipalities always obtain the money needed for such a purchase by the issue of a loan, the debt being redeemed after a number of years by means of a sinking fund to which payments are made during the whole of the period. This transference of property to the public

is not, therefore, made in a thoroughly socialistic manner. No man, however much pressed by want, has ever yet discovered an effective method of borrowing from himself; and no absolutely socialistic State which owned all property could raise money by means of loans, because there would be no private owners of money from whom to borrow. It would be more in accordance with socialistic ideals if a city were to raise money by taxation, and, a sufficient sum having thus been accumulated, were then to buy or build up any desired industry. But any such truly socialistic method of initiating municipal trades would, if enforced by law, almost completely stop this method of reform; because elected bodies would hardly ever dare to impose a present burden of taxation for the sake of benefits only to be reaped in the more or less distant future. Socialists should, however, note that they are somewhat illogical when they make it a complaint that the Government enforce an unnecessarily rapid extinction of the debts thus incurred, and consequently that these municipal trade sinking-fund charges are unduly heavy. It is not until the debt created with a view to the purchase of any industry is redeemed that the capital in question can be regarded as being completely transferred to the public, and socialists should not wish to delay that transference. These considerations are not, it is true, of great importance; but they do illustrate in a practical manner the difficulty which must be felt in all socialistic systems of finding an effective stimulus to saving or economy—a stimulus which, under our capitalistic system, is supplied by the award of interest to those private individuals who have saved money and subsequently lent or invested it.

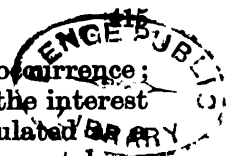
But the mere proof that municipal trade is socialistic in this sense will not, and should not, frighten our man of common-sense. He wishes to see the opposing arguments in this controversy fairly balanced, for he admits that there is much force in many of the demands made by socialists. What are the main advantages claimed as resulting from a socialistic transfer of capital to the State, and to what extent these advantages are in truth reaped by municipal trade as now existing, are questions to which, therefore, he wants a definite answer. The advantages claimed are many, and here only a few of the

principal can be mentioned. In the first place, it is urged that, under a completely socialistic régime, no one would be able to live in complete idleness on property acquired by inheritance; for example; that all would therefore be compelled to do something for the good of the community; and that the establishment of municipal trades, if accompanied by the extinction of the corresponding municipal debts, is at all events a step in the desired direction, since it diminishes this stream of unearned incomes. Personally, I believe it to be impossible altogether to deny the validity of this contention; though I doubt whether I shall here find myself marching in company with the man of common-sense who has not studied economics. Capital, whether owned by private individuals or by public bodies, is the result of saving; and a claim may be made in favour of municipal trade on the ground that it means that the nation in the past has been saving for the benefit of the nation of the future rather than for the benefit of individuals selected by the chance of birth. But whether municipal saving—if municipal trade may be so described—is beneficial or not depends on the ways in which the saving has been made and in which the benefits ultimately to be received from such saving will be distributed. In fact, what we want to consider is whether municipal trade makes the poor richer in consequence of the rich becoming poorer; and, if so, whether, as socialists hold, this result is desirable. Many of us agree that the existing distribution of wealth amongst the different classes of society leaves much to be desired, and consequently that here is a problem which ought to be considered. But, as a preliminary to this discussion, something must first be said as to the actual financial results of municipal trade.

Mr Bernard Shaw, in his 'Common Sense of Municipal Trading' (p. 3), tells us that 'the central commercial fact of the whole question' is that cities can raise money at low rates of interest, and that consequently the citizen, 'by municipal trading, can get his light for the current cost of production plus a rate of interest which includes no insurance against the risk of loss, because the security' is practically perfect. Prices in municipal trade can therefore, so it is urged, be reduced below the level of prices in private trade. This is, no doubt, a view

commonly held by sensible persons, and it may on that ground be described as the common-sense of municipal trading. But if it is widely accepted, it is so not because it is accurate, but because the underlying fallacy is not easily exposed. Is it right, it should in the first place be asked, that a municipality should make 'no insurance against loss' out of the profits of any industry it may manage? Every commercial venture is not a success; and losses are inevitable if a city enters extensively into such enterprises. Out of the profits of successful ventures, such as gasworks, an insurance fund ought therefore to be created to cover losses in unsuccessful ventures, such as the London steamboats; for, if this is not done, these losses may have to be met by additional taxation. No doubt most municipal trades are monopolies, in which case the city has generally the option of raising prices as an alternative method of meeting a loss.

The confusion inherent in the foregoing argument for municipal trade centres about the meaning of the word 'risk.' We need not cavil at the assertion that the owners of English corporation stocks run no risks, provided that such statements do not blind us to the fact that when, with money obtained by the issue of such stocks, a city purchases a commercial enterprise, the risk necessarily connected with it is not thus cancelled. The municipality, in fact, thus does no more than transfer this risk from the private owners of the purchased industry—not, it is true on to the holders of its stocks—but either to the ratepayers who may suffer from an increase of rates, or to the consumers, who may suffer from an increase of prices. Mr Bernard Shaw declares that 'it will always be possible for a municipality of average capacity to underbid a commercial company' on account of its superior borrowing power. It is equally true that if a landlord, wise or stupid, raises money at 4 per cent. by a mortgage on his land, and with the proceeds purchases a copper mine, for example, actually paying 10 per cent., he can either make a profit of 6 per cent. on the transaction, or, if he likes to forgo that profit, he can underbid rival producers of copper. But what becomes of his profit if the copper mine should subsequently fail to pay even 4 per cent.? Most of us are painfully aware that reductions in dividends and in



capital value are circumstances of frequent occurrence; and we ought not to be surprised to find that the interest paid on an average in private trade, if calculated as a percentage on the money actually invested, has not been shown by statistics to be higher than the interest paid on sound mortgages or corporation stocks. If in the long run our landlord gets from his copper mine no more than he has to pay away as interest on his mortgage, he in fact makes no profit on the transaction, and cannot afford to make any reduction in the price of copper. He must keep the profits he makes at first to cover his subsequent losses. In like manner, all Mr Bernard Shaw's ingenuity will fail to demonstrate that any substantial reduction in prices can possibly be made in municipal trades on account of the superior borrowing powers of cities. Certain economic reasoning of disputable validity, too technical to be discussed here, does, no doubt, indicate that both landlords and cities thus purchasing industries may hope to make a trifling—only a trifling—gain in the long run by their speculations. But, even if this reasoning be sound, both the wise landlord and the wise city will see that the profit thus perhaps obtainable is too small to justify the risk certainly incurred.

But it is to facts rather than to theories that we should prefer to turn when endeavouring to ascertain whether English cities are gaining or losing by their industrial ventures. For our facts, however, we must not merely point to single instances like the Manchester Gasworks, as is too often done by the advocates of municipal trade, nor, like its opponents, dwell unduly on the Thames steamboat service. Average results are in truth the 'central commercial fact'; and these can best be obtained from the parliamentary return of 1902.\* From this document we learn that at that date the English municipalities in question had invested in round numbers 120,000,000*l.* in 'reproductive' undertakings, as they have somewhat inappropriately been termed, and that the sum of 361,000*l.* was then being received as net profits, thus becoming available as part of the municipal revenues. This net profit must not, however, be quoted

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\* Municipal Corporations (Reproductive Undertakings), L.G.B., Commons Paper 398 of 1902. The quinquennial return of 1907 has not yet appeared.

as representing a measure of the benefits derived from these undertakings. Out of the total sum earned by cities from their industries, that is, out of their gross profits, considerable sums have to be found annually for the interest on and for the redemption of the corresponding debts; as the debts are redeemed, the remainder, or the net profit, must therefore keep increasing; and it would at first sight appear that it must go on increasing until it amounted to the substantial sum of 4,560,000*l*. This interpretation of the statistics of English municipal trade has often been advanced as a sure indication that it is on the whole successful, a conclusion which will probably no longer be accepted as valid when other important considerations are taken into account. Of these, only two or three can here be mentioned.

Amongst the points very generally overlooked in this controversy is the fact that the returns of 1902 indicate that at that date a considerable fraction of the loans raised for the purchase of these industrial works had already been paid off. Had the interest and sinking fund charges been then payable on the whole capital originally invested—that is, on 120,000,000*l*.—it can easily be demonstrated that the returns would have indicated a net loss of about 400,000*l*., instead of the net profit of 361,000*l*. actually shown. Now, when civic authorities are considering some new commercial venture, they know that the interest on, and the sinking fund charges for, the whole of the loan which they would have to raise would have to be paid for many years after the industry had been bought; and they ought, therefore, to anticipate, judging from these returns, that the result of their venture would be a small net loss during the whole of that period—not a small net profit, as a careless inspection of these returns might indicate as being probable. It is true that this result is sometimes explained away by the assertion that the cities in question have lowered the prices of the goods they sell, and that the citizens as consumers have thus gained far more than they have lost as ratepayers. On this point the evidence is most contradictory. We have careful estimates, like that made by Lord Avebury with regard to the price of gas,\*

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\* 'Municipal and National Trading,' p. 80.

indicating that prices are lower in private trade than in municipal trade, whilst others appear to point quite as clearly in the opposite direction. Such a dispute could only be settled by means of a searching enquiry made by impartial investigators armed with full powers. Another point often forgotten in this controversy is that it is necessary to consider what a city loses as well as what it gains by municipal trade. Whilst an industry remains in private hands the local authorities may in some cases be able to draw a considerable rent from the private company managing it; as, for example, the rent formerly obtained by Birmingham from private tramway companies. It is obvious, therefore, that in order to estimate the immediate increase of taxation likely to fall on the citizens of a city municipalising any industry, the probable net loss in cash must first be estimated; and to this must be added an estimate of the rent which would be drawn from the private proprietors of the industry if it were not municipalised. In fact a careful study of these returns indicates that an increase of taxation is the probable immediate result of municipal trade, though it is a result which the citizens concerned may never perceive.

Many reasons besides those mentioned above might be suggested for believing that civic expenditure is increased by municipal trade in ways which escape detection if its results are judged merely by a study of these parliamentary returns. In the first place, the want of initiative, always noticeable in government offices, may militate against progress of all kinds, and thus may not only put a check on the increase in the productiveness of the trades municipalised—this is the most important point—but may also check the growth of other taxable property, thus injuriously affecting the municipal revenues. Then, again, an increase in the indebtedness of a city, resulting from its industrial ventures, may increase the rate of interest payable on all its loans, non-trading as well as trading. The general civic expenditure may also be higher than it would be if there were no municipal trade, because local authorities may, for gas, etc., made in municipal works and used for public purposes, charge a higher price than they would permit private proprietors to charge; and also because

part of the cost of widening streets, which private tramway companies would be called upon to pay, may be included in the general and not in the trading accounts. Town-halls and other buildings may be enlarged, or there may be an increase in the salaried staff, or in the consumption of material, such as coal and stationery, in consequence of municipal trading; and some of this additional expenditure may be debited to the non-trading accounts. Lastly, gasworks, for example, when municipalised, may be assessed at a lower figure than that at which they would have been assessed if remaining in private hands, the revenue from taxation credited to the general account thus being diminished. The parliamentary returns, as we have seen, indicate that municipal trade causes an immediate increase of taxation in towns practising it; and this result is seen to be even more indisputable if all these possible errors are taken into consideration—errors which, it is believed, occur more or less frequently in municipal accounts, and tend to make the financial effects of municipal trade appear in a too favourable light.

This probable immediate increase of taxation is not, however, necessarily a valid argument against municipal trade, for our cities may be adequately repaid by the profits which they will undoubtedly receive when their industrial debts have all been redeemed. In considering whether they will be thus repaid or not, many circumstances have to be taken into consideration; as, for example, whether the charges made for depreciation in municipal accounts are sufficient if judged by commercial standards. If these charges are insufficient—and they certainly are so—further capital expenditure will be needed in the future on existing works, a fact which must not be forgotten in estimating the probable future profits. A survey of all these circumstances has certainly led me to the confident conclusion that cities are not likely to receive an adequate financial compensation for this initial taxation; or, in other words, that the capitalised values of the sums raised by taxation in consequence of the establishment of municipal trades are on the average greater than the capital values of such undertakings. The dogmatic form of this assertion regarding so complex a subject can only be excused because it makes for

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brevery, and because no logical refutation of the arguments on which it is founded is known to me. If this conclusion be accepted, the net financial loss thus indicated as probable must be regarded as a weight in the scales telling in favour of private proprietorship.

Municipal trade does not, however, necessarily thus stand condemned, for cities may be wise in facing such net losses for the sake of various ulterior objects, as, for example, the increasing health and cleanliness which may result from the establishment of unremunerative public baths. The question now being considered, however, is not which trades should be municipalised, but rather the effect of the municipalisation of industries on the distribution of wealth amongst the different classes of society. The foregoing interpretation of the facts indicates that, while municipal industrial debts are being redeemed, an additional tax will be thrown on the community; though, when all these debts have been redeemed, a city will receive a substantial increase in its revenues. There are, therefore, two periods to be considered, viz. the period of unperceived additional taxation, and the period of obvious additional revenues; and the question at issue is whether the combined result of the financial changes taking place in these two periods will or will not be to make the poor richer and the rich poorer in accordance with the wishes of socialists.

In order to solve this problem it is necessary to ascertain on what classes of the community these burdens and these benefits do in fact fall. If municipal trade involves, in the first place, an increase in the rates, who is it who really pays this additional taxation? Here we find ourselves entering on the well-worn topic of the incidence of local taxation; and on this question it may here be sufficient to remark that nearly all economists agree that, whoever it be who actually pays the tax-gatherer, a portion of the burden will fall on the landlord, this portion being possibly a very large one in the case of rates falling on an urban district and not on the rural districts round it. Then, as to the increase of revenues ultimately resulting from the establishment of municipal trades, the effect of any additional revenue will obviously depend on the use which is made of it. Such revenues in fact represent

the interest on the invested proceeds of taxation ; and, since it was the ratepayers who supplied the funds thus invested, it seems rational that the ratepayers should receive the resulting benefits in the form of a reduction in taxation. When taxes are thus reduced, the benefits are obviously shared between the landlords and the other citizens concerned, in the same proportion as the burdens in the case of an increase in onerous taxation. It follows therefore that, if the revenues ultimately obtainable from municipal trades are utilised in the reduction of taxation, the result is that, in a measure, and possibly in a large measure, the landlords of to-day are being taxed for the benefit of the landlords of the future, a result over which socialists will not become unduly elated.

As to other parties who may be affected by such an increase or decrease in the rates, there is no reason to suppose that the burden of the initial taxation will fall on the various classes of the community in proportions differing from those in which the benefits of the reduced taxation will ultimately be received, or in fact that the distribution of wealth will be in any way thus affected. It is true that the revenues derived from municipal trades might in some manner be utilised with the special object of benefiting the poor, as, for example, by reducing the price of some of the necessities of life produced by municipal trade. In this way the poor might perhaps receive some small benefit at the expense of the rich. But if the price of any commodity chiefly used by the wealthier classes, such as electricity, were reduced, an opposite effect would probably be produced, and the rich might receive some benefit at the hands of the poor. The general conclusion regarding the distribution of wealth at which we arrive is therefore that but little effect can in any case be produced by municipal trade ; that the effect may possibly be injurious ; and consequently that it forms a very uncertain and clumsy method of attempting to benefit the poorer classes at the expense of the rich.

Another important object which socialists have in view is the avoidance of the waste which accompanies our capitalistic system, namely, that expenditure on

advertisements, duplicate manufactories, middlemen, etc., which they hold would be unnecessary under socialism in the absence of competition. An argument on this basis may perhaps be sustained in favour of municipal trade in the comparatively few cases of the municipalisation of trades in which free and effective competition is possible whilst they are in private hands. When a city undertakes the manufacture of electrical fittings, for example, it may be able to create a local monopoly and may thus avoid the cost of competition. But municipal trade as at present practised consists to a very great extent of industries which always tend to become monopolies. In the case of domestic water supply the monopoly is absolute; no competition whatever is avoided by the transference of the ownership of waterworks to the public; and no such advantage as those now under discussion can in this instance be claimed for municipal trade over private trade. As regards all other municipal industries, indirect competition is no doubt always possible; but in no case known to me has a city been able to avoid all this indirect competition by the municipalisation of all its rivals. The competition of private omnibus companies against municipal tramways is no less keen than when directed against private tramways. Except in the very few cases where an objectionable artificial monopoly is created, it appears therefore that English cities have done but very little by their present municipal policy in the direction of lessening competition, and cannot consequently have materially lessened the evils arising from it.

Another merit claimed for socialism is that capital would be invested—not necessarily more profitably—but more certainly for the common good if it was all held by the representatives of the people. But by far the greater number of municipal trades have been established by the purchase of going concerns from private proprietors, a transference which in no way directly affects the utilisation of the capital of the country. Moreover, with regard to all industries which yield a normal return to the investor, private trade may be trusted not to leave the field vacant; and, in order to break ground which would otherwise remain untilled, cities must therefore initiate industries in which a

normal profit is at least doubtful. In England, it must be admitted, civic authorities have undertaken such speculative ventures in an extremely small number of cases, and consequently they have thus far done almost nothing towards changing the uses to which capital is applied. The monopolies municipalised are, generally speaking, fairly good investments if economically managed; and the cases in which cities step in where private traders fear to tread are more likely to occur in competitive trades. Private steamboat companies, no doubt alarmed by the competition offered by rival means of communication on land, refrained from establishing a river service on the Thames; whilst, on the other hand, the loans raised by the London County Council for this purpose must have diminished the available free capital in the market, and thus have reduced the total investment in and the consequent profit from other undertakings. If this is an example of the benefits claimed by socialists as resulting from the wise utilisation of capital by public bodies, it is to be hoped that it will be quoted by them on every public platform.

Thus, if we confine our attention to competitive industries which are now seldom municipalised, socialists may possibly be able to make a very feeble case in favour of the claim that beneficial results may arise from the transfer of capital to the State by municipal trade. But it is against the municipalisation of those very industries that the objections urged against socialistic reforms tell with the greatest force. Here then is one of the battle-grounds on which this contest has to be determined, a battle-ground on which it is to be hoped that those who repudiate socialism will show no signs of surrendering.

With regard to those other trades which tend to become monopolies, whether we look to the distribution of wealth, or to the waste due to competition, or to the better utilisation of capital, we see that the beneficial results which socialists believe are likely to arise from the transfer of capital from private to public ownership can be gained but to an inappreciable extent by their municipalisation. On the other hand, the opponents of socialistic legislation must acknowledge that the transfer of capital to the State is very much less objectionable in

the case of monopolies than in the case of competitive trades. Why then should not the advocates of municipal trade, like Mr Bernard Shaw and Dr Howe, be willing to meet its opponents, like Lord Avebury and Mr Meyer, as regards monopolies at all events, as if on neutral ground, and endeavour to arrive at general conclusions without reference to socialistic ideals? As a matter of fact, however, neither party shows any disposition to approach the other on this subject in this spirit, and we are therefore driven to the conclusion that the transfer of capital to the State, with its accompanying advantages and disadvantages, is not the main point at issue in this controversy as regards the trades already municipalised.

But if we have not yet found the real underlying cause of the quarrel, where are we to look for it? If it is not the transfer of capital when monopolies are municipalised, is there not something else transferred at the same time? In the case of a municipal tramway, the local authorities may either lease it out for management to a private company, a rent being thus obtained, or manage it themselves. Municipal management is the plan most commonly adopted in England, the employées being directly paid by the municipalities. But we thus see that the transfer to public ownership of the capital invested in tramways is not necessarily accompanied by the transfer of the management of the necessary labour, and that this latter transfer can therefore be considered separately. In other words, the wisdom of the direct employment of labour by our cities is an independent question not yet discussed; and it is in this question that we shall find the true battle-ground on which the combat concerning municipal trade must be decided.

Certainly no agreement has thus far been arrived at between socialists and their opponents regarding the success of direct employment by municipalities. That workmen in municipal employment are better treated than their fellow workmen in private trade as regards wages, hours of labour, etc., is the creed of socialists, who presumably hold—though on this point they are less outspoken—that the economies which they connect with a system of administration by elected bodies will permit of benefits being conferred on municipal workmen without any additional burden being imposed

upon the rest of the community. The opponents of municipal trade admit the higher pay of municipal workmen, but maintain that the money needed for such additional remuneration is drawn from the pockets of the people, and that thus to benefit one class of the community at the expense of the remainder is unjustifiable. In short, it appears that to promote the direct employment of labour by municipalities is one of the main aims of socialists in this municipal movement, whilst many of their opponents see in the existence of large numbers of men in the pay of our cities the main danger connected with municipal trade.

In considering whether the exceptional treatment of municipal employés is justifiable or not, regard being had to the rest of the community, we are again brought in contact with the financial aspects of municipal trade. In dealing with this question we may appeal either to facts or to *a priori* arguments. Something has already been said regarding the statistics of English municipal trades, the conclusion arrived at being that our cities have, on the whole, lost and not gained by their industrial ventures. The endeavour to interpret these statistics opens up, it is true, many disputable questions; for the difficulty both of making allowance for the differences in the conditions obtaining in different localities and of estimating what would have occurred had the trades in question not been municipalised, introduces elements of doubt which cannot now be thoroughly eliminated. It may therefore be right to trust to *a priori* methods rather than to statistics in attempting to estimate the financial results of municipal trade.

To discuss in detail all the reasons why the direct employment of labour by municipalities is likely to be costly would occupy many pages. But an analysis of these reasons indicates that they are based on a few broad underlying considerations which may be briefly stated here. In the first place, the municipal workman often has a vote in the district in which his work lies, and thus gains a voice in the selection and rejection of his masters, the members of his town council—a privilege not enjoyed by any private workman. This is, no doubt, the basis of the socialistic claim that the civic employé is certain to be well treated. But it also

indicates the probability that workmen in public employment will be paid wages above the market level, that less work will be demanded of them in a given time, that discipline will be less effectively maintained, and that for these reasons the cost of production will be greater in municipal than in private trade. In the second place, the stimulus of personal gain is almost inoperative in municipal trade, whilst that same stimulus animates private trade in ways too numerous here to be mentioned, thus making private trade more progressive than municipal trade—more progressive, that is, in cases where financial success is probable. In a district where the profitable working of a tramway is improbable, it may be that it is more likely to be constructed by town councillors than by company directors, because the local authorities are unrestrained by that excellent commercial brake, the fear of personal loss. Lastly, town councils were created for the purposes of civic administration, and without a foreknowledge of the fact that they would become manufacturers on a large scale. Shareholders in private companies, who, as regards municipal trading enterprises, certainly bear a considerable proportion both of the risk involved and, in my opinion, of the taxation actually levied in order to supply the capital required, would surely not have been entirely unrepresented on the bodies managing them had the present state of things been foreseen. Greater foresight on the part of our legislators might possibly have obviated or lessened other faults in our municipal system. 'While men in business are trained to their work, municipal councillors are chosen partly on political grounds, partly because they are popular or good platform speakers, or for a variety of reasons in which their special aptitude for the work by no means, in all cases, plays any important part.'\* This is the experience of Lord Avebury, whose service as chairman of the London County Council and whose great knowledge of commercial matters entitle him to speak with exceptional authority.

Thus, whether we base our enquiry on statistics, or on *a priori* considerations connected with either the voting power of municipal workmen, or the stimulus of

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\* 'On Municipal and National Trading.' By Lord Avebury, p. 56.

personal rewards in private trade, or our present methods of civic administration, we arrive at the conclusion that municipal trade is more costly than private trade; and, consequently, that by the municipalisation of industries no surplus fund can be created out of which an increase of wages might be paid to the workmen employed therein. But the wages paid for a given amount of work are on an average increased on municipalisation; and this, therefore, necessitates the levy of taxation in addition to that which would have been levied under a system of private trade. This additional taxation hits all classes directly or indirectly, and no one altogether escapes. All workmen, municipal and private, are taxed for the benefit of the municipal workmen only; the lot of the working classes is made, not more equal, but more unequal; and a step contrary to the ideals of socialists is thus taken.

It is perhaps unfortunate that the question whether municipal trade pays or not necessarily forms such a large part of this controversy, because no doubt in many matters other considerations are more important than those concerning finance. Cities may be right to face losses when those losses are incurred for the general good; and the management by local authorities of roads, waterworks, baths, slaughter-houses, cemeteries, harbours, etc., when these services are unremunerative, may in many cases be justified on this plea. But to impose additional taxation merely for the sake of encouraging the direct employment of labour cannot thus be justified, for the result would be to benefit a class and not the whole community. In fact, as regards society generally, direct employment is the reverse of a benefit, because the germs of corruption undoubtedly exist in our cities, and the probability of the disease spreading is greatly increased if large numbers of employ  s are brought under the direct authority of the civic authorities. This is by far the strongest argument, not necessarily against municipal ownership, but against the direct employment of labour by civic authorities. On this subject the United States is often held up as a warning as indicating the depths of corruption into which English-speaking cities may fall, and of the difficulty of extricating them.

This is in my opinion legitimate, although it is true

that American cities manage fewer industries than English cities, and although it is in the United States often urged that municipal trade would cure corruption. No doubt many of the worst frauds in America have been committed in connexion with the concessions granted to private companies—concessions which would not, of course, have been granted if the industries in question had been municipalised. But this argument will be seen to lose much of its force if the matter be more closely examined. When an American city grants a concession to a gas company, for example, it acquires an enormous power over that company, because it may at any time threaten to injure it by the grant of a concession to a rival company. As long as the first concessionaires retain the sole control of the monopoly, they are often able to make an income sufficient not only to bribe the local authority but also to pay their workmen exceptionally good wages. These workmen are therefore naturally even more anxious than they would otherwise be to avoid dismissal; and the power thus acquired by the company managers over their employés is not infrequently utilised in enrolling them into a political organisation designed to keep in office the political party which granted the concession. Thus American corruption is finally the result of the indirect influence obtained by the local authorities over certain private employés consequent on the legal control the municipality is permitted to exercise over the trades in which they are employed. But if this be so, is it not most improbable that this corruption would become less if the influence of the local authorities, instead of being merely indirect, became direct? In fact, where both municipal trade and corruption exist, is it not certain that this pestilence will obtain an almost ineradicable hold on the diseased city? Certainly it is the probable demoralising effect which forms the strongest objection to the direct employment of labour by municipalities.

No discussion, such as that here outlined, concerning the connexion between socialism and municipal trade is likely to affect the minds of either avowed socialists or individualists, whose views are already completely crystallised. But the man of common-sense who repudiates socialism may perhaps, after thus regarding the

matter, recognise more clearly that the points where these two questions come, as it were, into closest contact are the municipalisation of trades where free and effective competition is possible, and the direct employment of labour by municipalities; and consequently that these are the points where he should be most on his guard against socialistic encroachments. This no doubt affords but a vague indication of the policy which ought to be adopted regarding the functions of municipalities. But we do thus arrive at two simple rules, namely, that competitive trades should never be municipalised; and that the number of men directly employed by our cities should be kept as low as possible, either by trusting to private trade, or by the employment of contractors, or by the leasing out of industrial works to private companies for management for short periods. Although many of us would prefer even greater restrictions, yet if our nation, which prides itself on its common-sense, would only consent to be guided by these two maxims, probably little harm would come from municipal trade.

No doubt it would be most advantageous if we could lay down in a more definite manner the limits beyond which it would be unwise for local authorities to step. From this point of view it is very desirable to institute a more systematic enquiry than any yet attempted into this whole question. Obstacles have been thrown in the way of such an investigation, chiefly by the advocates of municipal trade; and the parliamentary enquiries have thus far been very ineffective. In these circumstances the recently published Report of the National Civic Federation of the United States on our municipal trades ought to be doubly welcome, although these volunteer commissioners in a foreign land had not the advantage of legal powers as to witnesses and the production of documents. In spite of these disadvantages, it is perhaps the most important investigation yet made on this subject, the method rather than the spirit of the enquiry being especially noteworthy. A few words concerning the procedure adopted and the conclusions arrived at may therefore be acceptable.

The National Civic Federation in 1905 appointed a numerous commission to investigate 'Public Ownership and Operation'; and this commission appointed a com-

mittee of investigation, whose report is now before us. On this committee were representatives of employers and workmen in various industries, of writers on both sides in this controversy, and of the Press generally, the idea being that the *pros*, the *antis*, and the neutrals should be present in equal numbers. The actual investigation was confined to water, gas, electricity, and tramways in the United States and Great Britain, experts being sent in advance to make preliminary reports and to facilitate matters in various ways. Nearly the whole of the three large volumes now published consists of reports made by members of the committee and by experts; and they contain a store of valuable information, the opinions of the writers on general questions being, however, apparently much the same as those they held before the investigation commenced. All who have taken sides in a controversy are apt to see only those things which they go out, unconsciously, 'for to see.' Although the general public are not likely to wade through these lengthy reports, it certainly is to be hoped that the contents of the brief but almost unanimous general conclusions may become widely known. This final report, which occupies less than eight pages, was signed by nineteen out of the twenty available committee men, the single dissentient being strongly opposed to municipal trade. The degree of unanimity thus shown becomes, it is true, less surprising when it is observed that the committee 'take no position on the question of the general expediency of either private or public ownership,'\* presumably of the trades investigated. Possibly the nature of the conclusions arrived at can be indicated in fewest words by pointing out what would be the effect in England if they were here to be accepted and acted on.

Municipal trade would be adopted in the case of any 'public utility which concerns the health of the citizens,' where the temptation to make profits might produce disastrous results, e.g., presumably, water-supply. It would be barred in the case of 'revenue-producing industries which do not involve the public health, the public safety, public transportation, or the permanent occupation of public streets,'† e.g., presumably, in the

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\* Part I, vol. I, p. 26.† *Ib.* p. 23.

case both of the manufacture of electrical fittings and of the purchase of land for municipal golf-links. It should be noted that it is not laid down that tramways or other industries, which do, for example, necessitate the occupation of the streets, should be municipalised; for this is the point which the committee leaves undetermined. As to private trade, only terminable concessions, similar to those under which private tramways are operated, would be granted to gasworks; and records on a uniform system concerning the affairs of all companies owning concessions would be published. Thus far the committee's report is, so far as it goes, on the whole favourable to the views of the reasonable opponents of municipal trade. But, when they state that 'there is no particular reason why the financial results from private or public operation should be different if the conditions are the same,'\* they are, in my opinion, on more doubtful ground. They declare subsequently that no municipal operation is likely to be highly successful if there is not an executive manager with full responsibility, if political influences are not excluded, or if the finances of these industries are not separated from those of the other civic functions. But, if these conditions are not likely to be fulfilled, does not this constitute a 'particular' reason why municipal trade is likely to be more costly than private trade? Again, can the conditions ever be the same in these two methods of industry? And, if not, what is the value of an assertion made on the assumption that they are so? A certain vagueness or even inconsistency is, however, certainly to be expected in a document accepted by both parties in any controversy; and it is the points of agreement to which attention should mainly be directed. In short, the report, although it is not decisive on the main points at issue, is nevertheless of considerable importance, and it is to be hoped that it will carry great weight.

Many steps will certainly be taken in the direction of socialism during the next few years; and it is therefore much to be regretted that municipal trade has not been investigated as a valuable socialistic experiment by an English Royal Commission armed with full powers and

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\* Part I, vol. I, p. 23.

assisted by technical sub-commissioners. Socialists claim that social reform is only possible by their methods, a claim that cannot be for a moment admitted if these words are used in the sense ordinarily attached to them. Social reform need not necessarily be accompanied by either the transference of property or rights to the State, or by any increase in the number of industries managed by public bodies. Taking the case of gasworks in private hands, and assuming that reform is needed as regards either the conditions of labour or the price of gas, there is obviously here a choice between the drastic reform of municipal trade and a reform of the laws affecting the management of gasworks by private proprietors. A reform in the laws affecting private trade generally involves some increase in the powers of interference in the management exercised by government officials; and such a reform might therefore be called socialistic. It is, however, certainly a less socialistic method of reform than that of the actual municipalisation of the industries concerned. There is therefore generally a choice between at least two methods of reform, one more and the other less socialistic; and it is probable that a searching and impartial enquiry into municipal trade would materially strengthen the hands of those who in such cases advocate the less socialistic methods of meeting the complaints made with regard to existing conditions.

In war it is frequently good tactics, when a country is being defended, to sally forth and attack the enemy in his own land. Similarly in politics it is generally right for those who are opposing unwise reforms, not to content themselves with a passive resistance, but to sally forth and themselves endeavour to destroy the evils which have created the demand for such reforms. The private ownership of monopolies is no doubt frequently accompanied by harmful consequences; and, if we are content to remain on the defensive and leave matters alone, then on us ought to fall much of the blame for the evil consequences which must inevitably be felt if the position is in the end captured by the socialists.

LEONARD ROSETH





Art. VII.—SOME IMPRESSIONS FROM SOUTH AFRICA.

SIX years have passed since peace was made in South Africa. The outward signs of ruin and devastation caused by the war have almost disappeared, though individual hatred and personal grief occasionally try to preserve a monument of racial strife to stir the anger of a future generation. And, as is but natural, the hatred is strongest now where mutual goodwill and toleration were most widely spread before; it is probably stronger in the Orange River Colony than in the Transvaal. The traveller in South Africa cannot get away from the impression of this latent hostility; but though it strikes him all over the sub-continent, it is completely outweighed by one central fact. In Africa there is no such deep chasm between the two white races as exists in Europe, where race strife is carried on by so-called peaceful weapons, and where only a few isolated individuals occasionally meet on neutral ground, but where the representative men, as well as the masses, hold aloof. It is just the reverse in South Africa. A few years after a terrible racial strife the traveller sees the first steps towards practical co-operation between the two races.

Before the English won South Africa, friction existed between the Government and the governed people—as was the rule in eighteenth century colonies. When, later on, complications arose under British rule, it was easy to account for them by racial antipathies, and try to appease them by a policy of assimilation. The British element was strengthened, and an attempt made to do away with the outward signs of the subject foreign race. English colonists were introduced after 1819; and the Dutch language was ousted from official recognition in 1828. Though there is an enthusiastic Dutch-language movement in the country to-day, the suppression of the Boer tongue in Government offices was not one of the central events in the history of South Africa. It may have stung men's susceptibilities; it had very little influence on their daily lives. It complicated their intercourse with the authorities; but, as they were not fond of dealings with officials, it did not mean to them what it means to a people whose ideas of language rights are

mainly dependent on the chances their sons may have in civil service competitive examinations.

What really stood between the British Government and the Dutch farmer was, firstly, the old friction between colonists and an autocratic Government; and secondly, the antagonism arising out of the relations between white settlers and coloured people. The latter conflict, a conflict of social systems, not of different languages, has determined the history of South Africa. The American colonies were lost to England through aristocratic supineness and bureaucratic incompetency. The responsibility for South African troubles lies at the door of British democracy. British democracy not only abolished slavery, but tried to teach the African colonist that the black man was his brother, not his chattel—an amiable, sweet-tempered fellow, goaded into occasional outbreaks of murderous frenzy by unwarranted provocation from white men. The colonist, on the other hand, considered himself a lord of the manor who won his lands and his serfs by the right of conquest, and dominated them, not as the rights of men dictated, but with stern justice, as Norman lords ruled Saxon churls.

Two social systems confronted each other, but they were not systems based on national character. They presented an issue not unlike the struggle in the United States, where abolitionists and slave-holders faced each other; but the conflict was embittered by the fact that it was not between two component parts of a nation, but between a home Government and a dependency. The Home Government attacked the social system of the colony; and the vigorous elements in the colony resented this interference bitterly.

But the indignation of the Boers, though it carried them far ahead, was scarcely louder than the vituperative protests which the English party in the Transvaal showered upon the Home Government when it interfered in the Chinese question and enforced the settlement of it, though indirectly, on lines agreeable to a somewhat excited British democracy. If words were deeds, the Progressive party in the Transvaal would seem willing to snap the ties with the old country whenever a Liberal Government is in power.

The presence of a strong and warlike native population made home interference occasionally a necessity. Colonists railed frequently at blundering British generalship, but did not greatly object to Great Britain paying the war-costs. They always denounced British humanitarianism. This, too, was not merely a Boer's way of reasoning. Colonial views and British views are not identical, and cannot be so. The colonist possesses personal experience and enjoys an amount of direct information inaccessible even to the British statesman, but he always pleads his own case. He is an expert, but not an umpire. Whether Boer or British, he cannot be a detached outsider. Some of the old Boers in the back veldt may enunciate harsher views than the majority of the English settlers; but, as they want comparatively little native labour, and use it in trades well known and not repugnant to the native, a policy of industrial coercion finds less strenuous advocates with them than amongst purely British bodies as, for example, the Rand Pioneers. The writer was in Rhodesia when the news of the Transvaal election transpired; and, though its thoroughly British population was deeply depressed on account of the Progressive defeat, there was a hope in all hearts that now, at least, the Boers would introduce a stringent native policy. And everybody must acknowledge that the British settlers in Natal have not followed a line of action which differs from old Boer methods by an excess of sentimentality. Their protests against home interference are at least as violent as the declaration of the emigrant farmers, though the natives of to-day—except in some very backward parts—are not the natives of the past. European intercourse has vitally affected their ways. There are still some of them on whom the old policy of the Voortrekkers can be practised, who can be made to work for the white man as hewers of wood and drawers of water. There are still masses of them densely settled in green, well-watered valleys, who ask for nothing more than that the sun may shine and let their mealies ripen, and that the rain may fall and make the grass grow high to fatten their herds of cattle. They are pleased that the white man broke the power of some tyrannical chief, and gave them peace and plenty to live on; but, like an African summer day, their minds get slack with that sultry peace,

and pantingly long for one of those black thunder-clouds that spit fire and hail on the quivering land. Woe to the white man whom that thunderbolt strikes! And woe to those rulers who merely repress the energy of a subject race, who destroy the charms of their old existence, and do not throw open new grounds to a teeming crowd, bidding them to be like children, satisfied with playing at work, and, like grown-up men, responsible for their play.

It is well known that there is a great divergence in native policy between the different South African states. In Cape Colony, for example, any native that qualifies himself can get a vote; in the former Boer republics no individual native can even acquire landed property. Though those colonies which have always been subject to British rule grant far greater rights to the natives than did the Boer states, this too does not mean a different racial attitude towards the native question. It merely shows that a certain formal deference was shown to the home authorities. The Natal native is theoretically allowed a vote, but only two natives have acquired it!

Apart from such formal concessions to the humanitarian feeling of the Home Government, the native policy of the predominantly English Natal people was hitherto much more akin to that of the old Dutch republics than to that of Cape Colony with its mixed population. And it would be a great mistake to imagine that the wise and progressive policy of the Cape, which tries to transform the raw native into a peaceful industrial black man, not a caricature of the white man, has been the work of a purely British party, and will be given up by a Dutch majority. Quite the reverse; the antagonism between the two white sections was of supreme importance in the shaping of it. The fact that the coloured vote may decide an election has certainly not been without its influence; it may have worked for moderation on both sides, though it can scarcely be called the most successful part of the Colony's native policy. That policy has been the work of enlightened men on both sides; it was and is repugnant to the rank and file in both camps. The great power which the organisation of the Dutch people puts into the hands of their leaders is certainly a blessing, so far as native affairs are concerned. One may be quite

sure that Mr Merriman's native policy will not fall below the standard his predecessors have set him.

The antagonism between Dutch and English was frequently a conflict between Europeans and South Africans, between new-comers and old settlers, between traders and agriculturists. The racial issue in that struggle was originally raised by the Home Government, who tried to denationalise the South African people. The first Afrianders fought rather for equality than for supremacy; and the struggle that ensued in Cape Colony was extremely mild compared to racial struggles in other lands. The peaceful development of both white races of Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange Free State down to the time of the Raid contrasts curiously with the history of racial strife as we know it from Ireland, or even in Canada.

The history of the Transvaal, of course, reads differently. The South African Republic owed its origin to the most bitter opponents of English rule. They were allowed to form a state of their own whose career could not even be called chequered, until a rash annexation obliterated its shortcomings, and a quick retrocession enormously swelled the pride and self-esteem of its members. The discovery of the gold-mines provided the means for the building up of a real state, bent on expansion and capable of developing a national character of its own. That wealth created a problem to the solution of which Paul Kruger's Government was unequal. Thousands of immigrants came; their work brought large profits to the State; it enriched themselves, but it did not give them a stake in the country. They remained outlanders, and hostile to the Government. Krugerism arose originally from the desire to keep the power and wealth in the hands of a rural oligarchy. It had to look for diplomatic support to the Teutonic parts of Europe; it had to import officials from Holland, and to rely on German firms for business advice. The somewhat patriarchal antagonism against wily new-comers, who seemed bent on claiming their share of the spoil, could, through their agency, easily be blended with European ideas of race. The policy of excluding foreigners took the shape of racialism.

As is but natural, Boer racialism created its English counterfeit; and the Outlanders formed themselves into a British party. It is very curious to observe that Paul

Kruger, whose tactics were often shrewder than those of his adversaries, never played that card which would really have been fatal to England. What if the South African Republic had renounced her policy of exclusion? if every man who chose to make his home in South Africa had been welcomed as a denizen? if the administration of the country had encouraged the immigrant to take root in the country? Would the British settler in the Transvaal have remained an enthusiastic British reformer, or would he have become a South African, as his brother becomes a Canadian or an Australian? Or would the mere presence of republican institutions have prevented Englishmen from becoming citizens of a country whose government they shared? Mr Kruger did a great service to the British Empire in South Africa by furnishing British immigrants with legitimate grievances, and by keeping them thereby attached to the British Empire. He did not trust that wide African land that had made his own kin a free and vigorous people.

When he was beaten, racialism had to run its course for some time. Boer supremacy had to have its sequel in English supremacy. Lord Milner's policy of reconstruction was not a mere building up of the old society. A loyalist interest was to be created strong enough to prevent a return of the old days. An industrial boom was to fill the land with British workmen; and agricultural settlers were to be planted on favourite spots on the veldt. This policy failed on account of one of its chief features, the introduction of the Chinese, who were to provide the unskilled labour on which the industrial boom depended. British democracy objected to the Chinese. If the Liberal Government had ordered them away, they must have interfered directly with the internal affairs of the colony to such a degree that, very likely, colonial feeling would have been stronger than anti-Chinese prejudice. The Chinese had to go; but the British Government were afraid of turning them out. Somebody else had to do it; and the granting of a constitution to the Transvaal afforded, amongst other things, a chance for settling that point without direct interference.

The Transvaal elections finished the second phase of racialism. If Het Volk had appealed to the urban con-

stituencies of the Rand on purely racial lines they might have won the election, but they would scarcely have been strong enough to rule the country. They had to split the English vote to achieve that object. They were successful where Kruger had failed; the Chinese question enabled them to break the alliance between capitalist and working man. The Transvaal shopkeeper and the working man objected to the Chinese, not on account of Chinese slavery, nor on account of Chinese vices—the compound system is never the breeding-place of stern virtues; they objected to a population that required comparatively little supervision, and whose skill might in time endanger the position of the white worker. Legal enactments restricted the Chinese to unskilled work; but what is called skilled labour on the Rand is very often merely supervision; and the cleverer the man you supervise, the fewer men you want as superintendents. Though the Chinese spent a greater part of their wages than they were expected to do, they could not make trade flourish; and the great boom they ought to have brought on did not come. Behind all those visible drawbacks loomed the danger that the laws excluding the Chinese from skilled labour and preventing them from settling in the country might one day be recalled. As for the Boer leaders, inclined at first to sit on the fence, they came down eventually on the side of repatriation. How much their connexion with the Liberal party and the pressure or persuasions of the Home Government had to do with this decision, it is impossible to say.

This new line of division among the English population of the Transvaal was the outcome of a changed industrial condition. The war and the expected boom had attracted many people to the Rand; the point of saturation, so far as white immigrants are concerned, had been reached. Amongst the numerous men who found themselves out of work were many Australians, who imported into South Africa crude notions of Australian socialism. The Rand had long since ceased to be a place where a man could pick up a fortune in a short time; it now seemed not even capable of providing work for white men. An antagonism between capital and labour, which was somewhat earlier foreshadowed in Natal, showed itself on the Rand. Though there is no

race on earth so fundamentally opposed to anything smacking at all of socialism as the Boers, *Het Volk* associated itself with the parties representing the anti-capitalistic element. That alliance won the election. It split the English ranks, and moreover it gave the Boers a chance to do something for the poorer section of their people.

The Boer who owns a farm has a strong racial prejudice against Chinese; his class suffered occasionally from outrages by runaway coolies; but, as an employer of labour, he was benefited by anything that lessened competition for native labour. There is, however, an ever-increasing class, of Boer origin, who are landless, untaught, and improvident, who live on the outskirts of the bigger centres looking for work, but are very rarely capable of making a prolonged industrial effort. Members of this class—the poor whites—have occasionally done the work of unskilled labour, which, as a rule, is performed by native or Chinese. They, like all the unemployed in the country, cherished a vague hope that, if only the Chinese could be sent away, attractive employment would be forthcoming for all. Though these ideas are somewhat antagonistic to the true South African spirit, which looks upon unskilled work as nigger's work, they had some influence on men's minds. *Het Volk* realised that an anti-Chinese policy might embrace the interests of the whole Dutch population, however divergent they were economically; it enabled them to act as protectors of a large British element.

The capitalist had stood by the working man merely for political reasons. The working man was a Briton, and he had a vote; he took very high wages, and managed the native but indifferently; but, if he voted with his employer, he made good a great many of his shortcomings. The anti-Chinese agitation proved, however, too strong for him. Many a working man at the polls turned against his employer; and *Het Volk* and its allies won the day. Relations between men and master on the mines were henceforth looked upon as business arrangements, with no eye to politics. Efficient men only were going to keep their places; bad workmen would certainly be dismissed. An impression that industrial reform was bound to come had been present before the elections.

It could, however, scarcely have been undertaken immediately after that event without creating a very bad impression indeed, if some of the men had not gone on strike. Their places could thus be cleared, their ranks weeded; and some poor Dutch, who originally were bad miners but clever at managing natives, got their job.

The whole process may be regarded as the logical execution of the old exclusion policy carried out in a masterly way. The British workman was slowly crowded out, and the Dutch filled his place. The capitalists were in a hopeless permanent minority. Some of the more violent Dutch argued in that way undoubtedly; the leading men however took a different line. Whilst, for tactical reasons, *Het Volk* had appealed to the British electorate and had dropped the racial issue—it being in any case sure of the Dutch electorate—the British party had to whip up the British spirit to prevent a split in the British ranks. The same men who had stood for Imperialism in its broadest sense, namely, the co-operation of all South Africans of whatever origin, had now to fight for a narrower ideal. It was the ideal that Kruger had upheld and that was beaten in the war—race-strife and racial supremacy; It was beaten at the polls for the second time when the Progressive party stood for it.

It would be more than foolish, of course, to affirm that the spirit of racialism is dead among the Boers. The idea of monopoly, which dictated the economic policy of the Kruger days, is certainly very much alive amongst the more backward supporters of the present Ministry. Its protectionist attitude contains a strong element of anti-foreign feeling. But, as it is equally hostile to the produce of its Dutch friends across the border, it merely shows how curiously ideas of economic exploitation blend themselves with racial notions. And there is undoubtedly an influential section whose antipathy against capitalism in Johannesburg is at war with its love for the markets that capitalism has opened up for them.

All through the election struggle, and during the first year of office as well, the leading *Het Volk* people stood on different ground. They changed racialism for nationalism. They have grasped the fact that, in colonial states at all events, the country imprints its indelible stamp upon all men, provided they stay long enough; it does

not matter whence they come. The history of South Africa teaches us that lesson far more strongly than Canada or Australia, or even the United States. Our old European lands and peoples have long ago produced fixed national types, the origin of which we frequently ascribe to merely racial causes; we transpose our ideas to new lands and construct their problems according to our European lights, and surely we miss their true meaning. It is well known that what we call the Boers nowadays are a people of very mixed stock, containing Dutch, German, and French blood. They have all become one people; and though we find occasionally individuals who look like Frenchmen or Germans, they are all Afrianders. Though the Afriander talks a language that is derived from Dutch, and has lately been assimilated to Dutch again, their ways might as well be called French as Dutch. They have used the Dutch and they have used the Germans when they wanted intellectual and diplomatic support against British Governments; but the Hollander dislikes the Afriander, and the Afriander dislikes the Hollander.

Why should he like him? There are many types of Afrianders, but even the narrowest amongst them look upon those men as their compeers who have got South African ways; and an English farmer who was born on the veldt knows more of those ways than a Dutch lawyer or schoolmaster. Genealogically the Hollander may be of the same stock, but racial sympathy cannot impregnate him with those qualities which two hundred years on the veldt have bred, though he may be seated in a government office in Pretoria. Dutch and German schemers and dreamers may have shared the antipathies of the Boer; they have neither understood him nor won his appreciation. For they, when they were honest, stood on an idealistic basis, reasoning out common sympathy from common ancestors in the sixteenth century, while he took his stand on the common life. The settler who would live that life with him was welcome. Whatever national ideas and prejudices he may have brought from Europe dropped slowly from him while he lived on that great lonely veldt, the face of which man has not yet succeeded in changing, though he has stuck his dwellings into its sheltered nooks as the swallows build their nests under an old gable.

The men who came full of energy, bent on making Africa after an image of their own industrial dreams, have always failed. Locusts ate their mealies; drought killed their wheat; sickness felled their cattle. If South Africa did not unmake them, she made them slow, silent, lazy giants, whose strength is endurance, whose action is waiting. Everywhere else in the world that strong Calvinistic spirit that is the mainspring of the Boers' religion has made men go at double the pace in industrial life; in South Africa it has taught them how to wait.

There is only one class of men South Africa could not tame—the capitalists. She failed with them because they fled from her grip. They came out for a few years to make their pile, to tear the treasures from her bowels, and then to flee with their spoils. But their flight did not mean the end; for, when they went, a new shift took their places, fresh with energy, eager for the fray; and, ere South Africa had sapped their vigour they went away, to be followed by others. The Boers, in the old days, looked upon them as they look upon the enormous springbok herds when they cross the dune-belt, a gift from God, to be slaughtered ruthlessly—for others would follow—a perennial supply.

So they fleeced them and gave them no chance of taking root in African soil. But, though they were but a shifting host, they began to transform Africa. They girded the land with iron rails; they spanned rivers and crossed deserts; they erected that long narrow line of black chimneys that interlaces the lonely veldt from Krugersdorp to Springs; they built cities grimy with dust but quivering with restless life; and they planted trees and gardens where before was a bare veldt. A curious paradox: the permanent population, the people born in the land, whose dust, like that of their ancestors, one day will mingle with the veldt, have never impressed their mark upon it, whilst these new-comers are daily changing the face of it with changes likely to last. With them originated all the trouble and unrest in the land; they have disturbed its peaceful countenance and created the problems which the old Boer régime tried to solve in so clumsy a way. The Boer has hated them, and probably hates them to-day, not as Englishmen, but as representatives of a different social order. The Boers can assimilate

the Anglo-Saxon farmer ; they can assimilate the capitalist as little as the Californian assimilated the Yankee ; can they make him a South African ? And, if not, how are they to deal with him ? Perhaps they will ally themselves against him with the radical section of the town population, who try to make South Africa a white man's land, whose mines are worked with white labour only. They may thus find work for the poor white Dutch, but they must throw open the country to numerous white immigrants, thus creating a class, anti-capitalistic perhaps, but one which will certainly never fuse with the Boer farmers. For, as the veldt made the Boer a uniform being, whatever be his original stock, common industrial life creates a type of men, not on racial, but on professional lines. As the Dutch farmer gives the tone to rural society, the European (mostly British) workman sets the standards in the workshops. Anti-industrial hatred might go so far as to drive the capitalist out of the country whose peace he has disturbed. Calm and quietude might return once more ; the supremacy of the Dutch race might be restored ; but power and wealth would at once disappear. This will hardly be. The whole land has drunk too largely and too deeply of that intoxicating draught which the golden stream has carried up to the loneliest farm and the furthest kraal.

The great industry will therefore remain. It may be harassed, taxed, and bled ; it may be subjected to foolish experiments, for, wise as the Boers are in mere politics, their store of economic knowledge is somewhat scanty. But, though it be controlled and gagged, whilst it remains it will influence men. It will draw some Boers into its folds as managers, engineers, and lawyers ; it may give birth to a working class of Dutch origin. And the shop will transform the Dutchman as the veldt has transformed the Briton. More than that, its influence will radiate throughout the country ; its purchasing power will slowly transform agriculture. While industrial life, owing to African conditions, will lose something of its keenness, agricultural life will be quickened. The present Government is trying hard to accelerate that change. But the Boer on the back veldt objects, for he stands for Protection, which he looks upon as one of his natural rights. Why ought he to share the blessings of a

bountiful harvest with a stray foreigner from across the border? God sends locusts and plague, and he submits piously. He does not want to fight against the Lord's will, but he won't be spoiled by the stranger. The fat years ought to be his undivided reward, as the lean ones are his punishment. He does not want to watch the ups and downs of a market, trying to raise crops for the wants of a contemptible, feverish town-crowd; he merely wants to exploit it, undisturbed by competition. These people might succeed in keeping the land; they could not develop it. They could remain masters of the veldt, as they were in days gone by; but they would merely represent an antiquated local type. They might maintain a truculent Transvaal and a somewhat extended system of parochial spoils; they would block the formation of a South African nation.

Will there ever be such a nation? Will there be a people composed of the descendants of the different white races settled in South Africa, maintaining the qualities they inherited from their different ancestors, though adapting themselves to the nature of the country? Or will it merely consist of the ramifications of the 'Boer stock,' which will have absorbed all elements willing to conform, after having exiled those who cannot easily be assimilated.

Many an Englishman will be inclined to assume the latter alternative. He may have done good service during the war, and he may, during the period of reconstruction, have been in charge of some important office which he ran exceedingly well, after the traditions of a skilful European bureaucracy. Some of his friends, who had claims as good as his own, have been honourably discharged, for some reason or other, and he is quite sure his turn will come too. He sees quite clearly that the British will be weeded out from the administration. He considered himself an instrument of Anglicisation during the period of Crown government. That period is over, according to his views, owing to the criminal weakness of a Radical Government. The vanquished party have come to their own again; they will undo the work he did; and everything will be as it was before the war—a permanent Dutch ascendancy, which nothing can remove.

But this ascendancy—if that term be permitted—is

very different from the ring of the old Kruger days. It is based on a fairly won electoral majority, and it does not disfranchise its opponents. It may have tried to fill some posts with its adherents, but it has scarcely gone to such length in claiming the spoils for the victors as some Anglo-Saxon communities are wont to do. It is trying to reward the loyalty of its adherents; but, if that loyalty be united to efficiency, local knowledge, and some acceptance of the *status quo*, while there may be ground for personal grievances, there will be very little for lugubrious vaticination. After all, if England's hold on South Africa consisted mainly in a preponderance of British officials, she would in no case enjoy a very secure tenure. The Boer majorities in many cases will probably press their advantages unfairly. They may tax their opponents by fiscal measures—a policy unhappily not unknown in countries which can plead no racial antagonism. They may in some cases insist on a more favoured position for the Dutch language—partly from sentimental reasons, but partly too because nowadays language right may mean employment; but insistence on a second language, though it may hurt a conqueror's pride, does not mean racial extinction, nor is the knowledge it produces a handicap in life. It happens rarely that a bilingual nation is outdistanced in the struggle for existence.

It may be true, too, that the agitation for closer union—be it unification or federation—owes some fervour to the hope that such a union at the present moment may give an overwhelming strength to the Boer element all over the sub-continent. It may do so, inasmuch as a good deal of the 'regional spirit' that is very remarkable just now is undoubtedly fostered by the existence of separate States. And some of the British sections of South Africa may be of smaller weight in a united South Africa than as a somewhat thinly populated coastal colony. But all such reasoning does not make South Africa a country settled by one race. Its closer union may consolidate one race, it will not lessen the chances for the other. After all, no consolidation is possible without a certain broadening effect.

Nor will closer union lead to a snapping of Imperial ties. British South Africa is not an island; it is not even a sub-continent, but only part of one. It is surrounded

on all sides by possessions belonging to European Powers. These dependencies have frequently been neglected. Portuguese East Africa was, of course, known to exist, but was looked upon as a kind of annex to the Transvaal. Before the war against the Herreros, German South-west Africa was scarcely known; at the utmost it was looked upon as a kind of disfigurement of the map. That view is no longer possible. The different South African States are beginning to realise that they touch frontiers, that outside their borders developments are going on which may react on their own fate. The closer they draw to each other the more will they realise that those frontier problems are not merely local affairs, but are of a truly national interest to British South Africa; and they will realise too that the fate of the frontier States which are dependencies of European countries is mixed up with the development of European politics. The isolation from European influences which seemed desirable to the Africander, and guided his anti-English policy, no longer exists. The snapping of links which tie British South Africa to the mother-country could not effect it, and in these circumstances there is no reason to desire it.

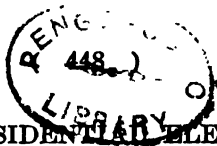
There is one problem ahead which has always proved to be the great strain affecting the relations of the mother-country and South Africa. Viewed from the point of view of closer union between the different States, it assumes the shape of an administrative problem: What is to become of the native protectorates like Basutoland, which are at present under Imperial control? Can they be kept so in future, remaining a foreign fort in the fabric of a South African nation, or will they be handed over to the new South African nation? If the spirit which animates at present the native policy of Cape Colony were the dominating influence in the new nation, the answer would be easy; that cause of contention which has produced so much evil in South Africa might be definitively removed. Without such a guarantee it is not likely that the closer union of the sub-continent will be completely achieved, and important elements of friction are likely to remain.

The question at issue here is, as said before, not a racial one dividing the two white races. It is much

rather a social problem which begins just now to unfold itself. Its solution will ultimately constitute the greatest task yet put to a conquering nation. But different views on that problem do not make the formation of a nation impossible. There is little in common between a German Socialist and a Prussian Conservative, but their differences are certainly not of a racial nature. There is room in any nation for diverse opinions and different ideals. Why ought it to be different in South Africa?

To form a nation, both races, Dutch-Africander and British South-African, must act upon each other as a mighty solvent; there may be numerous intermarriages, as there were in the past; they will scarcely be numerous enough to produce complete fusion. Town life and country life will continue side by side, each evolving a distinct industrial type. There will be no complete assimilation of surroundings nor a complete blending of races; both will cherish their traditions and pride themselves on their origin. Boer and Briton, when amongst their own lot, will do scant justice to each other's virtues, as the proud Englishman in his innermost heart looks down upon the pushing Scot, and the shrewd Scot amongst his kin shows a hearty contempt for the dense Englishman. But they will work together and perceive that true nationalism does not mean, 'you must be as I am, or out you go'; but that its gospel is, 'you must all bring your different qualities and gifts into the common national stock; you must all strive for the one land which is the common inheritance of all.'





Art. VIII.—THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1908.

1. *The Republican National Platform* ; Chicago, June 1908.
2. *The Democratic National Platform* ; Denver, July 1908.
3. *Mr Taft's Speech of Acceptance* ; Cincinnati, July 1908.
4. *Mr Bryan's Speech of Acceptance* ; Lincoln, August 1908.
5. *Issue and Redemption of National Bank Guaranteed Credit Notes*. 59th Congress ; 2nd session ; Report No. 5629. Washington, 1906.
6. *From the Directors of the Standard Oil Company to its Employers and Shareholders*. Pamphlet issued by the Standard Oil Co. August 1907.
7. *Statement of the Commissioner of Corporations in answer to the allegations of the Standard Oil Co., &c.* Washington, 1907.
8. *Report of the Commissioner of Corporations on the Petroleum Industry. Part II: Prices and Profits*. Washington, 1907.
9. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Corporations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907*.
10. *The City and the State*. Address of Governor Hughes to the City Club of New York ; New York, February 25, 1908.

And other works and reports.

THE leading results of President Roosevelt's term of office have shown themselves not so much in positive legislation as in the creation of a feeling of responsibility in regard to national morals and resources. At the same time it must be recognised that the habit of rash denunciation of those not at one with him, which has grown upon him in recent years, has been a disturbing factor. The United States have had more than sufficient of 'strenuousness' ; they now need rest and constructive-ness. The President is stronger with the masses than with the leaders of the Republican party, whom he has whipped into unwilling activity. Although he acquiesces, as a practical politician, in the Republican platform, it omits many of his recommendations. It passes by his argument for the income and inheritance taxes. His visionary ideas about curbing the growth of 'swollen fortunes' are rejected by the Republican leaders, who are averse from experiments in legislation. At the same time, his record

and his policy will be an important asset in the present campaign. The Republican platform looks to the conservative East; the coerced enthusiasm over the President is intended to hold the radical West.

The President has not only dominated his party, but has also dictated the choice of the Republican nominee for the Presidency. Mr Taft has had a record which equips him admirably for the Presidential office. As a judge, both on the State and the Federal Bench, as director of the affairs of the Philippines, as a successful negotiator in various quasi-diplomatic matters, as a member of the Federal Cabinet, he has shown strength, insight, and resourcefulness. That the President should have favoured the nomination of a man with such a record is not surprising; but his earnest desire to ensure Mr Taft's nomination has led to reprehensible methods. Notwithstanding President Roosevelt's support of Civil Service reform, there has been an unblushing participation of civil servants in politics to ensure Mr Taft's nomination. Though the Southern States have no real Republican voting strength, they have a large representation in the Republican nominating Convention. Mr Taft said at Greensboro', North Carolina, in July 1906: 'As long as the Republican party in the Southern States shall represent little save a factional chase for Federal offices, we may expect the present political condition in the South to continue.' The preliminary canvass for delegates from the Southern States to support Mr Taft, which was conducted by a member of the Federal Civil Service, backed by all the influence of the Federal Administration, obtained a support from this section which practically precluded the success of other candidates.

Mr Bryan's strength is in the support of the Democratic masses; the leaders are impatient of his continued domination. Since 1896, he has made a large income by newspaper-writing and lecturing; these occupations have, at the same time, kept him constantly before the public. The temper of the Democratic party shows increasing conservatism. The party which, in 1896, declared in favour of the 'spoils system,' now supports appointment and promotion in the Civil Service on the basis of merit. In 1896, it favoured packing the Supreme Court to establish the constitutionality of the income tax; now

it favours obtaining the same end through a constitutional amendment. Its attitude on the money question, while not wholly correct, is much more restrained than in 1896. On the question of the tariff it has passed from denunciation to an appeal for gradual and sympathetic treatment. But here again the Democratic platform and Mr Bryan's personal attitude are expected to occupy the same Janus-like position as President Roosevelt's policy and the Republican platform.

The political fortunes of the Democrats have been improved by the changes which have taken place. The radicalism of Bryan is balanced by the radicalism of Roosevelt. The disappearance of the money issue permits the Democratic party, after the lapse of years, to present once more a united front. Industrial depression will exercise an adverse effect on the Republican vote.

The importance of foreign affairs is seen in the demand of both parties for a strong navy. The Democrats, looking to party advantage on the Pacific coast, oppose the admission of Asiatics. The Republicans, sobered by the responsibilities of office, believe that this immigration can be regulated by diplomacy. While consistency has again led the Democrats to emphasise the issue of Imperialism, this issue is not of political importance. The Republicans favour the steady development of home-rule in the Philippines; the Democrats favour independence so soon as a stable government can be established. The Republican leaders consider what is practicable; for the high percentage of illiteracy in these islands justifies Mr Taft's contention—and no one can speak with more authority—that two generations, at least, must elapse before they are fitted for self-government. The American nation perceives that the national honour is bound up with the retention of these islands and their development in civilisation. The fact that the United States have been forced to intervene in Cuba to protect the Cubans from themselves emphasises the necessity of going slowly in the Philippines.

The most important issues in the present campaign will, however, be concerned with domestic policy. There is some fear that the negro voters, of whom there are some 2,000,000 in the United States, traditionally friendly to the Republicans, may be alienated by the

unconstitutional action of President Roosevelt (in 1906) in dismissing from the army, without adequate investigation or trial, some 170 negro soldiers who were alleged to have been implicated in a racial disturbance at Brownsville, Texas. At first he ordered that these men should be permanently debarred from re-enlisting in the army or navy, and that they should be ineligible for employment in any civil capacity under the Government. The protest of the Republican Senators has led him to change his decision in this matter. Though the Democrats have hoped to make party capital out of the antagonism engendered in the minds of the negro voters, it is improbable that this will be important in the campaign. Not only are the negroes cognisant of the virtual disfranchisement of their fellows in the Democratic South; Mr Bryan is also afraid to make any open bid for their support lest he should antagonise the Southern States.

The legitimate expenses of a Presidential campaign are heavy. The fact that, in 1904, contributions in aid of the Republican party were made from the trust funds of New York Insurance Companies, and the further fact that Mr Harriman, the head of the Union Pacific Railway—who has since been denounced by President Roosevelt as an “undesirable citizen”—was instrumental in raising \$200,000 to be used in aid of the Republicans in New York State, have helped to create a feeling that publication of campaign funds and contributions is essential. In 1906 and 1907, laws were passed by the State of New York providing that political parties should publish, under oath, within twenty days after the election, a detailed statement of their expenses, showing the amounts received, the names of contributors, the ways in which the money was expended, and receipts for all expenditures in excess of \$5. In 1907, Congress enacted laws which prohibited any corporation from contributing to the expenses of a Presidential campaign, under penalty of \$5000; and every officer or director of such corporation consenting to such contribution is liable to a fine of \$1000 and imprisonment for one year. The refusal of the Republican majority in Congress to approve, at its last session, legislation providing for the publication of campaign funds is in harmony with the action of the party in refusing to

place any statement on the subject in its programme. The Democrats, on the other hand, are pledged to the enactment of measures prohibiting corporations from contributing to campaign funds, limiting the amount of individual contributions, and providing for the publication of such contributions before the election.

The temporary strategic advantage thus obtained by the Democrats was soon countered by Mr Taft—who had declared himself in favour of publicity during the past session of Congress—appointing as Treasurer of his campaign a resident of New York who was strongly in sympathy with the New York publicity law; at the same time Mr Taft pledged the Republican party to act according to the requirements of the New York law. While the 'jockeying' of the two parties has been attributable to the desire to obtain the maximum of advantage from their respective declarations, the result is that the present campaign will lead to the salutary reform of complete publication of election contributions and expenses.

From the last week of October 1907 until the first week of January 1908 specie payment was suspended in the United States. Inter-banking balances were settled by the use of \$97,000,000 of Clearing House certificates. The money withdrawn from the banks was soon hoarded. The premium on currency rose to 4 per cent. Retail trade was carried on to a great extent by Clearing House loan certificates of denominations as low as one dollar, which were issued on the basis of securities deposited with the Clearing House by the issuing bank, as well as by the cheques of merchants and manufacturers. While there was great inconvenience, the American people not only made the best of a difficult situation, but even extracted some amusement from their troubles.

The currency system of the United States is fundamentally unscientific. The large issue of Government paper-money is redeemable by the Government on demand, which causes a sad intermixture of fiscal and monetary needs. The bond-secured circulation of the national banking system has proved unsatisfactory; for the improving credit of the country and the increasing demand for Government securities on the part of persons

desirous of obtaining a thoroughly safe investment have co-operated to enhance the premium on the bonds. The declining profit obtainable by the banks from their note issue caused a steady contraction of note circulation down to 1900. In this year the banks were permitted to take out circulation to the par of the 2 per cent. bonds. Since 1900 the note circulation has increased by \$350,000,000.

Since the United States are pledged to a policy of debt extinction, the widening of the basis of bond security is manifestly a palliative. The bond-secured system is safe, but inelastic. The prohibition of branch banking, under the present system, is an inheritance from the political opposition to the assumed dangers of centralisation under the branch banking system of the second United States Bank, which came to an end in 1836. To-day National banks vary in capital from \$25,000 to \$25,000,000. The small 'country' banks may deposit a part of their legal reserves in the larger banks. This results in the ultimate centralisation of a large part of the National reserve in the central reserve cities, the bulk of it going to New York. For these deposits the recipient banks pay a low rate of interest, the deposits themselves being used in making 'call' loans. If the demand of the outside banks for their funds is coincident with other sudden demands on the depository banks, as during the recent panic, there is a temptation for the larger banks to save themselves at the expense of the smaller banks. The dangers of such a condition are apparent. At the beginning of the panic, 6178 out of 6544 National banks were 'country' banks, two-thirds of whose reserves were in more or less distant cities.

While the strain of the panic was in part relieved by importing gold, special reliance was placed on the assistance of the United States Treasury. The independent Treasury system, adopted by the United States in 1846, is a disturbing factor in the monetary situation, causing arbitrary contraction when revenues are being received, arbitrary expansion when payments are being made. The large cash balances held in the Treasury—\$272,000,000 at the end of the fiscal year 1907—have led to a system whereby National banks may receive deposits of Government funds on depositing bonds to secure the sums

received. The financial centres, and especially New York, look to the Government in time of need. Mr Cortelyou, the Secretary of the Treasury, recognised this responsibility, and by the end of November he had distributed \$226,000,000 of Government deposits.

President Roosevelt's opponents assert that his regulative policy is entirely responsible for the disturbance. In a speech in New York in February 1908 Mr Foraker, a Republican senator from Ohio, said the most important cause was 'muck-raking.' The 'Commercial and Financial Chronicle' stated, in November 1907, that there could be no complete recovery so long as the rigour of the regulative campaign continued unabated. It must be conceded that the rashness of some of the President's utterances, rather than the rigour with which his policy has been enforced, has intensified distrust. Though, in November 1907, he admonished those hoarding money that business conditions were fundamentally sound, he showed at the outset no real appreciation of the seriousness of the depression. In his Nashville speech, made on October 2, 1907, he said: 'I doubt if these policies have had any material effect in bringing about the present trouble; but, if they have, it will not alter in the slightest degree my determination that for the remaining sixteen months of my term those policies shall be persevered in unswervingly.' This unnecessary emphasis certainly did not tend to tranquillise the already disturbed conditions.

But the President's unguarded remarks were not sufficient to account for the panic; its causes were more deep-seated. Defective banking policy intensified the evils of the situation; there were defects in banking practice as well. The speculative developments in 1901-02 had caused various banks to forsake legitimate commercial banking and to become mere accessories to promoting schemes. Wider causes must also be considered. The stock-speculating interests were affected by the disturbances in the money markets caused by the financing of the Boer and the Russo-Japanese wars. In the 'boom' of 1901 expansion exceeded capital creation, and a large floating debt was created in Europe. By 1903 this had been practically liquidated, and business was on a more satisfactory footing. Scarcely had this condition been attained when speculation, financed on borrowed capital,

again set in. At the same time more luxurious conditions of living co-operated with rising prices to curtail saving. In the hope of a continuance of prosperity, industrial concerns had made large investments which were not immediately productive. When, then, the Mercantile National Bank of New York and the Knickerbocker Trust Company of the same city, whose resources had been tied up in speculative projects, failed, they precipitated a panic the causes of which had long been maturing.

The Democrats are opposed to calling in the Government paper money. In 1904 their platform demanded the withdrawal of National bank-notes as fast as Government paper could be substituted for them. While the platform of 1908 is less extreme than in former years, it must be remembered that Mr Bryan, who has never recanted his belief in 'free silver,' is still an inflationist who would keep up, through issues of Government paper money, the disturbing and expensive system now existing. On matters of monetary policy he is still a facile phrase-maker, not a deep thinker.

Though the necessity of reforming the National banking system has been patent for years, Congress has been tardy in acting. President Roosevelt, in 1906 and 1907, emphasised the importance of providing for elasticity and emergency currency; but it is not a topic on which he has shown any definite ideas. In its last session Congress passed a stop-gap measure, known as the Vreeland Bill, which is simply an expansion of the existing system. It permits, in time of emergency, State bonds to be used as a basis for note issue; and, under stringent limitations, it also permits asset banking. The Republicans have declared for a more elastic system. Short of the divorce of the Government from the issuing of paper money and the adoption of an asset-secured currency, no permanently valuable reform can be obtained. These reforms are hampered by political, not economic, difficulties. The only real hope of reform comes from the Republicans, who have a better comprehension of the problem than the Democrats.

Socialism has of recent years made great strides in the United States. Socialistic periodicals have increased from 40 in 1904 to 150 at present. The 'Socialist,' pub-

lished in Chicago, asserts that 'for the last two years the United States has been turning out more socialist books than any other nation on earth. It has left Germany, long the leader, far behind in this respect. The whole environment is electric with socialist sentiment and socialist thought.' The vigour of President Roosevelt's attack on Socialism—for his regulative policy postulates that regulation is the only efficient bulwark against it—has aided in creating an interest in Socialism. The Socialist vote increased from 2064 in 1888 to 442,000 in 1904. The industrial depression, through which the country is passing, will largely increase the Socialist vote in the present campaign.

A still more serious problem confronting the American people is the growth of Anarchism. Books and papers published in English, German, Bohemian, Yiddish, and Italian are being used in an active propaganda. Suddenly awakened to the evils presented by the problem, the American people are at their wits' end how to deal with it. There is a danger that the movement may be stimulated by indiscriminating severity in attempting to suppress it. In its recent session, Congress authorised the exclusion of anarchistic publications from the mails. The Immigration law gives almost unlimited discretion to the Secretary of Commerce and Labour, not only to prevent anarchists from landing, but also to deport those who succeed in getting ashore. The spread of the anarchistic propaganda will undoubtedly lead to stricter scrutiny of the conditions of entrance; but this falls far short of solving the problem.

During President Roosevelt's term of office the labour organisations have shown an increased interest in politics. The American Federation of Labour alleges that the activity of its members during the Congressional campaign of 1906, in opposition to those who declined to support the demands of labour, resulted in the Republican majority in the House of Representatives being reduced by half.

The attempt to obtain an eight-hour day on all Government work, whether carried on by the Government itself or through contractors, was so far successful that the House of Representatives passed an Eight Hours bill in 1903; but the National Association of Manufac-

turers, which feared the further extension of this principle, killed the measure in the Senate. Subsequent demands of the labour leaders for such legislation have been supported, but in vain, by the President. The demand of the labour organisations for a more efficient Employers' Liability Law obtained his support in 1906. In consequence of his recommendation, legislation, subsequently declared unconstitutional, was passed. In the recent session of Congress a hastily drafted measure was enacted to remedy this and prevent the demand being used to the political detriment of the Republicans. The essential features of this legislation are a modification of the old doctrine of contributory negligence, and the introduction of the idea of comparative negligence of employer and employed.

It is against the preventive jurisdiction exercised by the courts in issuing injunctions that the criticism of the labour unions is especially directed. The use of the injunction process in the labour disputes of the United States began so recently as 1888.\* An injunction is issued under the equity jurisdiction of the courts. A person apprehending injury may, without waiting for any hearing or answer by the defendants, obtain a preliminary injunction directed against the defendants. This may extend to all who violate the order, whether specifically named therein or not. Such preliminary injunction may, after being heard on its merits, be made permanent. While, in common law, the courts can enforce their decisions only by damages, and in extreme cases by imprisonment for such debt, the courts, exercising their equity jurisdiction, have power to declare those violating the injunction in contempt of court. This manifestly gives a more immediate and far-reaching punishment than is available under the former jurisdiction, since there may be summary punishment by fine or (more usually) by imprisonment until the orders of the courts are obeyed. No trial by jury is permitted in such cases; and the right of appeal is narrowly limited.

Injunctions have been granted both by the State and by the Federal courts in restraint of boycotting and picketing. The scope of injunctions granted by the

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\* The leading case is *Sherry v. Perkins*, 147 Mass. 212.

Federal courts has been greatly widened by the Act to Regulate Commerce and the Anti-trust Act. For, though labour organisations are not mentioned in these laws, they are subject to the prohibitions of the statutes if the result of their action is to effect combinations in restraint of trade.\* The scope of such injunctions has been widened by implication. Thus in 1893, when draymen on strike in New Orleans attempted to prevent non-union men from transporting goods, an injunction was granted under the Anti-trust Law, on the ground that it was a combination in restraint of trade or commerce among the States.†

The fact that the violation of an injunction renders those infringing the order liable to proceedings for contempt is important as trenching on the right of trial by jury. At the same time it is apparent that preventive rather than remedial process is in many cases necessary if there is to be any adequate protection. The grounds of unionist opposition to the injunction process have been summarised by Mr Gompers, the head of the American Federation of Labour, who contends that there can be no monopolistic combination in labour 'services'; that the writ of injunction was intended to be exercised for the protection of property rights alone; that it should be applied only when there is no other adequate legal remedy; and that it should never be used to curtail personal rights, to punish crimes, or to set aside trial by jury. Notwithstanding his contentions, careful analysis shows that labour-union policy, in certain phases of its activity, does tend to restrain trade. His argument for the exemption of unions from the scope of the Anti-trust Act is not an argument for rights, but a demand for privileges, somewhat similar to that successfully made by the trade-unions of Great Britain two years ago.

During the last session of Congress there was an attempt to exempt unions from the Anti-trust Act except in so far as boycotts, picketing and other coercive practices were concerned. Although this had the support of the President, it failed to pass. The decision of the

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\* *United States v. Debs*, 64 F.R. 724; *Southern California Railway Co. v. Rutherford*, 62 F.R. 796.

† *United States v. Workingmen's Amalgamated Council of New Orleans*, 54 F.R. 994.

Supreme Court, early in 1908, in the Danbury Hatters' case, which reaffirmed the position that boycotting is an offence against the Anti-trust Act, has made the labour problem an issue in the present campaign. Mr Gompers threatened that he and his followers would use their power 'to send to political and industrial oblivion the men who stand in the way of the success of the toilers of to-day and the days to come.' Though Congress took no action, the party leaders have been forced to act. The Republican platform attempts to conciliate Conservatives and Radicals by stating that, while the 'authority and integrity of the courts' should at all times be maintained, the rules in regard to the issuing of injunctions should be more accurately defined, and temporary restraining orders should not be issued without notice except where irreparable loss would result. The Democratic platform makes a more advanced bid for labour support by declaring that 'injunctions should not be issued in any cases in which injunctions would not issue if no industrial dispute were involved.'

President Roosevelt has taken more advanced ground on the labour problem than has been agreeable to many members of his party. He favours Eight-hour legislation, the Employers' Liability Law, the amendment of the Anti-trust Law, and some amendment of the injunction process. But he does not make the abject surrender to the demands of labour which the Democrats have made. He holds that the boycott is illegal. While he favours notice being given in the issue of injunctions, he maintains the necessity and value of the injunction. Though the Republican party has not accepted all President Roosevelt's labour recommendations, these will be claimed, during the present campaign, as political assets of the party. There will be all the greater tendency to do this in view of the fact that Mr Taft, when a judge, gave decisions running counter to labour demands. By issuing an injunction in 1894, prohibiting the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers from carrying on a sympathetic strike, he first applied the judicial powers of the United States against strikes.\* In the same year, in defining the rights of employées engaged in a strike,

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\* 54 F.R. 730.

he said that, while strikes were legal, boycotts were not.\* In a speech delivered in New York in January 1908, after stating that the boycott was immoral and illegal, he courageously said that he had nothing to retract or modify in connexion with the injunctions he had issued when on the Bench. In his speech of acceptance he has been at pains to make his position clear. While recognising the benefits of unions, he insists on the clear recognition of the equality of unionists and non-unionists before the law. In upholding the use of the injunction, he remarks, with incontestable logic, that 'the reason for exercising or refusing to exercise the power of injunction must be found in the character of the unlawful injury and not in the character or class of the persons who inflict the injury.' At the same time he recognises the advisability of serving notice, wherever possible, in connexion with the issue of a preliminary injunction. The combination of sanity and legal acumen which characterises his survey of the question gives it high rank as the ablest and most courageous discussion of the subject ever uttered by an American public man.

The Democratic party has an apparent strategic advantage in regard to the labour vote. Not only has it met the wishes of the labour unions on the injunction question, but it has also declared for the exemption of the unions from the provisions of the Anti-trust Law. This bid for labour votes evoked a promise of influence and support on the part of the American Federation of Labour. This great organisation has some 2,000,000 members; and, if it could poll its whole strength in favour of Mr Bryan, it would carry his election. It will be impossible, however, for the labour leaders to fulfil their promises. Many of the organisations included in the Federation have already shown their opposition by declaring that their members will follow their party affiliations regardless of the declarations in the Democratic platform. Those who are Republicans contend that the election of such a Radical as Mr Bryan would disturb business and react disadvantageously on labour.

Another factor of some importance is the Independ-

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\* 23 Wkly. L.B. (O.) 48.

ence party, organised by Mr Hearst, which is making its first appearance in national politics. Last year, in the State election in Massachusetts, it polled more votes than the Democratic party. By nominating as its candidate for the Presidency a Massachusetts merchant who has not only endured but been able to overcome the unfair methods of competition practised by the Standard Oil Company, it will attract some support from those opposed to monopolies. This party outbids the Democratic party for the labour vote by stating that at no step in the injunction proceedings should there be any trial other than by jury. Though the vote of this party will probably be small, it is likely that it will exert considerable influence in the industrial States by attracting some portion of the labour vote. The Western Federation of Miners has announced its disbelief in the good faith of either Republicans or Democrats. The Socialists have also to be reckoned with. It may be taken as certain that the attempt to induce labour to vote as a unit for any one party will prove a failure.

Long before he became President, Mr Roosevelt professed a frankly opportunist position on the tariff.\*

It is' (said he) 'in reality purely a business matter, and should be decided solely on grounds of expediency. . . . If the majority of the people in interest wish it and it affects only themselves, there is no earthly reason why they should not be allowed to try the experiment to their heart's content.'

It is alleged that on one occasion, some years ago, he included in one of his messages a statement in favour of tariff reform, but that he was induced to remove it before it was made public because of the disapproval of the leaders of the reactionary element of the Republican party. It is certain that of recent years he has steadily endeavoured to divert attention from any important changes in the tariff. When he recommended, in 1902, that the tariff should be supervised by a board of experts advisory to Congress, he admitted that there might be cases in which monopolistic combinations were shielded by the tariff; but he has now pushed this partial admis-

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\* 'Life of Thomas Hart Benton' (American Statesmen Series) by Theodore Roosevelt, p. 67.

sion aside. In the face of suggestions that the tariff is at least partly responsible for the existence of monopolistic combinations, he has shown increasing impatience. While admitting that 'it is probably well to scrutinise the tariff carefully every dozen years or so,' he contends that the principle of protection is not to be attacked. The suggestion for a tariff commission—which is not original with him so far as the United States are concerned—is the only contribution he has made to the methods of tariff reform.

An apparent exception to this statement appears in his recommendation, made during the past year, that wood-pulp should be placed on the free list. In the United States the rapidly increasing demand for wood-pulp to be used in the manufacture of paper has been coincident with the lavish use, or rather abuse, of the timber resources of the country. This is of especial interest to American newspapers. The unwieldy and meretricious Sunday edition of one large American daily paper exhausts the wood-pulp from twenty acres of land. There has also been complaint of an artificial enhancement of prices through combinations in the paper-manufacturing industry. The aforesaid recommendation, however, is really due to the President's desire to prevent the rapid exhaustion of the American timber supply. Coupled with the recommendation was the naïve suggestion that the advantages of the free list should be given only to wood-pulp coming from countries which do not impose an export duty on this product. The animus of this appears when it is remembered that Canada is really the only country in North America now possessing large supplies of timber suitable for the manufacture of wood-pulp. It is to this source that the United States are looking. At the same time Canadians are considering the advisability of imposing export duties, with a view to retaining the advantage not only of the partially manufactured but of the finished material, thus quadrupling the value of the product manufactured in Canada.

The President also favoured the exemption from duty of all forest products grown in the United States. This further apparent concession to tariff reform is really due to his desire to safeguard the timber resources of the country. He wished to obtain this end by removing the

centre of the lumber exploitation to other countries. Here, again, the President has been unable to obtain the support of his party. The Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr Cannon, who possesses under the American system an almost despotic power which permits him to determine what legislation shall pass the House of Representatives, was resolved that no measures affecting the tariff should pass in the recent session of Congress. While not only Congress but also the Republican platform refused to take any action on the President's recommendations, the Democrats accepted them, again showing their willingness to incorporate recommendations which the Republicans were unwilling to support.

The day has long gone by when Republicans and Democrats could be sharply distinguished as Protectionists and Free-traders. Though tariff revision will be one of the issues in the approaching campaign, it has not been the central issue in a Democratic campaign since 1892. The only Presidential campaigns in which the Democrats have been successful since the Civil War were fought on the tariff issue. At the same time, Mr Bryan, whose most important speech when in Congress was on the subject of tariff revision, said a year ago that the problems of the Trusts and of railway regulation were more important than those of tariff revision. It is true that the Southern States, the abiding stronghold of the Democratic party, are still traditionally Free-traders. Nevertheless their practice is changing. Their free-trade philosophy developed before the Civil War, in the days of 'King Cotton,' when they were especially interested in exporting raw materials. Now they are developing their manufactures of cotton, sugar, lumber, and iron; and the anomaly presents itself of free-trade principles in the abstract coupled with reliance on protectionist procedure when the peculiar interests of the South are affected.

The campaign of 1904 showed that the Eastern Democrats desired very tender treatment of the tariff. Even in the radical West the advantage of Protection for raw wool appeals to the farmers. Notwithstanding the statements of the Republican party or of its candidate, the issue between the two parties is not Protection in the abstract but how much Protection. The changing

point of view of the Democrats is well illustrated in the statements of their platforms. In 1892 President Cleveland was elected on a platform which denounced Protection as unconstitutional, a fraud, and a robbery. In the present campaign the declaration is very much milder. It favours placing the products of monopolistic industries on the free list; it desires that 'material reductions should be made in the tariff upon the necessities of life, especially upon articles competing with such American manufactures as are sold abroad more cheaply than at home; and gradual reductions should be made in such other schedules as may be necessary to restore the tariff to a revenue basis.' This statement is so worded as to permit an extremely gradual revision of the tariff.

The contention that the products of monopolistic industries should no longer be sheltered by the tariff has been popular with the radical element of the Republican party, although this element is not opposed to the principle of Protection. In the election of 1904 this was advocated as the so-called 'Iowa idea.' The reactionary or 'stand pat' element of the Republican party has since that time been in the ascendant so far as tariff matters are concerned. The Speaker of the House of Representatives, one of the most prominent of the reactionaries, has thrown all his influence against tariff revision. Now the Republicans, feeling that revision cannot long be postponed, are attempting to make it an issue in the campaign, contending that the tariff should be revised by its 'friends,' not by its 'enemies.' While they have declared for revision after the election, they insist that the tariff should remain protective, and that 'the true principle of Protection is best maintained by the imposition of such duties as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad, together with a reasonable profit to American industries.'

In earlier days the 'infant industry' argument was the main stronghold of the Protectionist; when the Dingley tariff was enacted in 1897, the 'pauper labour' argument was relied upon. Now a confession of industrial ineptitude is used as a justification for continuing to maintain a protective tariff. Mr Taft, in accepting this position, shows no desire for the ultimate adoption of free trade. To the Democratic argument for regulation

of monopolies through the free list, he sophistically rejoins that such a policy would be suicidal, since it would not only destroy the Trusts, but their small competitors as well. He admits the necessity for a revision of the tariff, and recognises that in some instances excessive protection has assisted in the creation of monopolies; but he neutralises this concession by saying that 'there are some few other schedules in which the tariff is not sufficiently high to give the measure of protection which they should receive on Republican principles.' This is an open invitation to industries already protected to apply for more protection.

In some of the States of the South and South-west there has of late been great activity in the prosecution of Trusts. The energies of the prosecuting attorneys have been stimulated by permitting them to share in the fines collected. In Texas one of the subsidiary companies of the Standard Oil Company has been fined \$1,623,000, while the International Harvester Company and twenty-three insurance companies have been forced to leave the State on account of the severity of its anti-trust legislation. In Texas and Kansas it is illegal to combine to maintain, increase, or reduce prices. Texas makes it a felony for any employé or agent of a Trust to carry on business within its borders. In the fervour of trust-baiting, laws have been passed which, if rigidly enforced, would reduce business to chaos. The idea of this legislation is to maintain untrammelled competition. The laws of Kansas, if enforced to the letter, would prohibit the existence of a partnership.

While the unthinking severity of the State prosecutions tends to set business back and deprive consumers of the advantages of the economies arising from the capitalistic organisation of industry, the Federal power shows a more enlightened appreciation of the causes of monopoly. The anti-trust legislation of the United States is equally prohibitive; but a steadfast attempt is being made to obtain its proper amendment. The President has repeatedly declared that the law should look at the effect, not the mere fact, of combination. The head of the Bureau of Corporations has said that the anti-trust legislation, through its negative and prohibitive character, is in reality an attack

on the existence of corporations. In the last session of Congress a fruitless attempt was made to modify the anti-trust legislation by providing that corporations engaged in interstate commerce might register with the Government; railways, with the Interstate Commerce Commission; others, with the Bureau of Corporations. If they agreed to give publicity to their affairs, and were found, after investigation, not to be acting in unreasonable restraint of trade, they were to be allowed to carry on business under Federal licences. The failure of this attempt at amendment is due to anxiety about its political effects. It was feared that, besides tending to increase the centralisation of functions under the administrative departments of the Government, it would be regarded as a concession to the Trusts.

The anti-trust legislation nowhere attempts to define the phrase 'restraint of trade.' The courts have looked to the mere fact of combination, not to the result. In the Northern Securities case the Supreme Court refused to consider evidence showing that the combination had reduced railway rates. Difficult as is the task of the courts at present, it would become still harder if they were to attempt to interpret the 'reasonableness' of a restraint. Recognising this difficulty and holding that the proceedings of the courts are not sufficiently prompt, the President has advocated placing the entire supervision and regulation of corporations engaged in interstate commerce under administrative bureaux. This is not only of doubtful constitutionality, but would also intensify the tendency towards centralisation.

The Democratic platform shows the same indiscriminate rigour which characterises the legislation of the South-western States, for it contends that extinction, not regulation, of private monopolies should be the aim. Its attempt to define a monopoly by providing that any interstate corporation controlling 25 per cent. of the plant or product should operate under a Federal licence, while no corporation controlling more than 50 per cent. should be allowed to exist, is an example of childlike belief in the efficacy of prohibitive legislation. There are abundant examples, in the industrial organisation of the United States, to show that less than 50 per cent. gives an effective control of the situation. Mr Taft,

whose discussion of the problem in his speech of acceptance is candid and thorough, is at one with President Roosevelt in urging more enlightened legislation on the Trust problem. At the same time he says that mere bulk of capital, apart from some other advantage, will never maintain a permanent monopoly; for he holds that the effect of competition, whether potential or actual, will in the long run prevail.

While the Democrats believe in criminal actions before the courts, the Republicans rely upon enlightened publicity as a corrective. The publicity phase of the regulative policy has so far been carried on through the Bureau of Corporations. An idea of its work may be obtained from a summary of what it did during the past year. It has assisted the Department of Justice in preparing indictments based on the evidence in regard to secret railway rates which has been obtained in the investigations of the Bureau. It is carrying on investigations of the petroleum, tobacco, and steel industries. It also acts in an advisory capacity to Congress by conducting investigations when so directed by it. Under this direction it is carrying on the following investigations—the effect of the International Harvester Company on interstate commerce, the causes of the high prices of lumber, the causes of fluctuations in the price of cotton, and the extent to which patents granted to officers or employes of the United States enhance the cost of such articles when used by the United States. To quote the words of the Commissioner of Corporations:

‘The primary object of the Bureau is to set before the President, Congress, and the public reliable information as to the operation of the great interstate corporations, in such clear and concise form as to show the important permanent conditions of such corporate operations. With such information as a basis, it is believed that the great corrective force of public opinion can be intelligently and efficiently directed at those industrial ills which constitute the most important of our present problems.’ \*

Many corporations, of which the United States Steel Corporation is the most typical, have given publicity to

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\* Annual Report of the Commissioner of Corporations for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1907, p. 5.

their affairs, perceiving that efficient publicity protects not only the interests of the public, but those of the corporation as well. It is significant that, while the Standard Oil Company is under the fire of indictments, the United States Steel Corporation, with a far greater capitalisation and an essential monopoly of the steel business in the United States, is generally popular.

The most significant recognition of the advantages of publicity is the recent change of front of the Standard Oil Company. Not only did it appeal to the public against the stupendous fine imposed upon it, but it is also publishing information regarding its business methods, showing how it is able to make economies in production. In so doing it wisely refrains from attempting to defend some of its most characteristic methods. Mr Archbold, vice-president of the company, states that, in his opinion, 'the policy of silence which the company maintained for so many years, amid the misrepresentations which assailed it, was a mistaken policy, which, if earlier abandoned, would have saved the company from the injurious effect of much of that misrepresentation.'\*

The chief reason for this change of opinion is the compulsory publicity resulting from the reports of the Bureau of Corporations. The report on the transportation of petroleum showed that the many industrial advantages possessed by the company had been increased, to the detriment of its competitors, by illicit favours obtained from the railways.† The most recent report‡ makes a critical analysis of the Standard's constant claim that it has not only been able to reduce the cost of manufacture, but has also given a large part of this reduction to the consumer. This report is a severe indictment of the company; incidentally it throws doubt on the public advantages alleged to attach to large-scale manufacture, for it contends that the Standard has steadily raised the price of oil during the last ten years. But, in not properly recognising the economies resulting from capitalistic organisation, the report is defective;

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\* 'The Standard Oil Company: Some Facts and Figures,' by John D. Archbold. 'Saturday Evening Post,' December 7, 1907.

† Report on the Transportation of Petroleum, 1906.

‡ Report on the Petroleum Industry; Prices and Profits, 1907.

and its assertion that, but for the unfair competition of the Standard, prices would, under free competition, have been much lower to-day depends on hypothesis.

The reforms in this respect advocated in the Republican platform fall, in many cases, short of those supported by the President. But his utterances demand attention not only because he has forced the problem of regulation on the attention of the country, but also because Mr Taft has pledged himself to carry out these policies. The Act to Regulate Commerce, and the decisions under the Anti-trust Act, prohibit the railways from entering into traffic agreements. Agreements, however, are essential to the proper development of through traffic. The railways have maintained such agreements, though this is in technical violation of the law. The President's recommendation that such agreements should be permitted, under proper supervision, is incorporated in the Republican platform; but his chimerical suggestion that rates should be based on cost, as determined by a physical valuation of the railways, was rejected notwithstanding the attempt of the followers of Senator La Follette, who was a candidate for the Republican nomination, to insert a declaration on this subject in the party programme. The Democrats declare for this method of rate regulation. Though Mr Taft upholds the President's recommendation, he is much less radical, for he recognises that this is but one of the factors to be considered in determining the reasonableness of a rate. On the question of the regulation of corporations engaged in interstate commerce, the Republicans, as a whole, have adopted the less extreme recommendations of the President. The Democrats have won a strategic advantage, so far as the more radical voters are concerned. It will be a strain on the consistency of the radical wing of the Republican party to adopt some of the party silences.

The attempts to regulate monopolistic combinations have been carried on under the Anti-trust Act and the Anti-rebate Law. The latter prohibits the granting or receiving of secret concessions in railway rates, under penalties varying from \$1000 to \$20,000. The provisions of the Anti-rebate Law have been more important than those of the Anti-trust Act. During 1907 six prosecu-

tions were instituted under the latter, while thirty-four were instituted under the former. Railways have been heavily fined for granting rebates. For example, a fine of \$330,000 was imposed on the Santa Fé Railway in November 1907. But the most important exercise of power under this Act has been in connexion with attempts at Trust regulation. The most striking example of this has been the imposition of a fine of \$29,240,000 on the Standard Oil Company in August 1907. In an investigation conducted in 1906 by Mr Garfield, who is now a member of the Federal Cabinet, it transpired that, during the period September 1903-March 1905, a secret rate had been enjoyed by the Standard in transporting its products from its refineries near Chicago to St Louis. During all this time the published rate was three times that charged to the Standard. Under this arrangement 1462 cars of oil were carried at the secret rate.

In order to understand the issues involved, it must be remembered that it was not against the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, but against one of its subsidiary companies, the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, that the action was brought. The parent company acts as a 'holding' company, which controls by stock-holding some nineteen subsidiary companies; it also has stock-holdings in fifty-four other oil corporations. These companies, like the parent company, are under-capitalised if earning power is considered. For example, in 1906 seventeen subsidiary companies, capitalised at \$82,000,000, made profits amounting to \$57,000,000. The Standard Oil Company of Indiana made profits of \$10,000,000 on its capital stock of \$1,000,000.

In finding the company guilty of rebating practices, Judge Landis considered each car shipped at the secret rate as a distinct offence against the law, and therefore imposed the maximum fine of \$20,000 in each case. He was desirous of getting at the body which really profited by the infringement of the law. For he said: 'The nominal defendant is the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, a million-dollar corporation. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, whose capital is \$100,000,000, is the real defendant.' The zeal of the judge outran the strict rules of law. No matter how richly the parent company may have deserved such treatment, it was no

legal party to the case. At the same time the difficulty of the situation appears when it is recognised that, if subsidiary companies alone are to be dealt with, it will be difficult to obtain adequate redress.

In a statement issued after the trial, the Standard contended that the rate it had received had been an open rate; in justification of this contention it pointed to the fact that a similar rate had been quoted by another railway. The representatives of both the railways concerned had, however, admitted, in the proceedings before the grand jury, that the rate in question was 'semi-private,' and that no shipper besides the Standard was aware of its existence. The Standard also complained that it had not been permitted to submit evidence showing that it believed this rate to be a legal one, and that the reports of the various investigations made by Government officials had been used to stir up prejudice.

At the time the decision was given, there was fear that the action of the judge in endeavouring to fine the parent company might lead to a reversal on appeal. It was hoped, in view of the possible effect of such a reversal on the political prospects of the Republican party, that the matter would not be dealt with by the Court of Appeals until after the election. A new aspect was, however, given to the situation by the action of the Court of Appeals, in July 1908, in unanimously overruling the decision of the lower court. The Court of Appeals found that Judge Landis had acted in an arbitrary manner in assessing the fine; that he erred in excluding evidence offered by the Standard to show that it believed the rate to be legal; and that he abused his discretion in considering each car shipped as a separate offence, as well as in imposing the maximum penalty for a first offence. It also held that it was contrary to law to impose a fine of twenty-nine times the capital of the Indiana Company in order to punish the parent company which was not under indictment.

The Government is taking prompt steps to have this decision reviewed by the Supreme Court. But a legal process which involves the courts in matters of trade regulation may produce some dangerous results. Under the American constitutional system the Federal courts are the final arbiters in questions relating to financial

and industrial policy. There thus arises a real danger that judges may be appointed because of the views they are supposed to entertain on contentious questions. It is well known that the constitutionality of the Legal Tender Acts was not fully established until, by an increase in the membership of the Supreme Court and a change in its complexion, a majority favourable to that legislation had been obtained. In 1896, the Democrats openly threatened that, if they were successful, they would pack the Supreme Court in order to obtain a majority favourable to the constitutionality of the income-tax. President Roosevelt has decided that the settlement of the Standard Oil case shall be pressed to a speedy conclusion. In so doing he is simply fulfilling his duties as chief of the executive. But he showed the defects of his temperament and failed to recognise the co-ordinate importance of the judicial with the executive and legislative branches when he angrily exclaimed :

‘There is undoubtedly no question of the guilt of the defendants or of the exceptionally grave character of the offence. The President would regard it as a gross miscarriage of justice if, through technicalities of any kind, the defendants escaped the punishment which would have been unquestionably meted out to any weaker defendant who had been guilty of such offence.’

A special ground of Republican attack upon the Democrats has been that, by criticising judicial decisions, they have threatened the independence of the courts. The President's outburst on this occasion—and it is not his first offence—manifests the existence of a similar dangerous tendency in the Republican party.

In the present ‘crisis of individualism’ in the United States, to use the phrase of the Vicomte d'Avenel,\* the regulative problem is complicated by the division of functions between the Federal Government and the States. The advanced ground which the President has occupied has given new life to the doctrine of ‘State rights.’ He contends that his policy is, in no real sense, an encroachment upon the field of State action. This position is strongly attacked by the Democrats, both the

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\* ‘Aux États Unis,’ by M. le Vicomte Georges d'Avenel. ‘Revue des Deux Mondes,’ October 1907, p. 522.

conservative and the radical wings of the party agreeing in this. Mr Parker, the Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1904, who may be taken as a representative of the conservative wing, in attacking the 'new Federalism,' said :

'The struggle for an increase of the Federal power and for a diminution of the power of the States is carried on without an amendment of the Constitution. . . . The hope of the aggressors is . . . to produce an expansion of the commerce clause to cover every incident of productive and creative energy.' \*

The more radical views of Mr Bryan are alleged to be based on the particularistic views of Jefferson. This allegation, however, is simply a bit of fetichism. It is significant that when, in 1906, Mr Bryan pronounced in favour of railway nationalisation as the real remedy for railway ills, the outspoken protests of the Southern States, not only the most conservative section of the country but also that which believes most firmly in 'State rights,' forced him to renounce this policy. He asserts that the President's plan of national incorporation would create new dangers. With the contention of the State Democratic platform of Nebraska, which was inspired by Mr Bryan, viz., that 'Federal remedies shall be added to and not substituted for State remedies,' there can be no abstract dispute. But the defect in the Democratic position is that the advocacy of constitutional truisms tends to divert attention from the fact that the field of Federal regulation must of necessity expand, and that there are many national problems with which the States cannot cope.

While in theory there is a clear distinction between the Federal and the State jurisdictions, in practice conflicts arise which create difficult problems. The regulation of interstate rates is under a Federal commission, but it is possible for the States to encroach upon this. A State railway commission may impose low rates on intra-State shipments which may compel reductions, and possibly discriminations, in competitive rates on lines of railway which do not traverse the State in question. Again, the States have, in some instances,

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\* Speech delivered at the Jamestown Exhibition, September 17, 1907.

passed maximum passenger-rate laws to govern the traffic within their boundaries. In some instances the State courts have found these confiscatory. In other cases, e.g., with regard to North Carolina, Alabama, and Virginia, the Federal courts have issued injunctions prohibiting these rates as confiscatory. The States have attempted to nullify such action by legislative devices.

The opposition to the increase of Federal powers has not been confined to the Democrats; there has been some opposition within the Republican ranks as well. The movement for more adequate national regulation has, however, not only roused State criticism, but has also caused the States to appreciate their duties and powers. In New York, under a Republican Governor, Mr Hughes, much has been done to develop efficient State regulation. According to that official, 'it is the seed of revolution to educate the people to expect that which they cannot get, and the different departments of government to assume that they may get from the Nation what they can only get from the State.'

So far there has been little of that fever-heat of enthusiasm which ordinarily characterises a Presidential campaign. One indication of this is the apathy so far shown in making contributions to the campaign funds. Over the whole contest the shadow of President Roosevelt's policies is thrown. Mr Bryan contests with Mr Taft the right to be considered the President's political heir. In his speech at Cincinnati, early in September, Mr Taft said: 'If I am elected, I propose to devote all the energy that is in me to prevail upon Congress to pass the laws necessary to clinch the Roosevelt policies.' Though he is a man of force and ability, he has throughout been so eulogistic of President Roosevelt as to cause many to do him the injustice of considering him a mere echo of Roosevelt. He has also been injured by President Roosevelt's well-meant but blundering strategy in attempting to determine the choice of his successor. This open interference in the campaign is not relished by the American people.

In the present campaign there has not, so far, developed any one dominating issue, unless it be said that the issue is a choice between the radicalism of Roosevelt and the radicalism of Bryan. The latter has shown an opportunist

recognition of the fact that this is, in all probability, his last opportunity to be a candidate for the Presidency, by stating that for the Democrats all the issues involved in the campaign are those outlined in the party platform. In this way he pushes aside such issues as free silver, nationalisation of railways, the initiative and referendum, etc., which he has at different times advocated. The same opportunism is displayed in his attitude towards the tariff. While he advocates revision, he said at Des Moines, August 21, 1908,

‘the Democratic party does not contemplate an immediate change from one system to the other; it expressly declares that the change shall be gradual; and a gradual change is only possible when the country is satisfied with the results of each step taken. We elect a Congress every two years and a President every four years; and the people can soon stop any policy if the results of that policy are not satisfactory.

In the election of 1904 President Roosevelt had a popular vote exceeding by two millions that of his comparatively unknown Democratic opponent. In the present contest both candidates are well known; both are from the Mississippi valley; and it is in this district that the contest will be decided. For the Democrats to win, it will be necessary to obtain the support of some of the large industrial States. In New York the renomination of Governor Hughes for the office of Governor will mean much for the national Republican ticket; for his successful advocacy of important reforms has given him a strong hold on the people of that State. There is no chance that either party will win by any such overwhelming majority as was obtained by the Republicans four years ago. An important factor in determining the result will be the extent to which the smaller political parties are able to deflect votes from either of the large parties in the contests in the industrial States. If Mr Taft is elected, his legal training and judicial experience will ensure a regulative policy of more moderate and conservative character than that of President Roosevelt. While not less earnest than his predecessor, he will be less denunciatory and less spectacular.

S. J. McLEAN.



**Art. IX.—OUR ENDANGERED SEA SUPREMACY.**

1. *The Naval Annual for 1908.* Edited by T. A. Brassey. Portsmouth: Griffin, 1908.
2. *Fighting Ships.* Edited by Fred T. Jane. London: Sampson Low, 1908.
3. *Navy League Annual, 1907-8.* Edited by Alan H. Burgoyne. London: The Navy League, 13 Victoria Street, S.W., 1907.
4. *Taschenbuch der Kriegsflotten, 1908.* Munich: J. F. Leymann.
5. *Fleets (Great Britain and Foreign Countries).* Commons Paper 277 of 1908. London: Wyman, 1908.
6. *The Admiralty of the Atlantic.* By Percival A. Hislam. London: Longmans, 1908.

As a naval Power England stands at the cross-roads in her history. She is face to face with a crisis which threatens her naval supremacy. Whether it be or be not admitted that the 'Dreadnought' marked a fresh era in naval armaments, the outlook is one of extreme gravity. Since this ship made her appearance, embodying new principles of offence and defence, the British Government have built or ordered twelve of the largest battle units; Germany has begun ten ships of more or less corresponding character; France and the United States have authorised six each; and other nations have not been inactive. In the past three years the amount of shipbuilding for the British navy has barely exceeded the quantity placed to the credit of the German fleet alone. This statement of fact is in itself sufficiently grave to cause deep-seated anxiety; but a more serious feature of the outlook is the attitude which the British Government has assumed towards armaments generally, and the manner in which Mr Asquith and his colleagues, in endeavouring to placate the socialistic section of their supporters, have forced the United Kingdom into a position of extreme financial difficulty.

Finance is in truth the key to the naval situation. At a time when trade is decreasing and the revenue of the country is falling, the Government have remitted indirect taxes to the amount of 3,400,000*l.* and at the

same time placed increased burdens upon the exchequer. They have passed through Parliament a scheme of old-age pensions which will next year cost seven or eight millions, and will eventually entail an expenditure almost as heavy as that for the navy itself. They have entered upon a scheme of Irish legislation which must throw a heavy burden upon the British taxpayer; and, in the pursuit of various socialistic dreams, machinery is being set up in the United Kingdom which will inevitably cause a large growth in the Civil Service estimates; while, on the other hand, by a complete reversal of army policy, tearing up by the roots all the young growth of their predecessors, they have incurred the heavy outlays which are inevitably associated with revolutionary changes. Revenue has been decreased and expenditure increased in every direction except that of adequate provision for the defences of the Empire. In each of the last three budgets apparent surpluses have been secured mainly by postponing necessary expenditure on the navy. On new construction alone economies, either misleading or temporary, have been made, amounting in the past three years to upwards of nine millions sterling in comparison with the expenditure in 1904. There have been other economies in the naval votes of this period which are due to improved administration, but the sums which have been diverted from the construction of new ships have not been legitimate permanent economies.

From year to year the Government has chosen, for its own ends, to ignore the naval crisis which has been approaching. No provision has been made for the adequate maintenance of the fleet in future years, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer threatens that, when he comes to prepare his new budget, he will have to make a raid upon 'other people's hen-roosts'; in other words, capital and income are to be further plundered, and the victims are to be told that the operation is necessary in the interests of the fleet. The general idea which apparently underlies the Government's plans is to relieve the working classes of all part and lot in the defence of the country by returning to them in old-age pensions and other doles the sums collected from them in indirect taxation. In place of the old Radical complaint of

'taxation without representation' we shall have the extremely dangerous and immoral condition of 'representation without taxation,' except such as the working classes pay voluntarily over the bars of public-houses and clubs. In these conditions a British democracy, practically freed from financial responsibility for its acts, must prove a positive peril to the peace of the world. In the hour of passion, such as now and again sweeps through a nation, it would possess the power to foment war without the restraining influence which either personal service or taxation for war exerts.

No impartial observer who has watched the course which the Government have run would imagine that the rivalry in naval armaments in the past three years had entered on a new and remarkable phase. While we have been called upon year by year to find smaller sums for the navy, our one and only line of defence, the nations of the world have begun the stupendous task of entirely rebuilding their fleets to the 'Dread-nought' standard. From the comparatively light-hearted spirit in which this new burden is being shouldered, it might be imagined that no such gathering as the Peace Conference at the Hague had ever been held. England, Germany, France, Russia, Italy, Austria, and Spain among the European Powers, the United States, Brazil, and Argentina on the Atlantic and the Pacific, and Japan and China in the Far East, are all engaged in this costly contest for naval power. From one end of the world to the other, tens of thousands of mechanics are occupied upon precisely the same tasks; here manufacturing guns, there making armour, elsewhere devising engines and boilers, or patiently riveting plate to plate and rearing the structures of steel which in time will be floated on the water and fitted out as men-of-war. Everywhere except in the United Kingdom, where workers are starving, there is unprecedented activity.

For the time being, this operation of rebuilding the war-fleets of the world has become the absorbing preoccupation of statesmen. The great armed camps ashore are, comparatively speaking, neglected. We all belong to the 'blue-water school,' whether we be British, German, French, American, Japanese, or Chinese. The naval activity which is apparent at this moment is without

parallel in the history of the world. Never was the contest so keen as to-day. Statesmen in the eastern and western hemispheres have come to perceive that the old ideas of military power applied to nations which are strong only on land is almost obsolete; so one-sided a conception of strength will soon cease, except for inland countries, to have any meaning.

This development of thought and action has another aspect. A policy which is based upon command of the sea, although it may be only the temporary command of a small section of the world's water area, has been welcomed by far-seeing publicists because it checks the inevitable introspection, with all its melancholy pessimism, petty irritation, and tendency to revolutionary movement, which inevitably attacks democracies like a very cancer. Ratzel has written :

'Out of the infinite horizon there grows in the mind and character of seafaring people a strong tendency towards boldness, fortitude, and long-sightedness. Seafaring nations have materially contributed to the enlargement and heightening of political standards. To them narrow territorial politics appear but short-sighted policy. The wide open sea serves to enlarge the views of both merchants and statesmen. The sea alone can produce truly great Powers.'

And Frederick List has remarked that

'a nation without navigation is a bird without wings, a fish without fins, a toothless lion, a stag on crutches, a knight with a wooden sword, a helot and slave among mankind. He who has no share in the sea is excluded from the good things and the honours of the world; he is only the stepson of our dear Lord God.'

In the early days of fleet-expansion in Germany, when the Emperor had recently succeeded to a throne which seemed increasingly insecure owing to the progress of socialism among his people, there is reason to believe that he entered upon the task of building up a German fleet as a means of defence for the monarchy. It was part of a scheme of world-policy aimed to divert thought from home. Speaking at Hamburg seven years ago, the German Emperor struck the keynote of the early movement as it appealed to himself when he stated that

'the more Germans come to be known on the water, whether in the rivalry of regattas, in voyages across the ocean, or in service in the navy, the better it is for us, because, if the German once turns his ideas to what is great and far distant, then the pettiness which now and again is apt to cling to daily life will all depart.'

*Weltpolitik*, apart from its material aspects, has since then become the very salt savouring the whole range of politics in the German Empire: Amid all the littlenesses of life in the many States which go to make up the German Empire, there has been heard above the ordinary wrangles of the market-place the voice of the Emperor continually crying aloud like a prophet of old: 'Look not inward at what is small and petty, but cast your eyes over the ocean where German ships are carrying the Imperial Eagle and German merchants are bearing the goods you make and spreading the knowledge of the power and might of the Germanic family'; amid all the din of municipal and communal politics, remember always that *our future lies on the sea.*

This teaching has acted like a powerful tonic upon the peoples of the German Empire, differing widely, as they do, in religion, language, customs, and political ideals. It has welded them together. The German army, great as is its size, is a military patchwork, split up into different sections under different royal commanders-in-chief. The fleet is an Imperial instrument; it owes allegiance to one *Grosser Admiral*—the Emperor himself. It knows no divided control, but is always kept, massed in all its strength, in the Baltic. It frequently cruises in northern waters under the command of the Emperor's brother, Prince Henry of Prussia; and from time to time detachments make their furrow in distant seas. Wherever the ships go they are followed with enthusiastic pride by the German people. While officers and men are engaged in drill, perfecting the war efficiency of the mailed fist of the German Empire, the Navy League ashore is spreading far and wide in the interior States the blue-water gospel. This missionary work is carried on among old and young; lectures are delivered in towns and villages; excursions to the great ports for adults and school-children are organised. Peripatetic exhibitions are always gathering together interested crowds; and, as occasion offers, the

Imperial Marine Office sends flotillas of light-draught torpedo vessels up the rivers in order to give the inhabitants of inland States an opportunity of inspecting the ships of the fleet upon which the ambitions of the Empire are concentrated.

Throughout the German States the blue-water gospel has proved a gospel of health; it has consolidated the Empire as nothing else could have consolidated it. It has appealed to the imagination of the population; it is fresh as the breeze that comes in from the Atlantic; it is as wide and deep as the sea itself, and lifts the mind above the pettiness of daily life; and it has directed attention away from the cross currents of interior politics to those fields of adventure, the panacea for all the problems suggested by the growth of population and production. Nothing has revealed the statesmanship of the German Emperor so conspicuously as his determined efforts to divert the attention of his people away from the market-place and fix it upon all that is represented by *weltpolitik*. In preaching the blue-water gospel he has been making a strenuous effort to correct the centripetal forces which threatened to imperil the Empire. On the other hand, no unbiassed observer can acquit the Emperor and the Navy League, which has acted as his subservient missionary, from adopting propagandist methods which have set the teeth of the world on edge; envy, malice, and all uncharitableness, particularly against England, her world-fleet, her wealth, and her colonies have been employed in aid of the navy movement.

Looking back over the series of telegrams and speeches and the thousands of leaflets and pamphlets which have been used in forwarding the cause of the German navy, and in which scarcely-disguised enmity towards England has frequently been apparent, we can now see how deftly the work has been done. There has been nothing to which the British Government could legitimately take exception; the suggestions and innuendoes have always stopped short of flagrant outrage, but have been sufficient to arouse the German peoples and make them turn their gaze outward instead of inward. They have been fired with a great ideal. The German Navy League already numbers a million members. Now that the foundation has been laid, not without exciting alarm in England

and nervousness throughout the whole world, and giving impetus to naval rivalry in both hemispheres, it is natural that efforts should be made to efface the tracks of the pioneers. The work which the Emperor set out to do has been accomplished. Ten years ago naval expansion was his personal ambition; now it is a national policy, which he could not, if he would, check or abandon. The German people have adopted his blue-water gospel; they will not look back; and it is consequently the highest wisdom to heal the wounds which have been inflicted during the long continued campaign marked by the Kruger telegram, the 'Bundesrath' incident, the pro-Boer agitation, and the interference with the Morocco-Egyptian concordat between England and France. These irritants have served their purpose; they were intended to act as a tonic on the German peoples, and to wean them from introspective domestic politics. Since that end has been attained, every opportunity is taken to make friends with those who have been affronted in the process.

Meantime the spirit of *weltpolitik* remains; the German navy is growing with automatic regularity; and, now that German opinion has been aroused and educated, nothing can stay the progress of the movement for fleet expansion. It is the cult of the moment; and, by the very boldness with which the British naval supremacy has been assailed in the latest German Naval Act, a keen spirit of rivalry has been excited. The Emperor himself urged that '*the trident must be in our fist*'; and many Germans see already in their dreams the trident being wrested from British hands; a little more effort, they cry, and the goal will be won.

It is impossible to ignore the impetus which the progress of the naval movement in Germany has given to the activities of other Powers, all conducing to British embarrassment, in spite of the policy of *ententes*, because an Empire's security cannot rest on informal understandings and good-will. The passage of the new German Navy Act, which pledges the Empire to an expenditure of about 200,000,000*l.* upon the fleet within the next ten years, has coincided with the shedding of fresh light upon many naval problems by the war between Russia and Japan. The war conclusively proved the importance of the big gun; hence the evolution of the 'Dreadnought' type of

battleship, carrying none but big guns for battle. Successive fights at sea in the Far East emphasised the importance of the torpedo; hence the renewed activity in constructing torpedo craft. The 'Dreadnought' type of battleship represents a new standard of naval power, owing to the devastating fire which she can bring to bear upon the enemy from her ten 12-inch guns. Prior to the launch of the 'Dreadnought,' battleships carried only four 11 or 12-inch guns, supported by a secondary armament of 6-inch weapons. These last, however valuable they may be as anti-torpedo weapons, are now regarded as comparatively useless for battle at the extreme ranges at which actions will be fought in the near future. In the 'Dreadnought' the 6-inch gun has been banished, and all the weight available for armament has been devoted to ten 12-inch weapons, of which eight can be brought to bear upon either broadside. Apart from other advantages in superior speed and protection, the 'Dreadnought' possesses twice the gun-power of an ordinary battleship concentrated in one hull. When this revolutionary vessel made her appearance it was claimed, whether rightly or wrongly, that she rendered all the fleets of the world obsolete. The great naval Powers, after studying the lessons deduced from the war in the Far East, have accepted this dictum. Every nation is now beginning to rebuild its fleet to the 'Dreadnought' standard on the initiative of Germany's active policy.

The people of the United Kingdom have as yet only dimly perceived the struggle which is before them, though the facts have been set forth lucidly in the 'Naval Annual'

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\* It may be well to correct one mistake which is continually made with reference to the 'Dreadnought.' This type of ship was the inevitable outcome of the war in the Far East. It was the next step in size to the 'King Edward VII,' of 16,350 tons, and the 'Lord Nelson' and 'Agamemnon,' of 16,500 tons (which had been built for the British fleet), and the 'Andrei Pervozvannyi' and 'Imperator Pavel I,' of 17,200 tons, which were being constructed for the Russian fleet before the war broke out. The Japanese laid down a ship of even greater displacement than the 'Dreadnought' at an almost corresponding date. This battleship, the 'Satsuma,' displaces 19,350 tons. The virtue of British naval policy lies in the fact that, realising the lessons of the war, owing to superior information, the Admiralty determined to be first in the field in Europe instead of sinking British capital in vessels of a type which had already been shown to be ineffective. Great Britain led the way in Europe, but she trod a path which was inevitable.

from year to year. At present their vision is entirely filled with the naval expansion of Germany; and they have failed to appreciate the influence which the latest German enactment is already having on other Powers. The United States, as a result of the last ten years' appropriations to the fleet, has become the second greatest naval Power of the world. This position the American people will not abdicate, although Congress has authorised the construction this year of only two battleships in addition to ten torpedo boats and eight submarines. This programme is the thin end of the wedge; and there is no doubt that eventually provision will be made for laying down at least one keel for every keel which is laid down in Germany. What this means may be readily understood by reference to the naval programme which has already been adopted in Germany. This programme makes provision for the following men-of-war:

Year.	Battleships.	Large Cruisers.	Small Cruisers.	Destroyers.
1908 . . .	3	1	2	12
1909 . . .	3	1	2	12
1910 . . .	3	1	2	12
1911 . . .	3	1	2	12
1912 . . .	1	1	2	12
1913 . . .	1	1	2	12
1914 . . .	1	1	2	12
1915 . . .	1	1	2	12
1916 . . .	1	1	2	12
1917 . . .	1	1	2	12
	18	10	20	120

Unless the people of the United States are willing to relinquish their position as the world's second greatest naval Power, they cannot lay down fewer ships of the different classes than are enumerated above. This programme will merely secure to them equality with Germany; and, if only for this reason, it may be anticipated that this rate of construction from year to year will be considerably exceeded. The President has devoted his last months of office to arousing popular interest in the fleet. He has behind him practically all the influential newspapers of the United States, and he is winning fresh adherents among the American people far more readily than there was reason to anticipate. The world-cruise of the

Atlantic fleet has had an important educative influence on American opinion. In his latest message to Congress the President set forth in the clearest possible language the arguments which he considers conclusive in favour of a shipbuilding programme from year to year unprecedented in dimensions. After referring to the arbitration treaties which the United States is now negotiating with other Powers Mr Roosevelt added :

'Prior to the recent Hague conference it had been my hope that an agreement could be reached between the different nations to limit the increase of naval armaments, and especially to limit the size of warships. Under these circumstances I felt that the construction of one battleship a year would keep our navy up to its then positive and relative strength; but actual experience showed not merely that it was impossible to obtain such an agreement for the limitation of armaments among the various leading Powers, but that there was no likelihood whatever of obtaining it in the future within any reasonable time.

'Coincidentally with this discovery occurred a radical change in the building of battleships among the great military nations, a change in accordance with which the most modern battleships have been or are being constructed of a size and armament which doubles or more probably trebles their effectiveness. Every other great naval nation has, or is building, a number of ships of this kind; we have provided for but two, and therefore the balance of power is now inclining against us. Under these conditions, to provide for but one or two battleships a year is to provide that this nation, instead of advancing, shall go backward in naval rank and relative power among the great nations. Such a course would be unwise for us if we fronted merely on one ocean, and it is doubly unwise when we front on two oceans.

'I advocate that the United States build a navy commensurate with its powers and its needs, because I feel that such a navy will be the surest guarantee and safeguard of peace. We are not a military nation. Our army is so small as to present an almost absurd contrast to our size. It is properly treated as little more than a nucleus for organisation in case of serious war. Yet we are a rich nation, and undefended wealth invites aggression. The very liberty of individual speech and action, which we so prize and guard, renders it possible that at times unexpected causes of friction with foreign Powers may suddenly develop.'

Finally, summarising the arguments—which apply equally to the United Kingdom—the President added :

‘When a nation is so happily situated as is ours—that is, when it has no reason to fear or to be feared by its land neighbours—the fleet is all the more necessary for the preservation of peace. Great Britain has been saved by its fleet from the necessity of facing one of the two alternatives—of submission to conquest by a foreign Power, or of itself becoming a great military Power. The United States can hope for a permanent career of peace on only one condition, and that is, on condition of building and maintaining a first-class navy. If we desire to avoid insult we must be able to repel it; if we desire to secure peace, one of the most powerful instruments of our rising prosperity, it must be known that we are at all times ready for war.’

These words may be commended to the visionaries marshalled under the banners of the various peace societies in England, for President Roosevelt’s declaration might have been made with even greater force by a British Prime Minister. Owing to the recent financial panic and the general depression which has followed in its train, Congress, in spite of the protests of a considerable minority (which is the nucleus of what will become a solid majority as soon as the present temporary industrial derangement is at end), voted the addition of two instead of four battleships to the fleet. Next year the programme will be larger.

France is endeavouring, though painfully, to tread the same pathway as the United States; but here again financial stringency has delayed the plans for a time. For every keel laid down in Germany, France must also eventually place a keel in position or sacrifice her place in Europe. M. de Lanessan, a former Minister of Marine, in an article which he lately contributed to a Leipzig paper, dealt with the recent history of the French fleet. He viewed the outlook in no spirit of despondency, and he came to the conclusion that the number of battleships which France should possess must be at least equal to those provided for the German fleet. The opinion which the former Minister of Marine expresses to-day will be re-echoed from end to end of the French Republic to-morrow; and France will be committed to a naval

programme not less ambitious than that which Germany has already adopted. Already the Ministry of Marine has prepared plans for the construction of six additional battleships, which will be laid down on the slips now occupied by the six battleships authorised in 1906.

It is not necessary to attempt to foreshadow here the steps which are being taken in Russia or in Japan to neutralise the naval activity of Germany, France, and the United States; the renewed competition in naval armaments will react on all the nations of the world, great and small. The fact that during the next ten years Germany, France, and the United States will probably lay down at least 54 battleships, 30 large cruisers of the 'Invincible' type, 60 small cruisers, and 360 t.b.d's., apart from submarines, will not only raise the naval expenditure in Russia, Japan, Italy, and Austria, but will tend to increase the exertions made by the smaller Powers to provide more efficient naval defences for their coasts. Day by day news is published which confirms this anticipation. Now it is Spain which is engaged in elaborating an extensive naval programme; again, it is the Chinese ambassador who refers to the orders for naval material which his Government will shortly be giving out. South American republics have already joined in the competition. Apart from small ships, Brazil has under construction three huge battleships, larger than the 'Dreadnought'; and, one of the South American Powers having led the way, it is in the nature of things that her neighbours should join in the race. In spite of the agreements which have been signed for the preservation of the *status quo* in the Baltic and the North Sea, the lesser northern Powers will not remain satisfied with the measures of defence hitherto deemed adequate.

This renewed competition for naval power is due to the initiative of Germany, her progress being marked by successive Naval Acts, each representing a higher standard of ship-production than the last. By her increased appropriation for the fleet she has given an impetus to naval expansion throughout the world. Occasionally an effort is made in the German press to disguise this fact, but the case is so clear as to furnish no excuse for misunderstanding; and none can indeed exist anywhere

outside Germany—except in the mind of the British Chancellor of the Exchequer. During the ten years ending in 1888, while the average naval British expenditure was just over 12,000,000*l.*, Germany, with her huge army, was content to spend less than 2,500,000*l.* on her fleet without suffering from us either insult or injury. In the subsequent ten years, while the British outlay was 18,500,000*l.* annually, the outlay by Germany was only just over 4,500,000*l.*; but Germany was not molested by the British fleet. In the last ten years Great Britain has spent on her fleet at the rate of rather less than 32,000,000*l.* each year in meeting French and Russian rivalry, while the German expenditure amounted to 10,865,000*l.*; and yet no aggressive act of the British fleet occurred. Now German expenditure is rising automatically year by year. It is already over 16,600,000*l.*, and in 1911 it will reach an aggregate of 23,000,000*l.* In the past four years British naval expenditure on new construction has decreased by a total sum of nearly 11,000,000*l.*, while that of Germany for the same purpose had been augmented by 6,380,000*l.* in the aggregate.

In the past three years the British Government has been engaged in peace manœuvres on an extensive scale; and we are paying the inevitable price. Ten years ago the late Viscount Goschen, when First Lord of Admiralty, announced that, if foreign Powers showed a readiness to limit their naval commitments, Great Britain would immediately respond. This offer was regarded, in Germany at least, as an indication that Great Britain was becoming weary of the struggle to maintain her traditional standard of naval power. In the subsequent ten years German expenditure has increased by upwards of 200 per cent., while that of Great Britain has expanded by only about 50 per cent. Undeterred by the moral which Germany had drawn from this undertaking, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his supporters, during the period when the Liberal party were in opposition, urged repeatedly their conviction that, if Great Britain would herself lead the way, other naval Powers, 'groaning under the burden of bloated armaments,' would immediately and joyfully follow her example. With a consistency which seldom characterises party warfare, the Liberals, on succeeding to office, proceeded to put

into practice the theories which they had expounded in opposition. In the past three years of Liberal administration the sum expended upon the maintenance of the British fleet has been steadily reduced, in comparison with the high-water mark of 1904-5, by an aggregate sum of over 22,782,000*l.*, while in the same period German expenditure has been increased by nearly 12,000,000*l.*, so that actually, in comparison with Germany, the comparative outlay on the British fleet has dwindled in these three years by over 34,000,000*l.* In the face of these figures the suggestion that England has forced the pace is so preposterous as hardly to merit detailed refutation.

The truth is that Germany's naval ambitions were confined within comparatively modest limits until the British Government, by these naval reductions, raised delusive hopes. The German people had no reason to object to the naval *status quo*. As the German Peace Society pointed out in a manifesto last July,

'Down to the present time no German interests have been injured in any perceptible way. No attack has been made on our frontiers or on our independence. No German right has been affected, no German possession destroyed. Everything that is now pointed out as endangering Germany's position in the concert of nations is but a spectre produced by morbid distrust.'

Directly the Liberal party revealed their policy of leading the way to disarmament, the German Government doubled its activity. It saw an opportunity of gaining a march on the world's greatest sea-power, which lies across Germany's front door. The Liberal party came into office in December 1905; and in the spring of 1906 the new German Navy Act was introduced, so as to profit by the passivism which Germans have been led to associate with British Radicalism. This is admitted in Germany. Herr von Rath, a retired Councillor of Legation, has told the world that it was the gospel of the naval enthusiasts that 'England, under a Liberal Government would, in view of the demands of her social policy, refrain from building a larger number of ships and even might' build fewer. It was calculated that, when the Conservatives returned to office, Germany would already have obtained a lead which it would be difficult for

England to recover.' The Act of 1906 met with no retort from the British Government; on the contrary, our navy estimates were further reduced. Germany, therefore, further expanded her naval scheme; and this spring an amending Act was passed to raise the fleet to a position directly rivalling that of Great Britain.

But for a concatenation of circumstances, the naval crisis which is now immediately at hand must have occurred at a much earlier date. Events have conspired to save the British people from the immediate fruits of the peace manoeuvres of the present Government. By skilful diplomacy our relations with Russia, France, and Spain have become of the friendliest character; the menace on the Indian frontier has been removed; the trouble which was brewing in Persia has been composed; our equivocal position in Egypt has been regularised. These events have enabled the Admiralty safely to reduce the naval strength concentrated in the Mediterranean, and has thus placed at their disposal a dominating naval force for northern waters. At the same time it would be hypocritical to ignore the advantage which we have secured by the war in the Far East, accompanied as it was by the practical annihilation of the naval power of Russia and the conclusion of a defensive alliance with Japan. The process of naval reduction might have been continued without occasioning widespread anxiety had it not been for the fresh impetus which was given to the German expansion movement by the Navy Acts of 1906 and 1908. If Germany were to-day content to devote to her fleet a matter of 6,000,000*l.* each year, as was the case in 1898, it would be possible for the British Government to maintain the two-power standard at an annual outlay only slightly exceeding 20,000,000*l.* The British people are faced with the prospect of largely increased naval commitments owing to the fact that the German authorities interpreted the peace manoeuvres of the British Government as the outward and visible sign that the British people were unable to maintain the two-power standard.

Many reasons exist, however, for refusing to accept statistics of naval expenditure as an accurate test of the British naval position. While it is true that Germany, lately a second-rate naval power, has rapidly become one

of the first class, ranking as the second in Europe, Russia has at the same time practically disappeared. Consequently British naval strength, even if calculated on a financial basis, has not suffered to the extent which is frequently assumed. Down to the opening of the war in the Far East, Russia's fleet constituted a serious menace to British naval supremacy. That fleet has now ceased to exist, and Russia's place has been taken by Germany. Prior to the war we were faced by three great fleets—those of France, Russia, and Germany—whereas to-day it is necessary to take into account only the resources of Germany, with a fleet rapidly expanding, and France, with a fleet which of late years has somewhat declined. Our relative naval position in respect of completed ships—for we have not yet felt the effect of the Government's economies, since foreign battleships take from three to four years to build—has consequently improved since the conclusion of the war, in which Russia lost more tons of naval shipping (apart from the damage which her prestige sustained) than Germany has since built.

But the main reason for not adopting a financial basis of comparison for naval strength is to be found in the entirely different conditions governing British and German sea-power. Rates of pay in Germany are low because she has a conscriptive system, whereas the British Admiralty has to go into the labour market and compete for men with industrial and other employers by offering every inducement of high pay and allowances. Germany is also a self-contained Empire with comparatively insignificant overseas possessions; consequently she is able to concentrate her fleet in the Baltic, and, in measuring her strength against Great Britain, she need take account only of that portion of the British fleet which is maintained in close proximity to her sea frontiers. In the exposition of the Navy Act of 1898 this advantage was expressly revealed in the following paragraph. 'It is not absolutely necessary that the German fleet should be as strong as that of the greatest sea-power, because generally a great sea-power will not be in a position to concentrate all its forces against us.'

This is a clear statement of Germany's naval position. Even when her fleet has reached (about 1920) its maximum strength of 38 battleships, 20 large armoured cruisers,

38 small cruisers, and 144 torpedo craft, it will be necessary to detach only a comparatively insignificant number of cruisers for service in extra-territorial waters. The main principle underlying naval policy in Germany is the concentration of resources in northern waters, in a proportion which must remain impossible to Great Britain in view of her oversea responsibilities. For every German warship on foreign service there are to-day four flying the white ensign. In view of misconceptions which have arisen it is advisable to make this important point quite clear. Appended is a list of vessels flying the British and German flags beyond what may be regarded as the 'home waters' of the two Powers. This statement takes no account of the six battleships, four armoured cruisers, and two protected cruisers constituting the British Atlantic fleet, which is intended to protect British interests in the Atlantic or to reinforce, as circumstances may dictate, the fleets in the English Channel and North Sea or in the Mediterranean. The following list has been compiled from the 'Taschenbuch der Kriegsflotten' and the latest particulars given in the 'Naval Annual,' with only such amendment as the 'Navy List' has shown to be necessary owing to recent changes. The vessels are classified in four classes, shown in parenthesis after each ship. (1) indicates an armoured ship—battleship or armoured cruiser; (2) a protected cruiser of over 4000 tons; (3) a protected cruiser of under 4000 tons; (4) a gun-boat:—

## BRITISH AND GERMAN NAVAL DISTRIBUTION.

## MEDITERRANEAN.

*British.*

Vengeance (1).  
 Albion (1).  
 Ocean (1).  
 Canopus (1).  
 Glory (1).  
 Goliath (1).

Aboukir (1).  
 Bacchante (1).  
 Lancaster (1).  
 Suffolk (1).  
 Minerva (2).  
 Diana (3).

Barham (3).  
 Phillomet (3).  
 Imogene (3).  
 Hussar (4).  
 Eleven destroyers.

*German.*

Loreley (yacht).

## AMERICAN COAST.

*British.*

Cressy (1).  
 Euryalus (1).  
 Hogue (1).

Brilliant (3).  
 Indefatigable (3).

Sappho (3).  
 Scylla (3).

*German.*

Bremen (3).                      Falke (3).

*FAR EAST.*

*British.*

Bedford (1).	Monmouth (1).	Six vessels (3).
Kent (1).	Astrea (2).	Ten small vessels (4).
King Alfred (1).	Flora (2).	Seven destroyers.

*German.*

Fürst Bismarck (1).	Niobe (3).	Seven small vessels (4).
Leipzig (3).	Arcona (3).	Two destroyers.

*EAST AFRICA AND EAST INDIES.*

*British.*

Highflyer (2).	Perseus (3).	Three small vessels (4).
Hyacinth (3).	Proserpine (3).	

*German.*

Seeadler (3).	Bussard (3).
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*SOUTH AND WEST AFRICA.*

*British.*

Hermes (2).	Hermione (3).	Pelorus (3).
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*German.*

Sperber (3).	Panther (4).
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*AUSTRALIA.*

*British.*

Challenger (2).	Cambrian (2).	Prometheus (3).
Encounter (3).	Pegasus (3).	Psyche (3).
Powerful (2).	Pioneer (3).	Pyramus (3).

*German.*

Condor (3).

This statement indicates not merely that the naval representation of Germany in foreign waters is numerically small, but that the fighting value of the vessels is insignificant. There is only one German armoured vessel enumerated; whereas, even under the present favourable circumstances marked by our friendly relations with the Mediterranean Powers, with Japan in the Far East, and with the United States in the Far West, the Admiralty consider it desirable to keep on foreign stations seventeen armoured ships and upwards of thirty cruising ships of various sizes.

This is the low-water mark of British fleets in extra-territorial waters. The squadrons on duty beyond the British seas are considerably smaller than they were

at any time during the later years of Queen Victoria's reign. The existing disposition can be considered adequate only so long as cordial feelings subsist between the United Kingdom and the Mediterranean Powers, and affairs in the Pacific remain in their present quiescent state. It is impossible to ignore the possibility of developments in the Far East and in the Pacific which may render it extremely difficult for the Admiralty to resist a demand for considerably increased representation of British naval power in extra-territorial waters which can be made only at the expense of our strength in home waters. While the German naval estimates indicate expenditure almost exclusively upon a fleet concentrated in home waters, the appropriations for the British fleet include large sums spent in maintaining our position in the Mediterranean and in distant seas, and in protecting our world-wide commerce.

In these circumstances not only is a comparison of strength based on British and German naval expenditure misleading in the existing situation, in that it ignores the essential responsibilities attaching to a sea-divided Empire, but it is calculated to lead to the adoption of a standard of British expenditure which, in the event of any disturbance in the present favourable situation, might land the Empire in a position of extreme peril *vis-à-vis* with Germany. Those who are specially interested in the strategical considerations raised by this growth of German naval power in northern waters will read with interest the lucid, if elementary, statement in 'The Admiralty of the Atlantic,' a volume which has made a most opportune appearance.

Before dismissing these financial considerations, other points demand explanation. The Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer have referred to the fact that Germany is meeting part of her expenditure upon the fleet out of loans. They have conveyed the impression to those who are ill-informed that Germany is raising loans for the fleet because she is poor, while England is, to use a current phrase, 'paying as she goes' because she is rich. The facts are so simple that there should be no room for misunderstanding. It is quite true that the Government have announced their decision to throw all the expenditure on the British fleet from year to year upon

the current estimates; this is surely mistaken policy. If a local authority in England promotes a bill in Parliament in order to carry out street improvements, to lay down new sewers, or erect workmen's dwellings, it is an essential feature of Liberal finance that the expenditure shall be met out of capital, the repayment of which is spread over a period varying from ten to eighty years. An annual annuity meets the interest and nominally builds up a small sinking-fund, although actually the sinking-fund is frequently employed by the local authorities in other schemes, and therefore, as a result of a complicated system, such a fund in many cases does not exist. This is apparently regarded as sound finance, and the tendency is to extend the period of repayment.\* In opposition to this system, as applied by local authorities, the Government are now carrying out certain essential naval works, including the construction of a new naval base at Rosyth, which is estimated to cost 3,500,000*l.* and to last for ever; a new lock at Portsmouth at an outlay of a million; the lengthening of a dock at Haulbowline, and other undertakings. The new lock at Portsmouth will not be completed for three years, and the naval base at Rosyth will probably not be in full use before 1918. All these works are being carried out mainly in the interest of future generations, and are intended to last for a period at least as long as the street improvements or workmen's dwellings. While, on the one hand, it is considered sound finance to raise loans for local schemes, it is regarded as ruinous finance to cast on posterity any portion of the burden which is being incurred primarily for the benefit of posterity. The result of this mistaken policy is that the British navy estimates to-day are burdened, not only with the cost of maintaining the fleet, but with an outlay from which the present generation will obtain little or no return.

Apart from these important considerations, the navy estimates in the United Kingdom and Germany are not susceptible of that rough and ready comparison which is so frequently indulged in, particularly by the Navy League, in mistaken enthusiasm, on the one hand, and by the 'Little Navy' party in the House of Commons,

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\* Repayment of Local Loans (Commons Paper 239 of 1902).

in its frequent and misleading manifestoes, on the other. The British estimates make provision not only for the maintenance of the fleet in home and foreign waters, but for pensions, coastguards, reserves, and steamship subsidies (payments to the Cunard Co.), which absorb over three and a half millions. In the German estimates there are no corresponding items, but a matter of less than 400,000*l.* is for expenditure which does not find a place in the British appropriations (Commons Paper 281 of 1908).

Germany pursues a financial policy entirely different from ours. In the past ten years she has met her naval expenditure to the extent of upwards of 22,000,000*l.* out of capital; and the deepening and widening of the Kiel Canal, which will cost about 11,000,000*l.*, is being paid for by the Minister of the Interior, although the work is undertaken almost exclusively in the interests of the navy. The policy of loans will be continued by the German Government in the future, not because Germany is poor, but for two distinct reasons. In the first place a certain proportion of the naval expenditure is legitimately put to capital account, as was understood to be the case in Great Britain until the present Government came into office. Secondly, German financiers, in view of the arrangements between the Empire and the individual States, desire to regulate the revenue and expenditure from year to year. Loans have been raised by Germany, because the Imperial authorities have constantly put off the day for fresh fiscal arrangements between the Empire and the States.

The only adequate methods of calculating the naval power of the two countries are: (a) the output of new ships; and (b) the provision made from year to year for manning them. In respect to personnel, the resources of the British navy are still above the two-power standard. The numbers voted for the German fleet for the present year are 50,323, in comparison with 46,513 in 1907. The British navy, on the other hand, has 128,000 officers and men. The British fleet still has the advantage of a long-service system, although a certain number of short-service men have of late years been entered as stokers in order to build up an adequate reserve. On the other hand, the German navy, owing to the fact that naval conscripts are retained for only three years, loses nearly

a third of its personnel each October, when the conscript blue-jackets return to their civil employment.

In respect to shipbuilding, the situation is one which must occasion increasing anxiety. For a time, owing to the sudden appearance of the 'Dreadnought,' naval construction in Germany was greatly delayed; and, if the British Government had frankly admitted that the economies thereby rendered possible in the construction vote were merely a postponement of expenditure, no exception could have been taken to their action in limiting the naval programmes of the past three years; the Admiralty were thereby enabled to gain fuller knowledge of German and other foreign designs. They did not, however, take this straightforward course. The reductions of 9,250,000*l.* in the appropriations for new ships have been paraded as permanent economies, and thus public opinion was disastrously misled. Though delays occurred in the early stages of construction of the German ships of the programmes of 1906 and 1907, the vessels contained in these programmes are actually being built, and those of the programme of 1908 are ordered.

The British Government will now be compelled to admit the temporary character of the economies which they effected, unless they are willing to abandon the traditional standard of British naval strength. The scale upon which shipbuilding for the fleet is now being prosecuted in Germany provides remarkable testimony to the elasticity of her resources. The list on the following page shows the large armoured ships of the new types now in process of construction, the corresponding units in hand or completed for the British fleet being also given for purposes of comparison.

It is evident from this statement, based on the latest 'Dilke return,' confirmed by the 'Naval Annual' and 'Fighting Ships,' that the two countries are now running almost a neck and neck race, even on the assumption, which has been adopted in this comparison, that in England we can continue to build the largest ships in two years, and that Germany will require nearly three years. Such an assumption is at best precarious; but, if it be admitted, Germany will have in service, at the close of 1911, ten armoured vessels of the new types, while we shall possess complete only twelve, or fourteen with

GREAT BRITAIN.				GERMANY.			
—	Displacement.	Guns.	Date of Completion.	—	Displacement.	Guns.	Date of Completion.
Dreadnought . . .	17,900	{ 10 12-in. 27 12-pdrs. }	1906	Nassau . . .	—	{ 12 11-in. 12 6·7-in. }	{ 1910 1910 (end) }
Superb . . .	18,600	{ 10 12-in. 14 4-in. }	1909	Westfalen . . .	—	{ 12 12 in. 12 6·7 in. }	{ 1911 (end) 1911 (end) }
Temeraire . . .				Erzatz Baden . . .	—		
Bellerophon . . .				„ Württemberg . . .	—		
Vanguard . . .	19,250	{ 10 12-in. 14 4-in. }	1910 (beginning)	„ Oldenberg . . .	—	{ 12 12 in. 12 6·7 in. }	{ 1911 (end) 1911 (end) }
Collingwood . . .				„ Slegfried . . .	—		
St Vincent . . .				„ Beowulf . . .	—		
Rodney . . .	20,000	—	1911 (beginning)	Battleship-cruisers—	—	—	1910 1911 1911 (end)
Battleship-cruisers—				Blücher . . .	—	—	
Invincible . . .	17,250	{ 8 12-in. — 4-in. }	1908	„ F . . .	—	—	
Inflexible . . .				„ G . . .	—	—	
Indomitable . . .					—	—	
Improved Indomitable . . .	—	—	1911 (beginning)		—	—	

the 'Lord Nelson' and 'Agamemnon,' unless next year provision is made for a considerable programme to be energetically pressed forward. Such a margin of superiority, even in view of our strength in older ships, including the eight 'King Edwards,' is utterly inconsistent with the two-power standard. Yet this will be our position three years hence; and it will not improve in 1912, for then Germany will complete (by the 1909 programme) four more vessels of the largest size, the battleship-cruiser 'H,' and the three *Ersatz* battleships, which, in accordance with the Navy Act, will be laid down next summer. Unless the British Government are prepared to make a distinct departure from precedent, the ships of next year's programme will not be begun until about Christmas 1909, or early in 1910. They will therefore not be ready, in the most favourable circumstances, until the spring of 1912; while six or nine months later Germany will bring up her strength in armoured vessels, of the latest types, to fourteen, in comparison with the British total of twelve, plus next year's programme. It is impossible to ignore the grave peril of such a prospect, particularly if labour disturbances, as in the past few months, should retard British construction.

If we are to hold our traditional position as the supreme naval Power, the Government must provide in next year's estimates for six vessels of the 'Dreadnought' type, with cruisers and torpedo craft in proportion; and these vessels must be begun in the early summer and be completed in two years, so as to ensure our position three years hence in face of the activity, not only of Germany, but of other Powers.

Unhappily it is not alone in armoured vessels that rival nations are making headway. Germany in particular is steadily increasing the number of her small cruisers and torpedo craft. In the past ten years she has built, or is now building, twenty-two cruisers with speeds ranging up to 25 knots, and each mounting ten 4·2-in. guns. No explanation of the service which these vessels are intended to render in time of war has ever been forthcoming, but each summer two more keels go down with methodical persistence. The same rigid regularity has marked the construction of torpedo-boat destroyers of a large type specially suitable for the high seas. Under

the latest scheme these vessels are being built at the rate of twelve each year. They are vessels of 600 tons, suitably armed, and with a good turn of speed. Now to this activity is added the development of the submarine. For years past the German naval authorities have been inactive spectators of the building of these under-water craft in France, which took the lead; in the United States, and in England. We have seventy built or building; and now, without a word of explanation, Germany has changed her policy and embarked on a submarine programme. She already possesses three boats; three more are building; and in the current estimates 342,638*l.* are provided for further construction.

The German naval programme, definitely adopted, provides for a scheme of naval expansion unprecedented in its character. From 1911 and onwards until 1914 the German fleet will be strengthened on the average at the following rate :—

- One vessel of 'Dreadnought' or 'Indomitable' type every quarter.
- One cruiser of 25 knots every six months.
- One destroyer of nearly 700 tons every month.
- One submarine of a large type every month.

From these brief details of the progress of German shipbuilding, from the character of the ships—all of which are being designed, not for coast defence, but for offensive action away from their own ports—from the ambitious and methodical programme already adopted for future years, and from the general tenour of references to this scheme of naval expansion in the German press, it may be gathered that there is good reason for anxiety, if not for alarm. The Government has failed to provide for the nation's safety or to give expression to the nation's will. A short clear statement of the future of British naval policy two years ago might have helped to arrest the naval rivalry that now confronts us.

We may perhaps hold, with Sir Charles Dilke, that the German navy is not aimed specifically at this country. We may admit that Germany has every reason to equip a larger fleet than she has hitherto possessed for the defence of her growing oversea commerce. We may concede that Germany probably does not desire war

with us, because it would be a gamble in which all her oversea commerce and her mercantile marine would be the stake. But we cannot forget the use which such a military Power, controlling 3,000,000 soldiers, could make of a powerful, if not predominant, fleet in case of diplomatic complications. In combination with the German army, it might bring a weak British Government to accept terms, disadvantageous, if not dishonourable, rather than incur the terrible horrors of a war in which the British fleet would be the British Empire's only weapon. It might cause the British Government to stay its hand in going to the aid of a friendly Power in the hour of need, for instance, Holland, Sweden, or Belgium. Germany has already concentrated 17 battleships within 400 miles of our shores; and the British nation is becoming anxious. What will be its state of mind when 38 German battleships, 10 battleship-cruisers, with twoscore of other cruisers and 12 dozen destroyers, with many submarines, are massed in the North Sea or Baltic at a moment when delicate diplomatic negotiations, possibly not of our own seeking, are in progress between the two countries? In common with the highest expert opinion, we regard the invasion of Great Britain as impossible so long as we maintain our present naval superiority, though isolated raids might be attempted by an enemy as close as Germany to our shores. But with a fleet of the size and character outlined in the latest German Navy Act, as amended this spring, for use as a covering force, and the British navy with only a slender margin of superiority—say three to two against Germany—such a venture would be by no means hopeless.

If we cherish our traditions, value our hearths, and place store on our freedom from the irksome burden of conscription, we shall unhesitatingly insist on such provision being made from year to year as will secure to this country and the Empire a two-power standard navy. For three years new construction for the navy has been postponed—wisely postponed in view of all the conditions—and the expenditure thereby reduced. But the economy has been merely delayed expenditure, a point which the Government have chosen to ignore for party ends. Now, in full and exact knowledge of the programmes of foreign Powers, we must take up the burden which the renewed

rivalry in naval armaments casts upon us, unless we are to see this country exposed to dangers such as have not threatened us since the day of Trafalgar.

The reply which Prince Bülow has made through Mr Sidney Whitman in the 'Standard' of September 14 to the article in the last number of the 'Quarterly Review' will require detailed examination in another paper; but there are two or three points with reference to the naval question which demand attention here. The German Chancellor has not been fortunate in the medium chosen for the dissemination of his views, because, intimate as Mr Whitman is, no doubt, with the general policy of Germany, he reveals no appreciation of the naval policy of the two countries. He refers, for instance, to 'the present [German] naval programme' being 'carried out in its entirety (say) by the year 1913.' The German Navy Act, as a matter of fact, runs from 1908 to 1917. It stipulates that in the first four years—1908 to 1911—three battleships, one battleship-cruiser and two small cruisers shall be laid down annually; and that thenceforward to 1917 one battleship shall be laid down each year, with one battleship-cruiser and two cruisers. Consequently, the year 1913, mentioned by Mr Whitman, has no relevance to the discussion. The period of maximum output of ships ends in 1911, when the programme, as at present arranged, drops to two, instead of four, of the largest armoured units annually.

Secondly, the figures as to the 'total tonnage' of the British and German fleets, obtained from Prince Bülow's secretary, are inconclusive, because, apparently owing to some error in transcription, Germany is represented as possessing 58 battleships already. As printed, the figures have no meaning; and, in any case, as we have shown, even if the necessary classification had been furnished, naval power is not measured by such indiscriminate methods. It cannot be assessed by jumbling the battleships, armoured cruisers, protected cruisers, unprotected cruisers, torpedo gunboats, torpedo-boat destroyers, torpedo-boats, and submarines of any country in a huge weighing-machine without regard to age, condition, design, or the strategic needs they are intended to meet.

But the most significant statement attributed to the

German Chancellor is that in which he remarks that 'it is untrue that the German navy is being increased with ever-accelerated rapidity, since all the battleships now in course of construction are merely "substitutes," though naturally superior ones, for the antiquated ships of the "Sachsen" and "Siegfried" class, which, although they did not even deserve the name of battleship, nevertheless still figure as such in the summary of the German Naval Bill of 1900.' This is indeed too ingenuous. No one ever thought of regarding these vessels as battleships until they figured as such by the dictum of the Minister of the Imperial Marine in the Act of 1900. Displacing only 4000 tons, of poor gun-power, slow speed and limited radius of action, they were considered to be glorified gunboats until the German naval authorities declared that they should be regarded as battleships. Originally it was intended that the 'substitutes' should be vessels of 11,000 tons; then the standard was raised to nearly 12,000 tons; subsequently the displacement planned was fixed at 13,000 tons; and finally, in 1906, it was raised to nearly 18,000 tons. The British Admiralty might almost as accurately speak of the 'Dreadnought' as the 'substitute' of some worn-out river-gunboat which they might choose, for their own ends, to masquerade as a battleship. These German vessels of 4000 tons were not built as battleships, and were never regarded as battleships; and to claim that the German fleet is not being increased because the German 'Dreadnoughts' of 18,000 tons are 'substitutes' for the glorified gunboats of nearly twenty years ago is carrying ingenuousness to the point of absurdity. For the rest, the foregoing article explains the steps which are being taken to raise the German navy to the front rank and to challenge, in the most direct manner, British naval supremacy.





**Art. X.—THE ORIGIN OF TRAGEDY.**

1. *The Attic Theatre*. By A. E. Haigh. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889. (Third edition, 1907.)
2. *A History of Classical Greek Literature*. By J. P. Mahaffy. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1903.
3. *Greek Literature*. By R. C. Jebb. In the *Companion to Greek Studies*. Cambridge: University Press, 1905.
4. *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. By Jane E. Harrison. Second edition. Cambridge: University Press, 1908.
5. *A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*. By A. W. Ward. Three vols. London: Macmillan, 1899.

And other works.

No branch of literature and art has been more popular amongst civilised and semi-civilised peoples than the drama, nor has any exercised a more powerful influence on national thought and sentiment, especially that side of it known as tragedy. It is, therefore, not surprising that no department of literature or art has had more attraction for the historian and the critic, from ancient times down to our own day. But, innumerable as have been the writers on this theme, they have, without exception, confined their attention to the rise of the Greek drama, to its imitation in Rome, to the mysteries and miracle-plays of medieval Christianity, to the revival of the classical form and its splendid development in the plays of Shakespeare, Marlowe, Calderon, Corneille and Racine. Moreover, all writers, instead of seeking for the origin of the drama by a rigid application of the historical and comparative methods, have approached its study from the *a priori* standpoint of pure æsthetics. This was but natural, as students had their eyes fixed almost exclusively on the golden age of the Attic drama; and they regarded the creations of the tragic poets as but one phase of that marvellous outburst of art which has marked out from all others the age of Pericles. Even now all study of art is almost invariably based on *a priori* assumptions, no regard being taken of the anthropological method; and it could hardly have been expected that writers on the drama would have followed other lines.

No matter how widely writers on tragedy may differ from each other in details, they are all agreed that, although its beginnings are shrouded in the mists of antiquity, certain main facts respecting its origin are now firmly established: (1) that it was the invention of the Dorians in certain districts of Peloponnesus; (2) that it arose out of the worship of Dionysus; (3) that the Satyric drama likewise grew up in Dorian States, out of the rustic and jovial dithyrambs common among the lower classes in the same districts as those in which tragedy is supposed to have had its birth; (4) that the Satyric drama was a kind of comic relief to the tragedy or tragedies to which it was an adjunct and of which in early times it seems to have been the inseparable concomitant; (5) that the *thymela* was from the first the altar of Dionysus; and (6) that Thespis was the first to establish tragedy on a proper basis. Some, however, hold that his grand step consisted merely in separating the leader from the rest of the chorus and making him interrupt the choral parts with some sort of Epic recitation, whilst others think that he was the first to apply to moral purposes the sufferings, often undeserved, of heroes. A closer examination of the available evidence, scanty as it is, may perhaps show that most of these common beliefs have no foundation in fact, and that it may be necessary to remodel completely our views concerning the first beginnings and development of the tragic art.

It has been universally assumed that the Dorians were the inventors of tragedy, on the grounds that (1) Aristotle said so, and (2) that the choruses in the Attic tragedies are all in the Doric dialect. But Aristotle ('Poetics,' 3) makes no such statement; he merely remarks that 'some of the Dorians lay claim to both tragedy and comedy on etymological grounds, maintaining that the word "drama" is Doric because they, the Dorians, use *δρᾶν* where the Athenians say *πράττειν*, though he himself in no wise endorses their pretension. The Dorians' argument has just as little value and has been just as misleading as many other arguments both ancient and modern which, like it, are based solely on etymologies.

The second argument on which scholars rely has no

better foundation in fact. It has been assumed that certain linguistic forms found in the choruses of the Attic tragedies are in the Doric dialect, and that to it likewise belong certain forms used also in the dialogue, in which  $\bar{z}$  appears instead of  $\eta$ . The present writer has long since shown that certain other forms found in Attic tragedy and supposed to have been borrowed from the Ionic dialect, e.g. third plurals in *-oiato*, *-aiato*, are really good Old Attic; he has also pointed out that, as no other characteristic of the Doric dialect except  $\bar{a}$  is found either in the choruses or in the dialogues of tragedy, these forms are in no wise Doric, but merely Old Attic forms, which naturally survived in sacred hymns and ancient ballads, ever the last refuge of archaic words and forms. It is, moreover, difficult to believe that the Athenians would have borrowed the diction of their sacred songs from the hated Dorians, whom they would not permit even to enter their sanctuaries, no exception being made even in the case of royalty itself. Thus, when the Spartans occupied Athens in B.C. 509, and Cleomenes their king sought to enter the temple of Athena, the priestess withstood him on the ground that it was not lawful for Dorians to do so (Herod. v, 72).

The dithyramb has been generally assumed to be the invention of the Dorians because Aristotle says that tragedy 'originated with the leaders of the dithyramb' ('Poetics,' 4), yet we have explicit historical information to the contrary. Herodotus (i, 23) tells us that Arion of Methymna in Lesbos 'was the first of all men of whom we have any information to compose a dithyramb, and to give it that name'; and that he taught it to a chorus at Corinth in the reign of Periander (B.C. 625-585). Now, as Arion was most certainly not a Dorian, but one of the older race of Greece, the claim of the Dorians to the invention of the dithyramb, and consequently to that of tragedy, must be rejected.

Let us next examine the belief that tragedy arose from the worship of Dionysus. Aristotle himself has shown once for all that the drama, like every other form of art, springs from that love of imitation which man possesses in a far higher degree than any other animal, and from the love of rhythm likewise implanted in him. If it can be shown that, in districts of Greece where

mimetic dances were performed, long before Dorian times or the introduction of the worship of Dionysus into that country, there were dramatic performances and solemn festivals held in honour, not of the Thracian wine-god, but of very different personages, the conclusion will be inevitably forced on us that Greek tragedy did not arise from the cult of Dionysus. Let us first trace briefly the origin of the worship of this divinity and its spread in Greece. Homer indeed knows of Dionysus, but only as a Thracian deity. Lycurgus, who was a Thracian chief, a sort of Sir Wilfrid Lawson of the ancient world, scourged Dionysus and his attendant women with his ox-whip so effectively that the god of wine had to take to the water and seek an asylum with Thetis in the depths of the sea. The birth-story of Dionysus at Thebes is also alluded to in the *Iliad*, while we are told in the *Odyssey* that Artemis slew Ariadne in Naxos 'on the witness of Dionysus.'

Herodotus tells us that the three great Thracian divinities were Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis (i.e. Bendis). The oldest and most famous seat of the cult of Dionysus was not amongst the red-haired Thracians of the Danubian region, such as the Getæ, but amongst the aboriginal dark-haired Thracians of the Pangæan mountains. Here was his great ancient oracle. The tribe of the Satræ dwelt around; and the oracle was in the charge of the Satrian clan of the Bessi. The Thracians of this region were closely akin to the indigenous population of Greece. They were no rude savages, as is generally believed, for they were skilled in metal-work, striking coins of singular beauty and originality of type from the sixth century B.C. onward. No less skilled were they in music and literature than in the material arts. From them had come *Thamyris* and *Orpheus* and *Linus* the master of *Orpheus*; from them, too, had sprung *Eumolpus*, who established the mysteries at *Eleusis*. Almost all the aboriginal Thracian tribes had been conquered by the fair-haired race from the Danube; or had been driven to seek new homes in Asia, as was the case with the *Dardanians*, *Phrygians*, and *Mysians*. But Herodotus tells us that the mountaineers of *Pangæum*, who in his own day defied the arms of *Xerxes*, had at no time been conquered, but had preserved their liberty secure in their mountain fastnesses. There

can, therefore, be no reasonable doubt that in the shrine of Dionysus served by the Bessi we have an original cult of the indigenous Thracians.

These tribes differed in many respects from the so-called Thracians, such as the Getæ, who were really Celts. The former invariably tattooed themselves, and traced descent through women, differing in these particulars from their Celtic neighbours and oppressors, whilst in their morals they were exceedingly lax, the girls up to marriage being allowed complete licence. This circumstance probably gave rise to a general belief amongst the neighbours of the Satræ that they were addicted to all sorts of wild orgiastic rites, as is evidenced by the coins of that region, on which Satyrs and Sileni are seen carrying off women. Colonel Leake long ago suggested that from the name of the great tribe of the Satræ, amongst whom was the chief sanctuary of Dionysus, arose the name of the Satyri, the constant attendants of Dionysus in his wild rout. This explanation seems highly probable. Aristotle has told us that, just as we make our gods in our own likeness, so do we also represent their lives as like our own. Dionysus accordingly reflected the life of his own worshippers. The Satyrs are simply his own Satrian tribesmen; and the Bacchantes are merely the young women of the tribe allowed to range at will. Nor is there wanting other support for the view that the Bacchæ were really the Thracian girls. They are regularly termed *Bassarikai*, in allusion to the fox-skins (*bassaris*) which they wore, whilst the fawn-skin (*nebris*) formed normally a part of their costume as well as that of the god himself. Now both fox-skins and fawn-skins were a characteristic feature in the dress of the indigenous Thracians, for the Thracians in the army of Xerxes wore head-dresses of fox-skin and mocassins of fawn-skin, standing alone in these respects among all the other nationalities in that motley host.

It must also be borne in mind that orgiastic and licentious rites have at all times and in many places been considered of great importance for fertilising the earth in seed-time; and accordingly Dionysus and his ribald rout may be but part and parcel of a cult intimately connected with the fertilisation of the earth. Moreover, Thrace from early days was famous for its wine. Was

not Maroneia the home of the priest Maron, who gave Odysseus that potent vintage with which that hero ultimately beguiled Polyphemus to his bane? The god who could make the corn grow could also make the vine to flourish; and, as the juice of the grape had strange effects on men and women, it was naturally inferred that it was the god himself who was in the wine, and that he had taken possession of those who had drunk deeply of his gift.

There is further evidence that Dionysus was not an indigenous Greek divinity, but an immigrant from Thrace; for, wherever his worship appears in the former country, it is always spoken of as a foreign cult. Thus at Thebes, the chief seat of his worship in Greece, Dionysus is found along with Ares, the other great Thracian divinity, according to Homer and the later writers. But all the early legends declare that Thebes had been occupied by the Phlegyans, a great Thracian tribe, who appear in Homer in company with Ares. These Phlegyans also attacked Delphi; and a remnant of them settled near Parnassus. Down to the time of Christ the people of Panopeus declared that they were Thracians; and Pausanias draws special attention to the un-Greek character of their town and its dwellings. It is also noteworthy that the only oracle of Dionysus of which we hear in Greece was at Amphicleia in Phocis (Paus. x, 33, 11).

The evidence of Homer is amply confirmed by later traditions, all of which declare unequivocally that Dionysus was a late comer into Greece. Thus the Athenians believed that this cult was first introduced into their city by their king Amphictyon, and that it was a certain Pegasus of Eleutheræ, an Attic township, who had first brought the god into Attica and introduced him to the notice of Amphictyon. Moreover, there is no ancient shrine of Dionysus on the Acropolis, as might naturally have been expected if he was one of the ancient divinities of the land, like Athena and Poseidon. Nor was it only at Athens that he was regarded as of foreign origin, for Plutarch tells us that Dionysus had supplanted the worship of Poseidon in Naxos. From these legends it is clear that the Greeks of classical times regarded the cult of Dionysus as adventitious and as having replaced, in some localities at least, as in Naxos, older forms of worship.

Were there no mimetic dances either grave or gay in Attica or Peloponnesus before the coming of the Thracian reveller? Certainly in Attica in historical times there was the famous bear-dance at Brauron, in which every Athenian girl had to participate dressed as a bear, when she came to nubile years, or else no man would marry her. Some have seen a survival of totemism in this ceremony, but it is more likely to have been some form of initiatory rite accompanied by a mimetic dance such as those known amongst many modern savages. It is hard therefore to believe that this dance and others like it arose only after the arrival of the worship of Dionysus, with which it had at no time any connexion, especially in view of the Athenian belief that the worship of Dionysus was not indigenous.

Let us now pass into Argolis, the seat of great dynasties in both pre-Achæan and pre-Dorian times. The monuments of Mycenæ disclose representations of dances, in which the performers apparently wear masks formed of the skins of animals. These have been well compared by Mr A. B. Cook and others with certain animal-dances among savages of our own day. But, as dancing of some kind or other is universal amongst even the lowest races of mankind, it will hardly be maintained by any one that dancing was totally unknown in Greece until Dionysus came from Thrace; and the tradition in Homer that Dædalus made a famous 'dance' or 'dancing-ground' for Ariadne at Cnossus in Crete, combined with the representations of mimetic dances on relics of the Bronze Age of Mycenæ and the survival of similar dances in Attica down to a late period, proves that both dancing and mimetic dancing were familiar in Greece before the incoming of the Thracian cult.

Let us next turn to one of the old Pelasgian towns of Argolis, in which the aboriginal inhabitants not only continued to form the great mass of the population, but were strong enough to expel their Dorian lords. In the ancient town of Sicyon, so famous by its connexion with Bellerophon, one of the chief heroes of pre-Homeric Greece, one of the natives, by name Orthagoras, supported by his fellow-townsmen, overthrew the Dorian oligarchy in B.C. 676, and made himself master of the State. He and his descendants held the sovereignty for

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nearly a century, and that, too, by resting on the support of the democracy. Now whom did this Sicyonian democracy especially honour and worship?

No fact in Greek city-life is more familiar than the practice of burying the 'œkist,' or founder of the town, or some great chief, in the market-place. This was done in order that his spirit might keep watch and ward over his people, and that his bones might be kept as safely as possible, for fear lest they, and consequently his spirit, might fall into the hands of an enemy, as had happened (so said the legend) in the case of the bones of Orestes. So at Cyrene, Battus, the founder of the city, was buried in the Agora :

'There at the end of the market-place in death he lieth apart. Blest was he when he dwelt among men, and since his death the people worship him as their hero.'

This was no exceptional case, for an examination of Pausanias will convince any one that there was not a town or village in Greece which had not its own hero or heroine. So was it at Sicyon. In the market-place stood the *heroum* of Adrastus, who, alone of the Seven Champions that fought against Thebes, returned alive to his home. Cleisthenes was the last descendant of the above-mentioned Orthagoras who reigned at Sicyon, for he had no son, but an only daughter Agariste, who married Megacles the Athenian and became the mother of Cleisthenes the Athenian law-giver. During the reign of Cleisthenes at Sicyon, war broke out between his city and Argos ; and the despot stopped the rhapsodists from contending in Epic recitations at Sicyon because Argos and the Argives formed the chief theme of Homer. But his hatred of everything Argive did not stop at this :

'There is' (says Herodotus) 'in the very market-place of the Sicyonians the *heroum* of Adrastus, the son of Talaus. Now Cleisthenes wished to cast him out of the country, inasmuch as he was an Argive. So he went to Delphi and asked the oracle if he might evict Adrastus ; but the Pythian priestess replied that "Adrastus was the king of Sicyon, but that he (Cleisthenes) was only a stone-breaker." When, then, the god would not permit him to work his will, he went home and bethought himself of a device by which Adrastus of his own accord would betake himself off. He sent to Thebes in

Boeotia and said that he wished to bring Melanippus, the son of Astacus, to Sicyon. Having fetched the bones of Melanippus, Cleisthenes assigned him a sacred enclosure in the Prytaneum itself and planted him there in the strongest part of it. He brought in Melanippus because of all men he was most odious to Adrastus, inasmuch as he had killed Mecisteus and Tydeus the brother and son-in-law of that hero. When Cleisthenes had appointed Melanippus his sacred enclosure, he took away the sacrifices and festivals from Adrastus and gave them to Melanippus. Now the Sicyonians had been accustomed to honour Adrastus magnificently, for Sicyon had been the land of Polybus, and Adrastus was daughter's son to Polybus, and the latter gave the kingdom to Adrastus. The Sicyonians honoured Adrastus not only in other respects, but with tragic dances alluding to his sorrows, not honouring Dionysus, but rather Adrastus. Cleisthenes assigned the dances to Dionysus, but the sacrifice to Melanippus' (v. 67).

It is clear from this that the cult of Dionysus was not indigenous at Sicyon. It had been introduced there, as into Attica and Naxos, and superimposed on the cult of the ancient guardian hero of the land. We have thus proof not only of the existence of mimetic dances in Peloponnesus, but also of 'tragic dances' representing a hero's suffering, before the worship of Dionysus was ever established there.

What is the meaning of such 'tragic dances'? and why did the Sicyonians especially honour Adrastus, one of the ancient kings of their race? Simply for the same reasons for which ancestors, heroes, and saints have been, and still are being, worshipped almost everywhere under the sun. When a great warrior dies, and the arm that once brought victory to his people can no longer lift spear or sword, and though a great barrow be reared over his bones, all is not over. 'E'en in our ashes live their wonted fires'; and the spirit of the dead man within is held to have the same passions and feelings in death that animated him in life. Thus in the Homeric Unseen World that lay far away by Ocean in the West, Odysseus saw the phantom of Orion pursuing the spectral forms of the beasts that in life he had hunted over the lonely hills. The old chief within his grave still thinks of his family and his people; and, if they in their turn still think of him and nourish his spirit with offerings

and keep his vital element strengthened with libations of freshly-shed blood, then will he help them in the hour of peril and will use his kindly influence beneath the earth to make her yield her increase and to render fruitful the herds and flocks and women of his tribe. Hence, at Mycenæ, the older tombs of the royal house lay just within the gate; at Babylon the tomb of an ancient queen was over the gateway; Phalanthus, the founder of Tarentum, lay in the Agora of that city; whilst Brasidas, the brave Lacedæmonian general, was buried in the market-place of Amphipolis (B.C. 422) and worshipped as a hero. At Tronus, in Daulis, there was a shrine of the hero-founder, where he was worshipped every day. The Phocians brought victims, and poured the blood through a hole into the grave; but the flesh it was their custom to consume on the spot. Similar openings into graves have been found in a barrow in the Taman peninsula in South Russia, and in Roman graves found at Carthage. In the latter, earthenware tubes communicated with the interior; and down them offerings were poured. A Roman coffin of lead at Colchester has a pipe extending upwards from the lid; and a similar coffin is said to be at Seville. The curious aperture found by Canon Greenwell in a Yorkshire barrow was probably for the same purpose.

So far, then, as the offering of sacrifices to Adrastus is concerned, we have an ample explanation in the instances just cited. But why should his sorrows be represented in mimetic dances? We impute our own feelings to the dead and to our gods; and the Greeks of the old days believed, as countless races still believe, that what a man or woman loved in life they love in the grave and in the world beyond the grave. When a soldier dies we give him a soldier's funeral, and volleys of musketry are fired over his grave. So with the ancients and with many barbarians of to-day; at the closing scene jousts and contests of manly prowess are held to please the spirit of the dead brave. Let us turn to Homer. On that dread day when Achilles went back to the hollow ships after the slaying of Hector, he suffered not his Myrmidons to unyoke their chariots, but said, 'First let us draw nigh and bewail Patroclus, and then shall we sup.' So he and his Myrmidons drove their chariots thrice round

the spot where Patroclus' body lay, because the dead hero had loved horsemanship in life, and his spirit would be gladdened by the sight of his chariot-driving comrades. Then, when the day came for burning the body, Achilles held his great tournament, which included every form of manly feat, that thus the soul of his lost friend might rejoice in knowing that he was not forgotten.

In a lonely spot in Cork there is a little ancient Irish 'liss' or fort, with a single circular rampart in perfect preservation; just outside the entrance stands a barrow, known through endless generations as the 'Hillock of the Fair.' Here, until some forty years ago, there was an annual gathering of the countryfolk for a fair; and foot-races were run alongside of the barrow. Then the landlord had the fair transferred to a village some four miles distant; but, though the fair was moved to a thriving village from a desolate spot, it practically died out. Next came a road-contractor who thought that the barrow, which was made of pieces of the native limestone, would supply good cheap material for the roads. He laid ruthless hands on the ancient mound, and soon brought to light a fine cromlech composed of four upright stones supporting, as usual, a great capstone. In the cist thus formed were found a bronze sword, the bones of a man, and other objects. Now it is clear why the foot-races had been held there year by year, from the Bronze Age down to our own time. The old chief delighted in manhood when in life; so in death his spirit was honoured by such manly feats each year.

But it is not only the ghosts of those who have had prosperous and happy lives who love to be remembered. The souls of those who have suffered much and have had great catastrophes are especially supposed to take a melancholy pleasure in the remembrance of their woes. So in 'Hamlet' (I, v) the ghost says, 'Hamlet, remember me'; and Hamlet replies,

'Remember thee?

Ay, thou poor ghost, while memory holds a seat  
In this distracted globe.'

That the ghosts of those who have been murdered or have suffered unjustly like to have their sorrows remembered, is no modern or medieval idea, but can be

amply illustrated from ancient Greece itself. At Tegea, in Arcadia, there was a curious annual ceremony, which throws some light on the origin of tragedy, and also shows how the worship of a god may become connected with, or superimposed upon, that of a local hero. The people of Tegea held that Apollo was not an indigenous god, although there were in their town certain images known as Apollo Agyieus. The Tegeans said that they had set these up for the following reason. Artemis and Apollo went to every country and took vengeance on all the men who had refused hospitality to their mother, Latona, as she wandered in her pregnancy. When the twin deities arrived at Tegea, Scephrus, son of Tegeates, the king, went up to Apollo and talked with him apart. Thereupon Limon, his brother, suspecting that what Scephrus was saying reflected on himself, ran at his brother and slew him. Punishment at once overtook the murderer, for Artemis shot him. Tegeates and Maera his wife sacrificed to Apollo and Artemis at the time; but afterwards a great barrenness fell upon the land, and an oracle was sent from Delphi that they should bewail Scephrus. 'So, at the festival of Apollo they perform various ceremonies in honour of Scephrus, and in particular the priestess of Artemis pursues a man, feigning that she is Artemis and he Limon.' (Paus. viii, 53, 3.)

That those who have been slain unjustly, more especially by those of like race, were supposed to be able to produce barrenness, and bring blight on the crops, and various ills upon both man and beast, is rendered certain by a famous story in Herotodus (i, 167).

'The Phoceans captured in the great sea-fight at Alalia by the Etruscans and Carthaginians were brought to Agylla or Cære in Etruria. There their captors divided the spoil, and in the distribution by lot the Etruscans seem to have obtained the most of them. They led them forth and stoned them to death. After that, everything that belonged to the Agyllæans that passed by the spot where the stoned Phoceans lay in death, whether cattle, beast of burden, or human being, became distorted, maimed, or paralysed. The Agyllæans accordingly sent to Delphi, in their desire to atone for their sin. The Pythian prophetess bade them do as they do unto this day—they make great offerings to them as heroes and hold contests of athletes and horses.'

It is now clear that athletic feats, contests of horsemanship, and tragic dances are all part of the same principle—the honouring and appeasing of the dead.

More than one writer on tragedy has felt a difficulty in explaining why it is that the earliest dithyrambs of which we hear were grave and solemn hymns rather than rude licentious vintage songs. This difficulty disappears as soon as we perceive that they were composed to be sung round the graves of the mighty dead. At the Great Dionysia the cyclic chorus danced round the altar of the Twelve Gods at Athens. There is little doubt that the tragic chorus which honoured Adrastus danced round his tomb in the Agora at Sicyon; and we may be sure that the mimetic performance with which the ghost of Scephrus was placated at Tegea was held close by his tomb. We have seen that in sacrificing to a hero no fire was employed, for the blood or *pelanos* was poured into a *bothros* or hole beside the tomb or in it, or even (as at Daulis) through an aperture reaching right down to the dead inside. But in the case of a god the offering was burnt, in order that its essence might thus ascend to heaven. When a hero rose into godhead, as did Heracles, the chief factor in his apotheosis was that he henceforth was honoured with offerings burnt upon an altar instead of with a fireless *pelanos* poured into a *bothros*. Adrastus must have been honoured at Sicyon in the latter way; but, when the chorus was taken from him and transferred to Dionysus, the tomb round which the chorus danced now became the altar of Dionysus, and a fire was kindled upon it, the tomb thus passing into a fire-altar.

Thus arose the *thymele* of Dionysus. Curiously enough, Sicyon itself supplies us with the classic instance of a shrine which was both a *heroum* and also a fire-altar. The Sicyonians had continued to worship Heracles as a hero until a man named Phæstus came and told them that all the world was now worshipping him as a god, and he insisted on sacrificing with fire to Heracles as to a deity. The Sicyonians, wishing to make sure of doing what was right, continued both forms of ritual: 'To this day,' says Pausanias, 'the Sicyonians, after slaying a lamb and burning the thighs on the altar, eat part of the flesh as of a regular sacrificial victim, and offer part of the

flesh as to a hero,' doubtless placing the flesh without fire in a *bothros* in or at the base of the altar.

In every town and village throughout Greece there was the shrine of the local hero or heroine, whose cult in later days in many cases had superimposed upon it that of some of the great divinities, such as Zeus, Apollo, Poseidon, Hermes, Artemis, or Dionysus. Hence we meet such combinations as Zeus Amphiaraus, Zeus Trophonius, Zeus Agamemnon, Hermes Aepytus; while Poseidon was worshipped in the Erechtheum on the same altar as Erechtheus, the tomb of the hero having become the fire-altar of the god. Similarly at Tegea the cult of Scephrus seems to have merged into that of Apollo.

We can now plainly see the true origin of the *thymele* of Dionysus, which appears in history as an inseparable adjunct of the tragic or cyclic chorus out of which grew tragedy. The chorus danced its stately measure, and sang its solemn hymn or dithyramb round the tomb of the dead hero who lay buried in the Agora, and into the *bothros* of whose tomb the *pelanos* was poured. At Sicyon the tomb of Adrastus stood right in the Agora, and round it danced the 'tragic chorus' that represented his sorrows. When Cleisthenes handed over to Dionysus the chorus of Adrastus, the dance would still be held in the same place; and the tomb of Adrastus would become the fire-altar of Dionysus, henceforward playing a double part like that of Heracles close by. What is true of Sicyon holds equally true for all other parts of Greece. In many places the tomb of the old hero, in whose honour mimetic dances had been held from of old, was incorporated into the worship of Dionysus and became the *thymele* of that god, although it does not follow that Dionysus in every case was the god who absorbed the worship of the local hero. We have seen that at Tegea the dramatic performance in honour of Scephrus was not merged into the cult of Dionysus, but became associated with that of Apollo.

This explanation of the *thymele* is supported by its shape. That in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens is not like the usual type of altar; it is rather a tomb, being a platform with steps on which the Coryphæus stood, and round which the chorus danced. Its form shows that it was simply the *bomos* of a dead hero. It could be easily proved that in the extant Greek tragedies tombs

of heroes play a very prominent part. It will suffice here to cite one of the most striking instances. In the 'Choephorae' the tomb of Agamemnon forms the centre of the opening scene. To it approaches the chorus of handmaids from the palace, with Electra, to offer, on the bidding of Clytemnestra, propitiatory offerings to the murdered king.

The connexion of the worship of Dionysus with festivals in honour of the dead has recently been made clear. The four great Attic festivals of the god—the Country Dionysia, the Lenæa, the Anthesteria, and the City Dionysia—all fall at a time of year when there is no vintage. The villages of Attica had each their own local hero; and to these local festivals of the dead the worship of Dionysus became attached, as it did to that of Adrastus at Sicyon. Before the time of Thespis and Pratinas, Lasus of Hermione in Argolis had celebrated in dramatic choruses the sorrows of heroes. The Anthesteria was a great festival of the dead, as has been proved by Miss Harrison; whilst in the Great Dionysia can be seen a celebration of a similar kind for the purpose of insuring that the earth should yield her increase. On the third day of the Anthesteria, called the Chytrae, 'pots' of cooked vegetables were offered to the gods and to the dead, and there were cyclic choruses. Of course it may be urged that these choruses were Dionysiac, but on the first day of the City Dionysia, cyclic choruses danced round the altar of the twelve gods in the Agora. There can be little doubt that such choruses were pre-Dionysian in Attica as well as in other parts of Greece. If, then, such dramatic choruses were employed at a festival which was mainly and originally that of the dead, and at all times continued to be such, and if in older Attica there were men like Lasus who composed such hymns in honour of the dead, we are justified in considering that these cyclic choruses at the Anthesteria were far older than the introduction of the cult of Dionysus into Athens.

It is agreed by all that the Satyric drama stood perfectly apart from comedy; indeed, it was termed by the ancients 'sportive tragedy.' As we have said above, it has been generally supposed to have grown out of the rude licentious dithyrambs of the Dorians. But, since

there is no evidence for the existence of such licentious dithyramb, and neither the dithyramb nor tragedy itself can be held to be Dorian in origin, we must look for some other explanation of the Satyric drama. Now when the chorus which had for generations danced in honour of Adrastus was transferred to Dionysus, some element of that god's own cult must have been added to the ritual round the *heroum* in the Agora of Sicyon. In the earlier days of tragedy, the Satyric dramas invariably consisted of the adventures of Dionysus and his attendant Satyrs, who, as we have seen, were merely his old Satrian tribesmen. But as tragedy has just been shown to have arisen from the worship of native Greek heroes long before Dionysus came from Thrace, the only true Dionysiac element in the tragic performances at Athens was the Satyric drama. This hypothesis completely accounts for the prominence of this class of play in the early days of the drama. Thus Pratinas of Phlius is said to have composed no less than thirty-two Satyric dramas and fifty tragedies, while Choerilus was so famous for his productions in the same field that it gave rise to the proverb, 'When Choerilus was king among the Satyrs.' As time went on, the Satyric dramas dealt less and less with the sufferings or adventures of Dionysus, until finally, as in the 'Cyclops' of Euripides, the only extant Satyric drama, the leading character is not Dionysus, but some hero or other, in this case Odysseus, who fell in with Silenus and a rout of Satyrs. It was probably this departure from the original strictly Dionysiac character that gave rise to the criticism of old-fashioned people, 'It has nothing to do with Dionysus.' Thus, even that which had once been the true Dionysiac element, waned away before the national instincts of the Athenians; and with the rise of true comedy it finally disappeared.

It has been generally maintained that the Satyric drama gave comic relief to the tragedies, which always preceded it; but it is clear from what has been said that the Satyric drama did not arise out of licentious songs, from which, according to Aristotle, comedy undoubtedly sprang. Although the origin of the latter is well known, it had no early history, for 'it was only late that the Archon granted a comic chorus.' The reason of this

becomes obvious from what we have just seen. The tragedy, which was the lineal descendant of the tragic dance and solemn hymn round the tomb of the old hero, was of real importance to the community, since it was essentially a religious rite, the omission of which might be fraught with dread consequences to the land. The State therefore naturally furnished the cost of the exhibition of tragedies. The Satyric drama was the worship of the new god from Thrace, who performed the same functions for vegetation as the old heroes of the land; and, as it was grafted on to the old ritual, the State, of necessity, defrayed the expenses of this act of worship also. But comedy, which grew out of mere rustic buffoonery, had no claim to respect as a religious ceremonial; and accordingly the State did not take it up until after tragedy had developed a distinct literary form, and comedy had also come to be recognised as a light sort of dramatic literature.

Thespis is universally supposed to have made the first great step in the evolution of the tragic art. In what did this consist? He did not originate the dialogue proper, for Phrynichus was the first to introduce a regular actor, though Thespis may have to some degree separated the Coryphæus from the chorus, and made him interrupt the choral parts with Epic recitations. But the ancients held a different view. Horace, in a famous passage (*'Ars poetica,'* 275), says:

‘ignotum tragicæ genus inuenisse Camenæ  
dicitur et plaustis uexisse poemata Thespis.’

Prof. Mahaffy thinks that Horace ‘talks nonsense when he speaks of Thespis going about on a waggon as a strolling player’; and he holds that ‘Thespis really anticipated Æschylus in applying to moral purposes the lessons to be learned from the sufferings, often unjust, of heroes.’ But, after all, Horace is probably right. In early days the dithyramb and tragic chorus were closely attached to the tombs of heroes, and were only performed on festive occasions at these sacred spots. Thespis detached his chorus from any particular shrine, and, taking it with him on waggons, he gave his performances when and where he could find an audience. Thus, by lifting tragedy from being a mere piece of religious ritual tied

to a particular spot into a great form of literature, he was the true founder of the Tragic Art.

This metamorphosis is exactly paralleled in the history of the medieval drama. The 'Mysteries' and 'Miracles' were essentially part of a religious ritual performed in honour of Christ or of some saint; as, for instance, the play of St Catherine, which the Norman Geoffrey, afterwards Abbot of St Albans, caused to be represented at Dunstable some time prior to A.D. 1110, the earliest play of any kind known by name to have been acted in England. In process of time, actors who had given successful performances of such mystery and miracle plays at some church in honour of some holy personage and for the edification of the faithful, began to wander about as strolling players, ready to perform wherever they could secure an audience, be it in sacred edifice or inn-yard. In so doing, they were transforming such plays from being merely a piece of religious ritual, attached to some particular shrine, into a true form of dramatic literature.

Nor is it only in this particular that the medieval Christian drama may be compared with that of early Greece. Not only was the process of development similar, but each sprang from the same deep-rooted principle—the honouring and propitiation of the sacred dead, the hero and the saint, and, as a corollary, even the gods themselves. As the men of Sicyon thought to please Adrastus by rehearsing his sorrows, so the Christian Church honoured its divine Founder by continually keeping His Passion in remembrance, as, indeed, He Himself had ordained at the Last Supper. To this day, when every ten years the peasants of Ober-Ammergau perform their Passion Play, they believe that by this solemn representation of the sufferings of Christ they are doing what is pleasing in His sight. Moreover, wherever in any part of Asia we meet with an indigenous tragedy, it seems to have originated in the same principle. Thus the oldest Hindu drama, the 'Ramayana,' celebrates the life, exploits, and sufferings of Rama, son of Dasaratha, who reigned in Ayodhya; and it includes the loves of Rama and his wife Sita, the rape of the latter by Ravana, the demon-king of Ceylon, the overthrow of Ravana by Rama, the subsequent sorrows of the hero

and his wife, the death of Sita, and her husband's translation to heaven. Since Rama was regarded as an incarnation of Vishnu, and since a verse in the introduction of the 'Ramayana' declares that 'he who reads and repeats this holy life-giving "Ramayana" is liberated from all his sins and exalted with all his posterity to the highest heaven,' it is clear that the keeping in remembrance of the hero-god is the essential element in this great drama.

No less evident is the same root-doctrine in the religious mystery plays performed by the Lamas of Tibet and Mongolia. They represent scenes in the life of Buddha, of incarnations of Buddha, or of Buddhist saints, who were sorely beset and tormented by devils, but in the end prevailed. It would, however, appear that Buddhism has simply incorporated mimetic dances of the Shamanistic ancestor-worship which it has nominally supplanted. One of these Tibetan mysteries, called the 'Dance of the Red Tiger-Devil,' is said by Mr Waddell to have originated in a Shamanistic exorcism of evil spirits with perhaps a human sacrifice in earlier times, a feature which can be readily paralleled from Greek legend and even from Greek history itself, and which plays an important part in more than one Greek tragedy. In its modern form the motive is the assassination of a great enemy of Lamaism by a Lama disguised as a Shamanist dancer, thus holding up for reverence the triumph of the holy man over the sinner.

Even in the primitive drama of the Malay Peninsula there are not wanting traces of its close connexion with the spirits of the dead.

'The most important of the ceremonies' (says Mr W. W. Skeat) 'which relate to the Malay theatre is that of inaugurating or opening, as it is called, a site for the performance. The space railed in is called a "Panggong." Before the play begins, a ceremony called "Bûka Panggong," which has for its object the invocation and propitiation of certain spirits, is gone through. The "Pâwang," or Medicine-Man, who is also the head of the theatrical troop, intones an incantation, the other members of the troop repeating each sentence in chorus as he concludes it.' ('Malay Magic,' p. 504).

They entreat the spirits not to smite the actors, either

male or female, nor the old or young buffoons, with their cruelty, and they assure the spirits that they have not come to vie with them in wisdom or skill or talent; finally, they implore the Black Awang, the king of the earth, who wanders in the veins of the ground, not to be enraged or offended with them. All this looks as if the worship of the spirits of the dead may have once been the chief motive in such performances, a view strongly supported by the fact that the leader of such companies of actors is a medicine-man.

To sum up, then, we may arrive with some probability at the following conclusions: that the Dorians did not invent tragedy; that representations of the sufferings of heroes were familiar features in Greece before the incoming of the worship of Dionysus; that these solemn songs and dances were part of the propitiatory rites performed at the tombs of heroes in order that they might protect their people, and that the earth, through their kindly interposition, might bring forth her fruits; that on top of this primeval worship came in a Thracian cult of a wild orgiastic kind, a ritual likewise regarded as beneficial for promoting vegetation and increase of food; that this new religion was gradually engrafted in many places on old local cults of heroes, while the tombs of the latter now became the altars of Dionysus; that the only true Dionysiac element was the dithyramb, which dealt with the sorrows and adventures of Dionysus and his Satyrs; and that from this grew the Satyric drama, whose close union with tragedy and rigid distinction from comedy is thus at last explained; and that the grand step made by Thespis was to elevate the tragic dance from being a mere piece of ritual inseparably connected with a particular shrine into true dramatic literature. Finally, it would appear that the principle from which Greek tragedy sprang was not confined to Greece or the Mediterranean, but is world-wide and one of the many touches that make the whole world kin.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.



Art. XI.—JOHN DELANE AND MODERN JOURNALISM.

1. *John Thadeus Delane, Editor of the 'Times'; his Life and Correspondence.* By A. I. Dasent. Two vols. London: Murray, 1908.
2. *The Great Metropolis.* By James Grant. First series, vol. II. Third edition. London: Saunders and Ottley, 1838.
3. *The Government of England.* By A. Lawrence Lowell. Two vols. London: Macmillan, 1908.

JOURNALISTS have been described as the Sophists of modern life; and, within certain limits, the parallel may be said to hold good. By a 'journalist' we mean a man who seeks to influence public opinion in this direction or that through the columns of a daily or a weekly paper, not the invaluable and indispensable person who purveys 'news,' properly so-called, and the data upon which 'the policy of the paper' is based. Bearing this in mind, and remembering that the proprietor, the editor, and the leader-writer are not absolutely independent of one another, but represent in most cases a combination cemented by 'the policy of the paper,' we can trace, not unprofitably, the parallel between the typical Athenian Sophist and the typical English journalist.

Let us note first that the prototype and the counterpart are only possible under a system of government which recognises and protects an absolute freedom of thought and expression of opinion. Further, let us admit, on the one hand, that the Sophists, as a class, did not exercise the corrupting influence attributed to them by Aristophanes and by Plato in the more Socratic passages of the various dialogues in which they are introduced; and, on the other, that they were not always the disinterested advocates of political and social reform that Grote represented them to be. Grote, in his passionate admiration—idolatry would hardly be too strong a word—for democracy in all its forms, and especially in its Athenian form, is naturally prone to exaggerate; but, when he says (ed. 1888, vol. vii, p. 30)

'it was the blessing and the glory of Athens that every man could speak out his sentiments and criticisms with a freedom

unparalleled in the ancient world, and hardly paralleled even in the modern, in which a vast body of dissent both is, and always has been, condemned to absolute silence,'

the exaggeration is pardonable. England, it is said, is governed by talk; and, when we remember that the Sophists were the immediate heirs of the teachers of rhetoric and dialectic, we perceive how real the parallel is. That there were some Sophists whose doctrines and methods were elevating and beneficial, and others whose influence was pernicious, is as true as the truism that there are some newspapers which instruct and enlighten their readers, and others which tend, deliberately or unconsciously, to lower the tone of public opinion. There is not more difference between the best journal of the day—whichever that may be—and the worst, than there was between Isocrates and Thrasymachus as depicted in the first book of the 'Republic.' It must be borne in mind that Plato himself, as he becomes more Platonic and less Socratic, changes his attitude towards the Sophists. In the earlier books of the 'Republic' they are charged (as indeed was Socrates himself) with being the corrupters of society, while in the later they are described as the products of a society which was itself corrupt, and invoked the aid of intellectual drugs to stimulate its depravity. One or other of these views is taken by pessimists with regard to journalism. It is said, for instance, that newspapers have created a craving for sensationalism, or that, finding this morbid appetite in existence, they have pandered to it. This criticism is at best a gross exaggeration when applied to seriously conducted newspapers, but it indicates a real danger to which we will presently revert.

To continue the examination of our parallel: the object of the Sophists, as it is set forth by Isocrates, was to teach young men 'to think, speak, and act' with credit to themselves as citizens. If for 'youth' we substitute the English political equivalent 'untrained,' the motto of Isocrates is one which all serious journalists would gladly adopt. It is worth while to recall a passage from the criticism of Grote's History which appeared in the 'Quarterly Review' (No. clxxv), cited by Grote in a footnote (vii, 80) as 'able and interesting.'

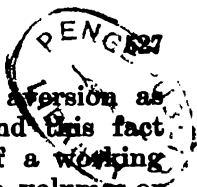
'It is enough here to state' (said the reviewer) 'as briefly as possible the contrast between Mr Grote's view and the popular representation of the Sophists. According to the common notion, they were a sect; according to him, they were a class or a profession. According to the common view they were the propagators of demoralising doctrines, and of what from them are termed 'sophistical' argumentations. According to Mr Grote, they were the regular teachers of Greek morality, neither above nor below the standard of the age. According to the common view, Socrates was the great opponent of the Sophists, and Plato his natural successor in the combat. According to Mr Grote, Socrates was the great representative of the Sophists, distinguished from them only by his higher eminence and by the peculiarity of his life and teaching. According to the common view, Plato and his followers were the authorised teachers, the established clergy of the Greek nation, and the Sophists the dissenters. According to Mr Grote, the Sophists were the established clergy, and Plato was the dissenter, the Socialist who attacked the Sophists (as he attacked the poets and the statesmen), not as a particular sect, but as one of the existing orders of society.'

These irreconcilable judgments find their echoes to-day in the extreme views taken by different schools of the value and the dangers of the press. It will probably be recognised that while, as regards both Sophists and journalists, the views referred to are exaggerated, the favourable opinion stands, in both cases, nearer the truth than does the other.

One of the charges levelled against the Sophists—a charge especially damaging in a cultivated democracy resting upon slave-labour—was that they took money, often large sums, for teaching. It was 'banausic,' and in the eyes of Socrates and Plato it was simony or worse to sell 'the true, the beautiful, the just.\*' Down to the very eve of the Victorian epoch there was the same disposition

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\* Prof. Rhys Davies reminds us that in the sixth century B.C., just before the birth of the Buddha, there existed in India teachers called the 'Wanderers,' who resembled in many ways the Greek Sophists. Like them, they differed much in intelligence, earnestness and honesty. Some are described as 'eel-wrigglers, hair-splitters,' and this not without reason. But there must have been many of a very different character. . . . So large was the number of such people that the town communities, the clans and the rājas vied one with another to provide the Wanderers with pavilions, meeting halls, and resting-places, where conversations or discussions could take place. ('Early Buddhism,' p. 4.)



to regard paid journalism with the same aversion as a vocation not fit for gentlemen. We find this fact very explicitly stated by Mr Grant, himself a working journalist, who was responsible for a dozen volumes or so of 'chatty gossip' in the thirties of the last century. His judgments do not perhaps amount to much, though he, a Liberal in politics, anticipated a great future for Disraeli when the *conoscenti* believed him to be a spent quib; but his value as a contemporary witness is unquestionable. We shall have several occasions for drawing from his reservoir. In a volume dealing with 'the Newspaper Press,' he tells us that

'the character of the newspaper press of the metropolis has been greatly raised within the last quarter of a century. Before that time no man of any standing, either in the political or literary world, would condescend to write in a newspaper; or, if he did, he took special care to keep the circumstance as great a secret as if he had committed some penal offence of the first magnitude. Now, the most distinguished persons in the country not only often contribute to newspapers, but are ready to admit it, except where there may be accidental reasons for concealment.' ('Great Metropolis,' vol. ii, p. 164.)

He adds that in his day

'the great majority of (Parliamentary) reporters have enjoyed the advantages of a university education, and many of them belong to the learned professions. Several of those at present in the gallery have been educated for the Church of England, the Church of Scotland, the Church of Rome. Some of them have been regularly ordained, and have only been induced to turn their attention to reporting because they have no immediate prospect of obtaining a respectable living in the Churches to which they respectively belong. Among the reporters are several physicians and surgeons; while a very large proportion of them are either barristers-at-law or young men studying for the bar' (ib. p. 204).

He cites a long list of distinguished persons who had been reporters in their day, including, of course, Dr Johnson, whose avowal that he always 'took care that the Whig dogs should not have the best of the argument,' mightily shocks Mr Grant's professional conscience. Amongst the successors of Johnson he names Sir James

Mackintosh, Allan Cunningham, and others; and amongst his own contemporaries he picks out Charles Dickens, already author of 'Sketches by Boz' and the 'Pickwick Club,' who 'is a reporter on the establishment of the "Morning Chronicle,"' and of whom Mr Grant says:

'I may here be permitted to remark that Mr Dickens is one of the most promising literary young men of the present day. For an exquisite perception of the humorous he certainly has no superior among contemporary writers.'

He further tells us that 'almost all the editors of the daily papers have been reporters.' John Delane served an apprenticeship in 'the gallery'; and his predecessor, Barnes, had been a reporter. Stenography has caused reporting to be more professional than in those days, when we are told:

'Some years ago not more than about a fourth part of the reporters used shorthand; of late the number has increased, and now perhaps one-third of them use it. On the "Times" and "Herald" there are gentlemen who cannot write a word in shorthand, and yet they are considered the most elegant reporters in the gallery' (ib. p. 208).

In a still more important respect the gravamen against Athenian Sophists and modern journalists is identical. The most serious charge against the former—and it was the chief count in the indictment against Socrates himself—was that of 'making the worse appear the better reason.\* That is the commonplace charge against all advocates in the senates, the schools, the courts, and the press. 'Orthodoxy is my doxy, heterodoxy is other people's doxy'; or, as a well-known and a recently deceased Oxford lecturer used to put it, 'When anything unpleasant happens to a friend we call it a visitation; when it befalls an enemy we say it is a judgment.' Till there is a general agreement as to what is 'right' and what is 'wrong,' or, more important still, what opinions and actions are to be excluded from both categories, it is idle to attribute dialectical defeat to the diabolical 'sophistry' of the successful advocate.

Upon the wider issues involved it is here unnecessary

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\* Isocrates, referring to his accuser, says (Or. xv, § 15): *νῦν δὲ λέγει μὲν ὅς ἐστι τοὺς ἥττους λόγους κρείττους δύναιται ποιεῖν.*

to trespass ; it suffices to glance briefly at the narrower application of the charge of sophistry to political journalism ; and when we talk of journalism as a curse or a blessing we all mean political journalism. Of course it is not journalism as such that is specifically arraigned, but the whole system of party government, to which system party newspapers are auxiliary. Leading articles expounding the policy of the paper are denounced as onesided and partisan. Of course they are, exactly to the same extent as are the speeches of most statesmen, of polemical divines, and, above all, of counsel learned in the law, in the discharge of their recognised duties as handmaids of justice. Nowhere is the case better stated than by Prof. Lawrence Lowell in his invaluable work, recently published, on 'The Government of England.'

'In the English system' (he says) 'the initiative in most matters of importance has come into the hands of the Cabinet Ministers as the representatives and leaders of the predominant party. It is their business to propose, and it is the business of the Opposition to oppose. But the attitude of the latter is not quite spontaneous. On rare occasions it congratulates the Government upon some action which it supports heartily. More commonly it seeks to criticise everything, to find all imaginable faults. Impotent to legislate, it tries to prevent the majority from doing so ; not content with expressing its views and registering a protest, it raises the same objections at every stage in the passage of a Bill, and sometimes strives to delay and even to destroy measures which it would itself enact if in power. Its immediate object is, in fact, to discredit the Cabinet. Now this sounds mischievous, and would be so were Parliament the ultimate political authority. But the parties are really in the position of barristers arguing a case before a jury, that jury being the national electorate ; and experience has shown, contrary to the prepossessions of non-professional legal reformers in all ages, that the best method of attaining justice is to have a strong advocate argue on each side before an impartial umpire. Unfortunately the jurymen in this case are not impartial, and the arguments are largely addressed to their interests ; but that is a difficulty inseparable from democracy, or indeed from any form of government' (i. 445).

As Mr Lowell truly says, 'Government by party is not an ideal regimen,' but at present it has no rival or alterna-

tive ; and, so long as the party system prevails, its factors, good and bad, including oratory and journalism, will be obnoxious to the charges brought against the Sophists. As to the individual journalist, who is supposed to write persistently against his own convictions, we believe him to be a myth. Grant, it is true, mentions the case of a long since defunct Tory paper, of which both editor and assistant-editor, who wrote all the articles between them, were confirmed Radicals. Such cases, however, must in the nature of things be rare. It is imaginable that a capable journalist should now and again write articles in flat contradiction to his own political creed ; but it is inconceivable that any man should or could habitually write good articles against his settled convictions. Writing under the conditions imposed by modern journalism, a man who persistently used arguments he held to be false would always be tripping himself up. The popular delusion arises from the fact that some journalists who command a ready pen have, like many other people, no strong political convictions at all ; and these usually imbibe 'principles' from the atmosphere of the office in which they work. Added to this are the facts, often ignored, that at least four-fifths of controversial political problems involve no questions of 'right' or 'wrong,' though the words are very ready to slip from tongue and pen ; and that the claims of 'expediency' are frequently so nicely balanced that considerations much less weighty than partisan prejudice and the policy of the paper suffice to turn the scale in the judgment of the proprietor, editor, or leader-writer.

To sum up this aspect of journalism, it may be said that the average journalist, like the average sophist, the average statesman, and the average man of business, accepts the recognised rules of his calling, is desirous of doing good and not evil, and plays a more or less essential part in the complicated machinery of government. He is not better than his neighbours, nor is he worse ; he has his own temptations and his own responsibilities, just as others have theirs. His power for good or evil is theoretically great, but in practice it is strictly limited. He is neither the saviour of society nor its destroyer, but its servant ; and, if the master delegates to him his authority, the principal is to blame and not the agent.

He is rarely the originator of new ideas, and when he essays that task he almost invariably comes to grief; he is the conduit-pipe which distributes the fluid opinions he accumulates in reservoirs, but does not create.

If, then, there is little or nothing morally to distinguish journalists as a class from members of any other vocation which depends chiefly on brain-power, what is to be said of the individual journalist? Is 'the great journalist,' like the artist, the philosopher, the poet, born and not made, the product of exceptional conditions of national life, as were the Greek tragedians, the Augustan, the Elizabethan, and the 'Revolutionary' poets? Or is he as little rare as are first-class physicians, lawyers, and men of business? The unknown is proverbially over-rated; the mysterious is own cousin to the unknown; and the anonymous is only one step removed from the mysterious. Anonymity is a magnifying haze; and journalists, being very human, are by no means indisposed to regard themselves as being as large as they seem to the outside world to be through the veil that magnifies their shadowy outlines.

The journalist, like the man of letters properly so-called, and unlike the politician and the lawyer, is practically never *seen* in action. His style, if he indulges in such a luxury, is kept in check and curbed by a variety of conventions and bylaws which forbid him to stamp indelibly his own identity upon his work. The ridiculed editorial 'we' is not a device invented to inspire the reader with awe and admiration; it represents very real conditions. There is hardly such a thing as a free hand in anonymous journalism. A leader-writer may be shut up in a room by himself, and have no verbal or written communication with the proprietor of the paper or the editor, beyond a curt instruction to write, let us say, on the question of the House of Lords; yet he is surrounded, as it were, by the spirits of the proprietor, of the editor, of his colleagues, and, above all, of that nebulous, but most potent entity, 'the policy of the paper.' He may be unconscious of the presence of these invisible, intangible influences, but they are at work all the same; and the result of their operations is an article expressing not 'my' views, but 'ours.' This truth deepens the mystery which shrouds the great journalist, and intensifies his

greatness in the public imagination. Moreover, it does in fact invest leading articles with a real weight which the talent, or even the genius, of the particular writer would be powerless to impart. The secret of successful journalism is not divulged, because there is no secret.

Until Mr A. I. Dasent published the 'Life of John Delane,' there had been practically no biography of a great journalist who was that and nothing else. Many distinguished men, who have at some period of their career written regularly for the press, have left on record their impressions and their experiences. Robert Lowe, Lord Selborne, Lord Courtney, Henry Reeve, Tom Mozley, and others, have left reminiscences of their connexion with the 'Times.' A difficulty confronting Mr Dasent in the performance of his task was the indisposition of the representatives of the Walter family to give him any assistance, and the objections they obviously entertained to the publication of Delane's Life. No mention is made of the chief proprietors of the 'Times' in Mr Dasent's acknowledgment of contributory sources of information; there are few references to the Walters in the text; and no letters of any consequence between the proprietors and the great editor are forthcoming. Moreover, in the review of the 'Life,' which appeared in the Literary Supplement of the 'Times,' it is clearly intimated that the representatives of the Walter family had assumed an attitude of neutrality—hardly to be described as benevolent—towards the enterprise. It is unnecessary to pry into the causes of this attitude, but it is patent that the relations between proprietor and editor are such important factors in the history of a newspaper that the absence of any detailed reference thereto must leave an impression of incompleteness in the biography as a whole. For this *hiatus valde deflendus* Mr Dasent is, of course, not responsible.

Delane, however, is the only journalist *pur et simple* of whose career we have a reasoned narrative. A study of Mr Dasent's two handsome, finely-printed volumes enables us to discover what are the qualities that go to the making of a great journalist; for John Delane was a great journalist, and, while he lived, was justly regarded as the unquestioned head of what is loosely called his

**'profession.'** It may almost be said that Delane existed for the 'Times,' and that the 'Times' was made for Delane. It is perhaps an advantage that the material for forming a judgment of his powers furnished by Mr Dasent is more valuable than the use he makes of it. Delane's reputation will be enhanced by this biography, which is also to be welcomed on account of the hitherto unpublished letters it contains of most of the leading statesmen of his day ; but the earned increment of fame will owe little to the comments of the biographer. Mr Dasent no doubt had many difficulties to overcome ; chief among which is the fact that the editor of a paper does not issue orders of the day or submit despatches to his employers. Most of his information is derived from confidential conversations, of which he makes no note ; his instructions to his staff are, except when he is absent from his office, verbal and concise ; in a word, every issue of his paper is at once the record of his work and its justification or its condemnation. Mr Dasent tells us of an incident in Delane's acquaintance with John Bright the significance of which is unmistakable, though it seems often to have been missed by the biographer.

**'Once at a dinner party'** (says Mr Dasent, ii, 843), **'at which he met Bright for the first time, the latter asked Delane openly why it was that the "Times" had attacked him for doing or saying something, whereas, on a previous occasion, it had, so it seemed, praised him for following much the same line of argument! Delane's reply was: "Mr Bright, you are evidently under some misapprehension as to the precise nature of my responsibility. I am responsible for the 'Times' of to-day, but I have nothing to do with the 'Times' of yesterday or the 'Times' of to-morrow."**

In this reply, uttered lightly and only half in earnest, lies one of the few secrets of journalism, and the explanation of the impossibility of re-creating the individual journalist. The output of a great historian, like good wine, loses nothing by keeping ; that of the journalist is as milk which is nutritious to-day but may be poisonous to-morrow. Journalism must be judged by its immediate atmosphere ; and we cannot reproduce the atmosphere of even a decade ago. Mr Dasent does unconscious injustice to a great journalist by seeking to represent him as great

in a sense in which he was not, could not be, and never tried to be. Exaggeration is the keynote of Mr Dasent's eulogy. He compares his uncle to Themistocles (i, 10), to Pitt (i, 26), to Napoleon (i, 203). We are told (i, 27) that, 'instead of blindly following public opinion, he rose to such a position of supremacy in his profession that he was able to create it; and on more than one memorable occasion, if the Government of the day, in formulating its policy, minted the coin, it was the "Times" which uttered it and saw that it rang true.'

With Mr Dasent the 'Times' is always Delane. He remarks indifferently that the 'Times,' or that Delane, said this or that; and in his exaggerated eulogy he sometimes fails to notice patent self-contradictions. 'The many brilliant writers of the Queen's English,' he tells us (i, 27), 'unsurpassed before or since for the purity of their style and the vigour and soundness of their opinions, whose services Delane was henceforth to command, were, almost without exception, selected and trained by himself.' Delane knew good English when he saw it; and it is to his lasting credit that he would not tolerate slipshod and slovenly language. But he himself had no pretensions to style, as may be gathered from a comparison of his own letters with those of Sir G. W. Dasent, and of several contributors to the 'Times' included in the 'Life.' The plain, straightforward, business-like English of his letters was characteristic of the man and of the editor. He used language to convey his meaning, but not to fascinate his readers. To those who have studied the conduct of the 'Times' during the period preceding and including the Crimean War, it sounds the wildest hyperbole to say, as Mr Dasent does (i, 157), that,

'at a crisis such as confronted England in 1853-4, the greatness of the issues involved demanded the comprehensive grasp of such a resourceful mind as Delane's, which saw, as if by inspiration, a truth hidden from his contemporaries. Whilst such a man is nearly always doomed to find more vexation and misunderstanding in the world than ordinarily falls to the lot of those who profess to safeguard the national interests, he is repaid in the end for his foresight by a surer immortality.'

Few people, we imagine, in these days would like to feel

that their claim to 'a surer immortality' rested upon no better basis than the intelligence, foresight, and statesmanship displayed by those responsible for the Crimean War—among whom Delane must be counted—and for its conduct. As a matter of fact, Delane drifted as Aberdeen, with whom he was closely associated, drifted. Like the Prime Minister, Delane was a 'jingo' *malgré lui*; he 'did not want to fight' for the Turks,\* 'to support barbarism against civilisation, the Moslem against the Christian, slavery against liberty, to exchange peace for war—all to oblige the Turk.' Like the latter-day 'jingo', he declared that 'the Russians should not have Constantinople'; but he had taken little thought as to whether 'we had the ships, we had the men, we had the money too.' Nor was it altogether creditable to the 'comprehensive grasp of his mind' that Sir Charles Napier should, as we are told (i, 167), in great measure 'have owed his appointment to the command of the Baltic fleet to Delane's influence.' On September 14, 1854, Delane was writing to G. W. Dasent, his assistant-editor, from the Crimea, praising Sir E. Lyons to the deserved disparagement of Admiral Dundas, and comparing him to Nelson. A year later he was reproaching his deputy because he had 'let Reeve praise Lyons and the Black Sea fleet,' for 'they had been sadly inactive, worse even than under Dundas.'

Because Delane had selected, as a war correspondent, Charles Nasmyth, a brave and energetic engineer, who won much glory in the defence of Silistria, Mr Dasent gravely assures us (i, 171) that 'in all probability the intuitive perception of military requirements which was so noticeable throughout Delane's career saved the Allies from a prolonged campaign on the banks of the Danube.' But the acme of extravagant adulation is reached when we are told (ii, 27) that

'he (Delane) was made of such real grit that if he had not chosen to spend his life shrouded in the veil which hides the personality of an editor from ordinary eyes, the world would assuredly have heard of him, it seems to us, as famous in other fields of action. How great a general or how

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\* Cf. the whole tone of an angry letter to his Constantinople correspondent dated Sept. 5, 1853, vol. i, pp. 158, 159.

good a judge, how subtle a diplomatist or how far-sighted a minister he might have been, the world will never know; but those who worked with him by day and night know that in his conduct of the "Times" he displayed by turns all the characteristics of these noble professions. That he combined in himself all the qualities that make a man famous was the secret of his success as a leader of men.'

Unmeasured eulogy of this kind is not only unreasonable in itself; it is manifestly unfair to the reputation of its subject. For what does it mean? Mr Dasent identifies Delane and the 'Times'; and he tells us (ii, 342), in his habitually magniloquent style, that 'in thirty-seven years Delane had been responsible for over 40,000 distinct pronouncements upon every conceivable topic of public interest. Not the combined loquacity of a Disraeli and a Gladstone ever amounted to one quarter of this gigantic effort of a single brain.' If we are to measure Delane's judgment, statesmanship, and sagacity, to say nothing of consistency, by holding him permanently responsible for 'the 40,000 distinct pronouncements upon every conceivable topic of public interest' which appeared in the 'Times' under his editorship, we had better bury his memory in oblivion.

Delane's real claim 'to a more assured immortality' rests upon other and more substantial grounds than those indicated by Mr Dasent. He was a strong, shrewd, observant man, of great courage and high integrity, endowed with a double dose of saving common-sense, thoroughly conversant with the true functions of the journal he conducted, an almost unerring interpreter of the sentiments of the classes for whose instruction and information the 'Times' existed, as contemptuous of ideologues as Napoleon himself, and very easily swayed by the passions his paper sometimes helped to evoke. He was, in a word, an amalgam of qualities, none, taken separately, of the very highest order, but fitted, in combination, to make their fortunate possessor an almost ideal editor of such an organ of public opinion as was the 'Times.' He had fortuitous advantages which strengthened his position. A member of the upper middle classes, he enjoyed the usual education of an English gentleman; and his lack of ambition for academic distinctions probably saved him from the priggishness

which characterised some of his more brilliant contributors, who, having 'swept the board' at Oxford or Cambridge, flattered themselves that at the age of twenty-one they had solved the secrets of the universe.

As Oxford did not send him forth a prig, so society did not make him a snob. Society in Delane's day was not what it is to-day; it was still exclusive in a legitimate sense; the names of its more prominent members were still to be found in Burke rather than in the pages of 'Who's Who' or the 'Directory of Directors'; breeding, beauty, and wit were more effective passports than shares and shekels.\* Delane entered society, as it then was, on a footing of absolute equality; 'il n'était pas parvenu, il était arrivé,' as some one said of Thiers. He was welcome everywhere; and everybody who was worth knowing was as glad to meet Delane as he was to associate with other people worth knowing. When society was controlled by the 'upper ten thousand' persons and not by the 'millions sterling,' it exercised a considerable influence upon Administrations, however constituted. Statesmen of all grades were in society and of society; and, as Sir Henry Maine said of party pressure, the difficulty which men felt about its influence 'is very like that which men once experienced when they were told that the air had weight. It enveloped them so evenly and pressed on them so equally that the assertion seemed incredible.'

The 'Times' and Delane were influenced by the air of society equally with the politicians who also lived therein, and would, in all sincerity, have denied its weight. Consistency, so far as it is a virtue at all, is far from being the virtue of such a paper as that which Delane conducted. It was not, in the real and true sense, a party paper; and it owed its predominant influence in its palmiest days to the recognition that it was not a party paper. It was eventually the organ of the 'governing classes,' and,

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\* One of the very few articles which Delane appears to have actually written himself, and one of the latest for which he was responsible, deals with the changes which he saw with the deepest apprehension were affecting London society. It appeared in the 'Times' of August 11, 1875. Extracts are given by Mr Dasent (ii, 319) which deserve careful study by those who share his biographer's opinion that, 'could Delane but wake from his long sleep, he would indeed marvel at the levelling of social barriers which has taken place since he first noted the change of feeling in this respect.'

never moving far from what Prof. Lowell aptly calls 'the centre of political gravity,' it inclined always to support the party in power, much on the Duke of Wellington's axiom that the 'King's government must be carried on.' Its principle, sometimes ignored in practice, was never to be so partisan as to alienate the goodwill of those who might to-morrow be the advisers of the Crown. This policy, in the long run most beneficial to the country, was, of course, incompatible with rigid consistency. No one, however, expected the 'Times' to be consistent; and it was one of the best features of Delane's management that he never had to take very sharp curves. When Barnes, his predecessor, suddenly abandoned Melbourne in 1834, he impaired for the time the popularity and influence of the 'Times.' Delane, on the other hand, could glide from Aberdeen to Palmerston, and from Palmerston to Derby and Disraeli, without any appreciable 'skidding.\*

Delane in practice thoroughly adopted the Pauline maxim that 'all things are lawful, but all things are not expedient.' As good an illustration as another of this point of view is supplied by his attitude towards Kossuth and other 'Brummagem heroes of '48-'49' (i, 115). He writes to Dasent from Vienna (November 1857) in terms of the greatest contempt for the

'reception our fools have given him (Kossuth),' but adds: 'only take care that Reeve is not too reactionary. We get no good by it either here or at home—not here, because there is nobody to read us; and not in England, because our own dear public likes to see discord and revolution abroad, however little it may care for liberalism itself' (i, 119).

Mr Dasent constantly writes as if in great national crises the 'Times' led the way and the Government meekly followed; whereas the truth was that Delane always kept in touch with the Ministry, and strengthened it and the 'Times' by anticipating in the latter to-day what he knew the former was going to say to-morrow. Especially is this noticeable in the discreditable Schleswig-Holstein episode.

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\* If proof were needed that Delane's judgment was as fallible as that of others, it would be supplied by a passage from a letter to Bernard Osborne during Lord Derby's second Administration of 1857-8, in which, referring to Palmerston and Clarendon, he wrote: 'I think you may safely recant your allegiance to both these luminaries. No star shines very bright above the horizon, but these two seem to have hopelessly set' (i, 304).

A speech of Lord Palmerston on June 27, 1861, announced that the crisis had passed the acute stage; and this speech had been anticipated in a leading article in the *'Times'* of the same date. Mr Dasent exultingly writes (ii, 113) :

'At this, one of the supreme moments of his life, he (Delane) may have felt, with pardonable pride, that his efforts for peace had not been made in vain, and that to his foresight and courage was largely due the happy consummation by which the danger of war was past and over.'

Now this article itself was almost avowedly inspired by Palmerston, for in the extracts from it given by Mr Dasent in a foot-note, there occur the familiar phrases: 'Parliament and the nation will, *we believe*, be told,' etc.; and 'There is, *we are informed*, in their (the Government's) opinion,' etc. Moreover, only a few pages earlier (ii, 106), in reply to a mild reproach from Palmerston, Delane wrote that, though his 'temporary Germanism,' like many other inconveniences, was the direct consequence of an attack of gout, which had prevented the Prime Minister from seeing him, 'your note of to-day has effected a perfect cure.' We are not in any way disparaging Delane's action; on the contrary, it is difficult to imagine a greater service that a journalist can render to his country in moments of national crisis than—provided that he has sufficient confidence in the Ministry of the day—to ascertain what form their policy is about to assume, and to recommend it before it is publicly announced, thereby impressing the world at large with the conviction that the ministerial pronouncement, when made, is not that of a party but of the nation. And such service Delane was habitually rendering or seeking to render.

To another service which Delane did to the cause of public discussion Mr Dasent makes but little reference. He did much to raise the tone of journalism. This may best be proved by taking a few extracts from the columns of the *'Times'* itself and one of its contemporaries at the time immediately preceding Delane's appointment. Here is a genial epigram on O'Connell from the *'Times'*, January 1, 1840: .

'WHO CAN IT BE?

With the frame of a porter, with visage of brass,  
With the heart of a hare, and the lungs of an ass,

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With a curse on his lips, and a leer in his eye,  
 With the tongue of a scold, and the smell of a sty,  
 The first to insult, and the first to back out,  
 An impudent bog-trotting mendicant lout—  
 (When I add one more line you will name him, I hope)  
 'Tis the jackal of Melbourne, the cur of the Pope.'

And here is one in prose a few days later :

'Let him (O'Connell) placard our names all over Ireland; let him consume his tough lungs in virulence and brutality against us; let him "death's-head" and "marrow-bone" our dwellings, if he dare. Here we stand; here we laugh at him; here we have launched at least a couple of hundred articles that scorched and blasted and consigned him to an age of infamy. . . . He "die in the field!" He means, of course, on a dunghill.' ('Times,' Jan. 8, 1840.)

The 'Weekly Dispatch' (the property of the once notorious Alderman Harmer) was at that time a very popular paper. Its circulation was at least double that of the 'Times,' of which it was the avowed enemy. The following is from an open letter to the editor of the 'Times,' published March 22, 1840 :

'Saturated with a desire of lucre, the innate depravity of your heart and vulgarity of your mind have so absorbed you in the delight of machinations, and in the enjoyment of malignity, that you have actually forgotten the point you had in view, until you are now nothing more than a debauched, exhausted, impotent and despised nuisance. . . . Foolish, drivelling old man. . . . Mr Thomas Barnes, your intellect is gone.'

Later in the same year the two papers had a journalistic duel. The 'Weekly Dispatch' wrote (August 30, 1840) :

'Certain is it that London, amongst all its journals, possesses but one liar of the first magnitude—but one thorough-going, quick-trotting, fast-galloping, out-and-out liar. We need not say that this is the "Times" journal. . . . The creature is at its dirty work again.'

The next day, August 31, the 'Times' returned fire :

'The fulsome adulation which, like a pot of scented bear's-grease, Alderman Harmer has contrived to procure from his Gravesend toadies, in order to perfume himself for the mayoralty of London, *strongly* reminds us of the common

trick of drunkards, who, in their idle endeavour to preserve appearances, buy a few peppermint lozenges to prevent their breath from betraying them. . . . As the "Times" has been the chief instrument in exposing the dissolute, Deistical and Republican dogmas wherewith Mr Harmer's paper (the "Weekly Dispatch") has been for many years victimising the lower classes, and providing himself with Old Bailey clients, this miserable man, unable to rebut a single statement we have made, is driven to the adoption of a mean and pitiable recrimination. Stung with rage at the part we have taken in securing his rejection from the civic chair, the degraded magistrate, instead of attempting to answer our strictures, resorts to the unavailing artifice of inventing imputations against ourselves. For some time past he has endeavoured to persuade his readers that the editor of the "Times," during his alleged attendance at the University of Cambridge, was actually guilty of the insane and brutal profanity of administering the Lord's Supper to his horse.'

The 'Weekly Dispatch' replied (September 6):

'You now speak of the story of "administering the Lord's Supper to his horse." The assertion of the "Dispatch" was that the individual had administered the Lord's Supper, not to his horse, nor to his ass, but to a jackass. How aristocratic you are, Sir! Not content with changing the jackass to a horse, you convey by innuendo that you kept your horse or horses!'

Two more excerpts from the 'Times' may be given as curiosities. The first, on Palmerston, subsequently the idol of the 'Times,' appeared September 14, 1839:

'Lord Palmerston—call him Cupid, as you say *Lucus, a non lucendo*, if you will—seems to be occupied just now more fittingly than he has been employed for years, whether one regards his morality, his capacity, or his capacity's bent. Having at present no official mischief or mummery on his hands, he has returned to his old, but unacknowledged trade of puffing himself and his colleagues in whatever print he can command. We are sorry, however, to see that the "old young fellow" (fifty-five and more), the "juvenile old Whig" (rank Tory till 1830), has his hand rather out; and that he is not near so smart a lampooner as he was when he slandered his opponents anonymously in a Sunday print some years ago.'

The next and last excerpt is a comment on the British

Association, and appeared in the 'Times' on September 9, 1839:

'The annual *gaudeamus* which they have just terminated at Birmingham has differed in nothing from its predecessors except that . . . the opportunities of display afforded to solemn and loquacious dunces—the discreditable intriguing for preferences and distinctions—the artificial hatching of addled astronomers and geologists—the fulsome admiration of the turtle and champagne school . . . all of which constituted the opprobrium of the British Association in former years, have in 1839 increased and completed its disgrace. That eight or ten distinguished men can find their vanity flattered by the toadyship of some 1500 ignoramuses, to whose elaborated mare's nests they are obliged in return to extend a humiliating applause, is to us infinitely less intelligible than that the said toadies should be ambitious of yoking their insignificance to such a car. . . . That a man of his high scientific reputation [Babbage] could allow himself to be made a cat's-paw of by Mr Impey Murchison, or by any imp in existence, was scarcely to be expected; and we are much mistaken if . . . such transactions as we have now detailed do not occasion a general secession of eminent men from the mummyism and puppyism of this drivelling association.'

It is a mistake, however, and one into which Mr Dasent's readers may easily fall, to assume that Delane 'made' the 'Times,' or was the original discoverer of the methods by which its success was achieved. 'Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona.' Mr Grant, writing half a dozen years before Delane succeeded Barnes, who had occupied the editorial chair for upwards of twenty years, says (*op. cit.* p. 8):

'Other papers are chiefly, in some cases almost exclusively, read by classes; the "Times" is read by all. It boasts of its ten thousands of readers among the upper classes; there is not a member of either House of Parliament who does not read it regularly; there is not a gentleman's club which does not take it in, while it is read with a peculiar eagerness and avidity by myriads of the lower classes. Indeed one may say it is read by everybody. You never meet by chance with any person, who makes any pretensions to intelligence, who does not by some means or other see the "Times."'

Cobbett hated the 'Times'; but Mr Grant tells us that

'it was the first journal he called for in the morning; and it was often the only one he read. I recollect feeling very much surprised one morning I had occasion to be at his house before nine o'clock, not only to see that the "bloody old 'Times,'" as in his own coarse way he used to call it, was on the table at which he was writing, but that it was the only journal in the house.'

Nor was Delane the first editor to associate with statesmen on terms of personal intimacy. Readers of the Greville Memoirs will not need to be reminded that his predecessor enjoyed, in the matter of confidences, much the same privileges as Delane himself. Mr Grant, writing of the 'Morning Chronicle'—established in 1769 by Woodfall (the printer of 'Junius'), which later fell into the hands of Mr James Perry, who owned and edited it till his death in 1823—says (*op. cit.* p. 38) of the editor-proprietor:

'Mr Perry was not only a man of superior talents himself, but he was the personal friend of Fox and Sheridan, and the other leading Whigs, for thirty or forty years before his death. He had consequently, through their means, the earliest access to all important information, not only respecting the movements and designs of the Opposition, but often also respecting the plans of the Tory Governments of his day.'

Palmerston in his early days inspired, if he did not control, the foreign policy of the oldest of evening papers, the 'Globe.' Indeed Mr Grant tells us (*op. cit.* p. 79) that 'Lord Palmerston is very often represented as a contributor of leading articles on questions of foreign policy to the "Globe."' He adds, however, that this statement is not correct.

Delane 'prenait son bien où il le trouvait'; he adopted the best methods of his predecessors and contemporaries, cultivated them, and, under the guidance of a common-sense so all-pervading as to amount to genius, turned them to the best purposes of his paper and his country. If in the temple of English history he does not occupy the exalted and splendid niche which Mr Dasent would assign to him, he will have a place of honour. It would be no injustice to him—indeed it would be a tribute he would have dearly esteemed—to describe him as, during much of his life, the unrecognised but actual 'Chief Permanent

Secretary of the British Public.' Writing of the part played by that class of civil servant in the government of the country, Prof. Lowell says (*op. cit.* i, 194):

'In spite of self-effacement, the career of a permanent official is honourable and attractive. If he is debarred from the excitement and the glory of the political arena, he is spared its hazards, its vexations, its disappointments. He wields great power, takes a real part in shaping the destinies of the nation, and, if capable and fortunate, he may end his days in the subdued lustre of the House of Lords.'

The last distinction has so far been reserved for the proprietors of newspapers, but—who knows?—the editor's time may yet come.

We have left but little space for reference to the recent developments of latter-day journalism. Till 1855 the so-called 'Fourth Estate' was an oligarchy. The repeal of the newspaper stamp-duty was the beginning of a revolution, completed some years later by the repeal of the duty on paper, which converted the oligarchy into a republic; and the penny paper, with the 'Daily Telegraph' at its head, rushed into the open field. The 'Times,' under Delane, reducing its price only to three-pence, remained, as Mr Dasent would say, like Pericles, 'the first in the new democracy.' Changes of this sort operate slowly; and, largely owing to the shrewd insight of Delane, it was long before his paper felt the full effects of the rivalry then established. It would be affectation to pretend that its position and influence are, or can ever again be, what they once were; but it is only fair to add that this change is largely due to causes which the conductors of the 'Times' could not control.

The effects of this revolution—and revolutions never realise anticipations for good or evil—have not only not been as disastrous as was generally expected, but, in spite of some ominous symptoms which have recently appeared, they have been, on the whole, positively good. It was feared that Gresham's law, which demonstrates how bad currency drives good currency out of the country, would find its counterpart in journalism. That, however, has not been the case. Competition has operated along customary lines; but journalism has escaped the worst

results of the system for two reasons. In the first place, the establishment of a new paper is a costly enterprise, and the prospects of success are doubtful and not easily fore-estimated; witness the failure of the 'Tribune,' which had every element of success save the essential one of being wanted. In the second place, adulteration—which in journalism takes the form of inventing and circulating false information—is easily detected and promptly exposed. If a grocer seeks to make illicit profits by sanding his sugar, his more honest rival is deterred from exposing him by fear of the law of libel and of other consequences. In journalism every competitor for popular custom watches his rival closely, and, if he finds him uttering spurious coin, he nails the base issue to the counter with cheerful alacrity. In this respect, at any rate, dishonesty does not pay, especially as the relative cheapness of obtaining information—submarine telegraphy has been a powerful agent—hardly allows a bad lie the necessary start of twenty-four hours. Broadly speaking, there is not much difference between the old lamps and the new, though electric light has superseded gas, as gas took the place of candles.

On the political side the evolution of the halfpenny press has not produced any startling effects. The tabloid has been substituted for the old-fashioned draught, and that is about all. To one particular charge, sometimes made by responsible statesmen, modern journalism is not obnoxious. Those who believe or say that newspapers are tempted to inflame racial hatred which may lead to war because they hope thereby to increase their circulation, and consequently their profits, know little about the economic side of journalism. A war, involving as it does the employment of a highly-trained and well-remunerated corps of 'special correspondents,' together with heavy expenditure on the transmission of 'news from the front,' is the costliest enterprise that proprietors have to face. While the demands upon the exchequer of a newspaper are enormously increased by a war, the receipts from advertisements—and, as an army moves upon its belly, so a paper lives upon its advertisements—are apt to diminish. Increased circulation without a corresponding increase from advertisements spells loss and not gain; and, though the prestige

acquired by exceptionally brilliant war-correspondence may enrich a paper for some few years after peace has been concluded, 'the far-off interest' bears no adequate proportion to the original outlay. It is only the evening papers, which 'lift' the dearly-bought harvest of their morning contemporaries without expense, that really derive pecuniary advantage from war.

It is true that in modern journalism there is less room for political independence than in the days of Delane, but it must be remembered that during the greater part of his career one party was almost constantly in power, and it was easy to keep near the centre of gravity without straying far from the boundaries of the ascendant party. Moreover, party spirit is more dominant than it was between 1850 and 1870; and democracy has no taste for subtle distinctions. On the other hand, as we have shown, partisanship is not mischievous so long as conflicting views are forcibly set forth by adequate advocates. The independent paper is, as Disraeli said of the independent politician, one that it is impossible to depend upon; and it generally represents individual opinions as contrasted with those of schools of thought. Weekly and monthly publications may be run with more or less success on these lines, but daily papers cannot.

Whatever danger besets the multiplication and cheapening of modern newspapers is to be found in their moral and social influence. So far as leading articles go—and there is sound reason for believing that their influence, even in politics,\* is much exaggerated—the general moral tone is unexceptionable, and not unlike to pulpit preaching. It is in the body of the paper that the mischief lurks. One need not take a pessimistic view of modern life to perceive that the craving for sensationalism is on the increase. Those who minister to the appetite for news are under peculiar temptations. Sensational copy not only attracts a huge mass of customers, but it is cheap copy. Columns of verbatim reports of criminal trials, of unsavoury cases, and of private scan-

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\* The Unionist tone of the great majority of London papers did not check the Unionist rout in 1906; and the best conducted provincial journal, the 'Manchester Guardian,' had for nearly forty years no appreciable effect upon the Toryism of Lancashire.

dals cost very little to supply. The thirst for personal details about people who are famous, notorious, or only ostentatious, can be slaked at slight expense.

The preceding sentences were already in type when a murder occurred in Kent, the treatment of which by too many newspapers revealed, as it were in a flashlight, the appallingly rapid growth of the special disease-germ that menaces modern journalism. There is no need to dwell upon the ascertained incidents of what was dubbed the 'Bungalow murder,' after the appropriate fashion of the 'shilling shocker'; for unfortunately fact, fiction, presumption and hypothesis were served up daily for the breakfast table in nauseating plethora. A murder had been committed, mysterious indeed, but not more mysterious than many other crimes of a like nature, which are ordinarily summarised in a few matter-of-fact paragraphs. It was, however, the dull season, and the victims—for there were subsequently two—were above the middle rank of society. That was enough; an army of special correspondents, selected presumably for their descriptive talents, were despatched to the scene of the tragedy. The facts were few and simple; the inferences to be drawn were matters for the police, who were properly reticent; the competition for 'copy' was keen; and many of the 'correspondents' took upon themselves the rôle of amateur detectives.

The consequences were such as might have been foreseen: a free rein was given to speculation and imagination; hypotheses were wildly hazarded on the flimsiest foundation; hypotheses developed into theories, theories into suspicions, and suspicions into something little short of base and groundless imputations. A large and imperfectly educated section of the community ventured on sensationalism, and, with sufficient intelligence to dot the correspondent's 'i's' and cross his 't's,' jumped to the indicated conclusion. The husband of the murdered lady, who had devoted a blameless and distinguished life of nearly seventy years to the military service of his country, in the hour of his keenest anguish, was made the target of the grossest insinuations, conveyed in anonymous letters and resting on nothing more substantial than the figments of 'special correspondents' in feverish haste to 'go one better' than their rivals. A

gallant English general, broken in nerve by the awful tragedy which had overtaken a dearly loved wife, was unable to endure the added torture thus wantonly inflicted upon him; 'he felt something snap,' and took his own life. The special correspondents followed him to his grave, there to bewail the fatal fecundity of the soil on which they had so assiduously sown the bitter seed.

There is no need to point the moral. In this appalling episode the worst tendency of modern journalism is writ large. If the person who, in culpable negligence, spreads the germs of an infectious disease is to be condemned, what is to be done with him who deliberately prepares the *nidus* in which alone the microbe can be propagated? It is said that in this respect the English press is becoming Americanised; and it was an American, not an English, proprietor of newspapers who thus cynically defined his functions:

'I am,' he said, 'a tradesman, and I sell news. It is not my business to supply my customers with healthy news only. They come to my shop, and if they ask for a special kind of goods I supply it, so long as its sale is not forbidden by the Legislature; if they like to poison their minds, that is their business, not mine. I do not keep a preaching-house, but a store. I am like a chemist, free to sell what others want to buy, so long as I do not infringe the laws. If you have any complaint to make, you must address yourself to the police or the Legislature, but you need not come bothering me.'

It is easy to see whither this cynical principle leads. The finer and higher types of men shrink from allowing the Röntgen rays of the inquisitive journalist to pass through their skin, flesh and blood. They will protect themselves by keeping out of the glare of public life, without which even the Röntgen rays will not operate; and they will leave the management of affairs, and even the embellishment and instruction of society, to those who set no value upon privacy.





## Art. XII.—TIME-LIMIT AND COMPENSATION.

1. *The Licensing Bill*, 1908 [Bill 133].
  2. *Licensing Statistics*. Volumes for 1905, 1906, and 1907. London : Wyman.
  3. *Fifty-first Report of the Commissioners of His Majesty's Inland Revenue* [Cd. 4226]. London : Wyman, 1908.
  4. *The Licensing Bill: some Facts and Arguments in Support*. By Sir Thos P. Whittaker, M.P. London : Temperance Legislation League, 1908.
  5. *Sir Thomas Whittaker's Facts and Arguments Examined*. By F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., and Ernest Williams. London : King, 1908.
  6. *A Rejoinder to Critics*. By the Rt Hon. Sir Thos P. Whittaker, M.P. London : Temperance Legislation League, 1908.
  7. *Time-limit, Monopoly Value, and Compensation*. By Michael Cababé. London : Effingham Wilson, 1908.
- And other publications.

IN an article published in a previous number of this Review, an examination was made of the Licensing Bill introduced by the present Government and now being considered in Committee by the House of Commons; and the methods by which it seeks to promote sobriety were criticised. The purpose of the present article is to direct more particular attention to those parts of the measure which relate to what is called the 'time-limit' and to compensation. It has been said that the two great objects of the Bill are (1) the resumption by the State of the control of its own licences, and (2) a great acceleration of the reduction of the number of public-houses which has gone on for nearly four years under the Licensing Act of 1904. The resumption by the State of the control of its licences is found to involve the 'resumption' into the exchequer of the values of those licences. Both results are to be achieved by a change in the conditions upon which the licences in question are held; and it is sought to mitigate the violence of the effects of this change by postponing the date at which it is to take effect. The period of this postponement is called the 'time-limit.' The acceleration of the reduction of the number of public-houses is found to involve a consider-

able modification of the scheme of compensation by which that reduction has been accompanied and facilitated. We propose to examine more particularly into the occasion, meaning, and effect of the time-limit, and into the new arrangements proposed with regard to compensation.

The provisions of the Bill by which what is called the 'time-limit' is set up are contained in its third clause. Omitting certain words which are irrelevant to the present purpose, and indeed superfluous, the first subsection of that clause runs as follows :

'After the termination of the reduction period . . . an application for the re-grant of any on-licence shall be treated as an application for the grant of a new licence, not as an application for the renewal of a licence, and the provisions as to confirmation and monopoly value and all other provisions applicable to the grant of new licences shall apply accordingly.'

There is much in the clause that needs explanation, but its main drift is apparent. Certain changes are made in the tenure of certain on-licences, but these changes are not to take effect until the expiration of a specified period. This period during which this alteration of the law is suspended is called the 'time-limit.' It is designated as the 'reduction period,' but this is merely by way of reference. The reduction period—that is to say, the time within which the prescribed reduction of the number of public-houses is to be carried out—will be found to be defined in clause 1 as 14 years from April 5, 1909; and this is accordingly the period of the time-limit. But there is no necessity for exact correspondence between the time-limit and the reduction period; and, although the reduction period is, so far as the House of Commons is concerned, irrevocably fixed, there is no reason why the period of the time-limit should not be extended, if the House were so minded. An extension of it to 21 years has been thought probable; and it may perhaps be inferred from a recent speech of Mr Haldane's that this would not be regarded by the Government as fatal to the usefulness or practicability of their Bill. But at present the time-limit stands at 14 years; and, though it will be interesting to see what would be the chief consequences of its being extended to 21, it will be necessary first to ascertain what will be its effects if it remains as it is.

At the end of the time-limit every existing on-licence is to cease to be capable of renewal, but will be capable of being re-granted as a new licence on such successive occasions as the case may require. On-licences are licences granted by justices authorising the holding of excise licences for the sale by retail of intoxicating liquor to be drunk or consumed on the premises when sold. Neither the part of the Bill we are now considering nor the part which relates to the reduction of the number of licences applies in any way to 'off-licences,' among which are included what are commonly called 'grocers' licences.' They apply to on-licences only. There are only two kinds of on-licences of which it is necessary for the present purpose to take account. These are 'full licences' and 'beer-house' licences. A full licence is in form a spirit licence, but it authorises the sale of every kind of intoxicating liquor. A beer-house licence authorises the sale of beer or of beer and wine, but not the sale of spirits. There are certain peculiarities in the tenure of the greater part of the existing beer-house licences which call for notice; but, except for this, the only difference between a fully licensed house and a beer-house is, broadly speaking, that in the one spirits may be sold and in the other they may not. There is no other difference in the range of uses to which these two kinds of on-licences may be put. Either may with equal propriety be attached to a public-house, an inn or hotel, a restaurant or eating-house, a music-hall, or any house or building to which the public have access and in which intoxicating liquors are ordinarily drunk.

As the law stands, these licences are granted for a year only, but are annually renewable. It is necessary to explain, as concisely as may be, the difference between an application for the grant of a new licence and an application for the renewal of a licence already in existence. It may make the matter clearer if the state of the law before the passing of the Act of 1904 is first described.

Any one desiring to apply for the grant of a new licence had to give the prescribed notices, and deposit with the justices a plan of the premises to which the licence was to be attached. At the hearing of the application, it was competent to any one to object to the grant without having given any notice; and the justices might entertain the

objection without requiring it to be supported by evidence on oath. After the hearing the justices might refuse to grant the licence upon any ground appearing to them sufficient, without giving reason for their decision. They were bound, of course, to act honestly ; but there was no limitation of their discretion, and against their decision there was no appeal. If they granted the licence, the grant remained invalid until confirmed by a second tribunal called the confirming authority.

Where the renewal of a licence was sought, the state of things was very different. Since licensing procedure was first regulated by statute, there never has been any kind of liquor licence as to which it might happen that, if the holder of it went to the justices and asked them to renew it, their refusal would put an end to the matter. The renewal had to be applied for at Brewster Sessions, either by the holder of the licence or by some one acting on his behalf. The justices could not refuse a renewal as they could the grant of a new licence. Indeed they were obliged to grant the renewal unless there was an objection, formally made, with due notice to the applicant ; and, even so, they were bound to renew the licence unless the objection were substantiated by evidence on oath. Nor was this all. The grounds upon which they might refuse a renewal were, in the case of one large class of on-licences, expressly limited by statute. The licences so protected were licences attached to beer-houses which had been licensed before May 1, 1869, and had been continuously licensed ever since. These are what are called the ' ante-1869 beer-houses.' Nearly all the beer-house licences now in existence are attached to houses falling within this description ; and they constitute approximately one-third of the total number of on-licences dealt with by the present Bill. The grounds upon which justices might refuse to renew any one of them were set out in the 8th section of the Wine and Beer-house Act of 1869, and are four in number. In substance they are confined to the character of the applicant, the orderliness of the house, and the sufficiency of its rateable value. If, when the renewal of one of these licences was applied for, none of the statutory grounds could be substantiated against the house in question by evidence on oath, the justices were bound to grant the

renewal. But with regard to full licences (which constitute two-thirds of the on-licences now in existence) there was no such limitation on the discretion of the justices. Provided that, after due notice, the ground of objection was substantiated by evidence on oath, the question of its sufficiency was left to them; and, in addition to the grounds applicable to the ante-1869 beer-houses, they might refuse the renewal of a full licence on the ground that it was unnecessary, or that the house was unsuitable or inaccessible to police supervision, or on any other ground, always provided that the ground relied on had a special relevancy to the particular licence under consideration. But, in any case, if they refused the renewal, the applicant had a right of appeal to Quarter Sessions; and if, on his appeal being called on, no evidence on oath was offered in support of the ground of objection of which he had had notice, he was entitled to have his licence renewed as a matter of right.

The Act of 1904 altered the law with regard to the classes of licences with which we are concerned, both in respect of renewals and in respect of new grants. It left untouched the power of the justices to refuse to renew the licence of an ante-1869 beer-house on any of the four statutory grounds, but provided that renewals of those licences might be refused on other grounds (such as redundancy), subject to the payment of compensation. With regard to other on-licences (which were mainly full licences), it provided that, except upon certain specified grounds (which did not include redundancy, etc.), renewal should not be refused unless compensation were paid. A refusal to renew a licence on any of the excepted grounds was left subject to the same rules of procedure and the same right of appeal as before. The compensation payable when a renewal was refused on any other than the excepted grounds was provided out of a fund formed from contributions levied in respect of all on-licences within the area affected.

As to new grants, the Act provided that the justices might attach to the grant of any new on-licence such conditions as they should think proper in the interests of the public. There had been much controversy as to the limits within which the justices had power to impose conditions in such cases. The principle underlying the

decisions seems to be that the justices would exceed their jurisdiction if they attempted to impose any condition not bearing directly upon the matters confided to their administration as licensing justices. Thus it was decided that they could not exact the payment of a sum of money as a condition precedent to the grant of a new licence; the reason being that there was at that time no power of disposing of any sum of money so paid in a manner having any relation to the licensing laws. But it was never disputed that they could insist upon compliance with any requirements that they might make with regard to the structure, arrangement, and fittings of the house they were asked to license; and their right to make it a condition of granting a new licence that one or more old licences should be surrendered has never been called in question. Both these powers were exercised, the former invariably, and the latter with increasing frequency, until the time of the passing of the Act of 1904, when the practice had become almost universal.

Thus, on the one hand, the amount of money which an applicant would lay out on a house which he desired to have licensed was not left to be determined by him on purely commercial considerations; and, on the other hand, the man who received a new licence was forced to pay for it a price equivalent to the value of the licence or licences which he was called upon to surrender, and which he often had to buy for that very purpose. But it was considered that the sacrifices demanded of the grantee of a new licence were by no means equivalent to the advantage he received; and so the Act of 1904, after providing that justices might attach any conditions they thought proper to the grant of a new on-licence, went on to require them in any case to attach such conditions as they might think 'best adapted for securing to the public any monopoly value which is represented by the difference between the value which the premises will bear, in the opinion of the justices, when licensed, and the value of the same premises if they were not licensed.' The condition which has found almost universal favour as best adapted to the end proposed is that the grantee of the licence should pay an amount, either in one sum or in annual instalments, equal to the 'monopoly value' as estimated by the justices. By the present Bill it is pro-

vided that such payments shall always be annual. The money, according to the Act of 1904, was to be paid into the local taxation account; but under the Finance Act of 1907 it now goes into the exchequer. The Act of 1904 further provided that a new on-licence might be granted for a term not exceeding seven years.

We are now in a position to see what is the change in the tenure of an on-licence which is to take effect at the expiration of the time-limit. If things were left to go on as they are, the holder of one of the licences affected would not only be in a position to apply for its renewal, but, unless something had happened for which either his own or his landlord's conduct was to blame, he would be absolutely entitled, as a matter of right, either to have the renewal granted or to receive compensation for its refusal. Instead of that, what he is to have under the provisions of this Bill is nothing more than an opportunity of giving the necessary notices, lodging the necessary plans, and making an application for a 'new licence' for his house. Even this may be frustrated if there is in force in the district a 'prohibitory resolution' carried by popular vote forbidding the grant of new licences. But at best it is only a chance. The application may be granted, or it may not. What will be in favour of the applicant, as the former holder of a similar licence, will be that he will be in possession of a house presumably adapted to the purposes for which the new licence is sought, that he will have an established business, and that he will be a man of experience. But there will be nothing to prevent the justices, if they see fit, from refusing to grant a licence to him and granting one to some other person of whom they have a higher opinion in respect of some other house which they think more convenient; and, if they refuse to license the man who was licensed before, he has no appeal. It may be said that, as a matter of fact, he will in all probability get the licence. That is so, no doubt. The probability is almost as strong as that the holder of a licence, under existing conditions, assuming the question of redundancy to be eliminated, will obtain the renewal of it. The case of the former licence-holder may therefore be considered on the supposition that the 'new licence' will be granted to him.

What does he get? He gets a licence which may endure for seven years or for any less number, but which in any case is to be incapable of renewal, and to be subject at each successive break, whether the interval be seven years or any less number of years, or only one year, to all the uncertainties attending applications for the grant and confirmation of a new licence. To this licence there may be attached any condition which the justices think proper in the public interest; and there must be attached to it a condition adapted for securing to the public its 'monopoly value.' The successful applicant, that is to say, will get a licence which must necessarily be greatly inferior in value to the one he had before; and of whatever 'monopoly value' remains to it he will have to pay down the equivalent in hard cash.

Seeing the amount of importance which the promoters of the Bill attach to this payment of the monopoly value, it is a little disconcerting to observe that no one seems to have any clear idea what the monopoly value of a licence means. To say that a licence has a monopoly value is true enough, if by that it is to be understood that a licence has a value which is enhanced by the fact that it confers upon the holder of it the privilege of participating in something in the nature of a monopoly. But to talk as though the value of a licence had two elements, one of which can be described as its monopoly value and the other not, is to set the enquirer in search of definitions and distinctions which are certainly not to be found in the existing literature of the subject. The phrase is used, it is true, in the Act of 1904; but it is there used in such a way as to make it quite unnecessary to attach to it, as a phrase, any definite meaning whatever. Any algebraical symbol would have done just as well. What has to be secured to the public, according to the Act of 1904, is 'any monopoly value which is represented by the difference between the value which the premises will bear when licensed and the value of the same premises if they were not licensed.' If the words 'any monopoly value which is represented by' had been left out, the meaning would have been precisely the same. The difference so defined is what will have to be paid, after the expiration of the time-limit, by the holder of any existing on-licence, who, instead of getting his licence

renewed, as he would but for this provision, gets a new licence granted to him in the place of it.

There has been some controversy as to whether what will thus have to be paid as representing 'monopoly value' will really represent the full market value of the licence that is to be granted; or whether it will fall short of it, leaving untouched some further value of the new licence which the grantee will receive as a free gift. The matter would have seemed too plain for doubt if a doubt had not been raised upon it by the Prime Minister himself. It is not as if the Bill said that the grantee was to pay the equivalent of the monopoly value of the licence, and left it to be guessed what the monopoly value might be. The Bill says that the provisions as to monopoly value shall apply to the grant of the licence; and the only relevant provisions as to monopoly value anywhere to be found are those which have already been quoted from the Act of 1904. These have been examined, and their meaning is quite clear. What has to be paid is the difference between the value of the premises with the licence and their value without the licence. The same phrase is used in another part of the same Act to define the measure of the compensation which is to be paid in respect of the refusal to renew an on-licence on any but the excepted grounds; and in this connexion it has received judicial interpretation.

In what may be briefly referred to as the Ashby cases, which were treated by every one concerned as test cases for the purpose of deciding this very point, it was held by Mr (now Lord) Justice Kennedy that the values spoken of were market values; and that in the market value of licensed premises was comprised the value of every benefit, including the opportunity of making trade profits, whether wholesale or retail, that was a necessary incident to the ownership, possession, and control of them. No one can have any sort of interest in a licence, whether as owner, lessee, mortgagee, tenant, or licence-holder, the value of which is not included in this market value of the licensed premises. Beyond the value thus ascertained for the purpose of compensation under the Act of 1904, a licence can have no pecuniary value to any one. Mr Asquith has taken the very unusual course, setting thereby a most regrettable precedent, of casting doubt upon

the correctness of this decision when speaking as Prime Minister from his place in the House of Commons. Doubtless he thinks it erroneous. Shortly afterwards, on the point coming incidentally before them, the Court of Appeal took occasion to say that they did not think so. But, whether the Ashby judgment be right or wrong, it is the law, and there is nothing in the present Bill to alter it; and the result is that, whatever may be Mr Asquith's desires or intentions, if this Bill is passed into law as it stands, what the grantee of a new licence after the expiration of the time-limit will be legally called upon to pay is the full market value of what he receives. In other words, the new licence he will receive will have no saleable value whatever beyond what will have to be paid into the exchequer for it.

This is apparently Sir Thomas Whittaker's interpretation of the Bill, and it is singular that Mr Asquith should contend the contrary. For it is obvious that if, after the expiration of the time-limit, the grantee of a licence is to be in possession of something which has a substantial value over and above the amount of the payments exacted from him, of the two principal objects of this part of the Bill, one will be very greatly impaired and the other entirely frustrated. One of these objects, we are told, is the raising of revenue by securing that the nation shall receive full value for its own licences. If it is not to receive full value, but only part of the value, by so much will the revenue suffer. The other object is that the State may resume control over its licences. This is understood to mean that what is described as the vested interest which has been allowed to grow up is an obstacle to the proper regulation of the liquor traffic; and that, in order to remove this obstacle, it is necessary to put an end to all the vested interests that have grown up in licences, and to prevent any like vested interests from growing up in the future. The obstacle created by the vested interest in licences is supposed to be encountered on two principal occasions. It is said that it prevents the licensing authorities from dealing freely with licences; which means, or at all events includes, refusing to renew them on unsubstantial grounds and by way of experiment; and it prevents the Legislature from fundamentally altering the conditions upon which

licences are held, as, for instance, by leaving the question of their continuance to be determined by popular vote or local option. The vested interest may be otherwise described as the 'expectation of renewal' which goes with the possession of the year's licence; and perhaps the most important factor in its value is the degree in which that expectation approaches to certainty. If we are to speak by the card, it is obvious that there can be no 'expectation of renewal' with regard to a licence which is incapable of renewal, and can only be granted as a new licence on the expiration of the period for which it was previously granted. But, although it may amuse legislators to declare by Act of Parliament that a licence which has been granted and re-granted for successive periods is just as much a new licence the last time it is re-granted as the first time it was granted, such an enactment cannot alter the fact that a man who has for many years held a licence in respect of a particular house is in a very different position from a man who has never been licensed, and whose house has never been licensed; and if, instead of an 'expectation of renewal,' an 'expectation of re-grant' is permitted to grow up there will be a vested interest under the new arrangement just as much as there is under the old.

We need hardly say that the only reason why any vested interest of this kind is an obstacle to the free action either of licensing authorities or of the Legislature, is that it has a substantial pecuniary value. If it had not, it would be disregarded. Now it is enough for the present purpose to point out that, if the re-grant of a licence is a matter of substantial pecuniary advantage to the holder of it (as it must be, if what he has to pay for it is substantially less than its full market value), it will necessarily follow that there will be the same reluctance to defeat his expectation of re-grant as has been observed in the case of the expectation of renewal under the existing system. His expectation of re-grant will accordingly tend to approach to reasonable certainty; and he will have a vested interest of substantial pecuniary value which will be an obstacle to interference with his licence, closely resembling the vested interests which it is sought to eliminate. It is accordingly essential to the success of this part of the scheme of the Licensing

Bill that the re-grant of a licence should result in no pecuniary advantage to the person obtaining it; and it is strange that any supporter of the Bill should deny that this is the result at which it aims. Whether in its practical working it is likely to miss its aim is another question. But, at all events, we are entitled to say that the meaning of the Bill as it stands is that, at the end of fourteen years, all interests in existing on-licences shall absolutely cease and determine; and that those who are to be deprived of any further interest in these licences will have, at the most, a chance of receiving in exchange something which is intended to have no substantial market value. Thus at the end of fourteen years the whole value of all existing on-licences is to be confiscated.

The value of the existing on-licences has been variously estimated; and indeed there are not sufficient data for forming an estimate which could be put forward with any great degree of confidence. But perhaps an approximate notion of the market value of the existing on-licences in England and Wales may be arrived at in this way. There were in existence on January 1 in this year about 96,000 of them. The amounts paid in the way of compensation in respect of the extinction of licences under the Act of 1904 represent the market values of those licences. In the year 1907 the average amount paid was 92*l.* 10*s.* 1*d.* a licence. In 1905, when there was hardly enough done to establish a trustworthy average, it had been 61*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.*, and in 1906, 698*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* It will be noticed that between 1906 and 1907 there is an increase of over 30 per cent. In the working out of the scheme of reduction put into operation by the Act of 1904, it was only to be expected that the first licences to go would be those attached to the smallest and least desirable houses. It is also undoubtedly the fact that the extinction of a certain number of licences in any given neighbourhood tends to increase the value of those that remain. It would, of course, be absurd to expect that the rate of increase in the average values of licences extinguished between 1906 and 1907 (as shown by the figures quoted) would be maintained for a long succession of years. But that there would continue to be a progressive increase can hardly admit of a doubt; and in any year it is certain to be true that the average value of the licences remaining

must greatly exceed the average value of those that have been extinguished on the ground of redundancy. It is therefore tolerably safe to assume that the average market value of the 96,000 on-licences remaining in existence at the beginning of this year cannot possibly be less than 1250*l.*, and is probably a great deal more. If 1250*l.* be taken as the average, the total is 120,000,000*l.*\* The result proposed to be brought about by the Bill is that by the end of fourteen years the persons who now have what is worth at least 120,000,000*l.* shall have been entirely stripped of everything that that value represents.

It is true that what stands for the equivalent of all this money may not inaptly be described as the aggregate of the expectations of renewal belonging to the owners and holders of licences and licensed premises. Whether these expectations constitute what may correctly be called 'property,' or whether they are technically 'rights,' are questions of little more than academical interest. In estimating the financial effect of the time-limit as proposed by the Bill, it is sufficient to say that the existing on-licences are to-day worth to those who hold them at least 120,000,000*l.*, and, if the law were allowed to remain as it is, would, in all human probability, be represented at the end of fourteen years by something worth substantially the same amount. It is nothing to the present purpose to say (even if it were true) that the expectations which command so large a price are flimsy and unsubstantial, and that their value has been grossly overestimated. No one may constitute himself judge of the market value of anything, except for the purpose of measuring it against his own inclinations, or calculating its probable fluctuations. It is the only solid criterion of the pecuniary value of anything at any given moment. Those who have made the market value of licences, that is to say, those who have dealt in them by way of buying and selling, have all along known exactly what they were. They have been able to calculate how nearly the

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\* Sir Thomas Whittaker estimates the 'monopoly values' of on-licences at 95,000,000*l.*, i.e., approximately, half the aggregate capital (192,127,159*l.*) of the brewery companies affected. But it is not quite clear that to him the 'monopoly value' of a licence represents its whole market value; and, in any case, he does not include in his reckoning the licences not owned by brewery companies.

expectation of renewal approached to certainty, and to fix their prices accordingly; and they have perfectly understood the practical effect of the degree of discretionary power entrusted to licensing justices. It is quite immaterial that other people may think they have made foolish miscalculations. No one knows so much about it as they do.

The position, therefore, is that of what the present owners and holders of on-licences have, being now worth some 120,000,000*l.*, the Licensing Bill provides that by the end of fourteen years they shall be wholly deprived. If it were proposed to take all this from them at once, without any appreciable notice and without any compensation, no responsible person would venture to defend the proceeding. Everybody would see at once that no technical arguments as to the nature of property and vested interests, and so forth, could possibly justify the infliction of so heavy a pecuniary loss (except as a punishment acknowledged to be merited) upon one section of the community, however exalted might be the objects for which such a step was resorted to, and however certain it might be that by taking such a step those objects could be attained. But the time-limit is supposed to make all the difference, and to convert what would otherwise be an act of spoliation into a reasonable measure of discipline for a trade which must be regulated and which it has for a long time been found convenient to tax.

That the time-limit makes a difference is clear; but no serious effort appears to have been made to calculate precisely what difference it makes. There are two ways in which the time-limit can be regarded. One way is by looking on it simply as a notice that at the end of the time specified something is to happen. This, it is said, gives those who are concerned time to prepare themselves to meet the altered state of circumstances, of which they are given certain warning. This way of looking at the time-limit contained in the Licensing Bill is, from the financial point of view, a little fallacious, as it ignores the immediate effect of setting a term to the duration of all existing licences. But it is the popular way, and it is necessary to see exactly whither it leads. The value of on-licences at present represents capital. The only way in which it is possible for any one to prepare himself to

meet the total destruction of the value of his capital, at a stated time is by accumulating a sinking fund during the interval. To save himself from loss, the accumulation must be equivalent to the amount of capital destroyed. Now the question, what proportion of a given sum has to be annually put by in order that the accumulated amount may equal that sum, depends upon the rate of interest at which the annual instalments can be securely invested. There seems to be no reason for supposing that owners of licensed property, as a class, have opportunities of investing money securely at a higher rate of interest than any other class of persons. At all events it is certainly not true that all owners of licensed premises have such exceptional opportunities; and all of them are equally entitled to consideration. It is altogether exceptional to be able to invest money securely at a higher rate of interest than 4 per cent. At 4 per cent. a given sum can be accumulated in fourteen years by annually setting aside approximately  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. (actually 5*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* per 100*l.*) of that sum. He must be obtaining a very large return from his capital who, after paying a reasonable rate of interest on it, to say nothing of profits (on which presumably he has to live), has still  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. left which he can annually put by. But it is said that the brewers have much other capital besides licensed houses, and they can supply their sinking fund out of the enormous profits they make on that. It is probable that most brewery companies possess a considerable amount of capital beyond what is represented by their licensed houses; but that the rate of the return they obtain on this or any other part of their capital is usually high is certainly not true. The average dividends recently paid by brewery companies have been strikingly small.

But all this talk is utterly irrelevant, and has been most mischievously foisted into the argument. Brewery companies, no doubt, own a very large proportion of the on-licensed houses, though there are no authoritative records from which the precise proportion can be ascertained; but they do not own the whole of them. There are many that are privately owned, and not a few that are the sole, or almost the sole, source of income to those who own them. It is their case by which the justice or injustice of the time-limit must be judged. In

estimating what is the fair way of dealing with licences it is illegitimate to take into consideration the amount of other available property which the owners of them may possess. Unless all owners of them necessarily possess other property so intimately connected with licences that it is impossible in any practical manner of dealing to dissociate it from them, licensed property must stand alone. The fact that some possess other property is absolutely irrelevant. If a brewer may be deprived of what, as the law stands, is certainly his, because he is rich and can afford to make good the loss, then any man who is rich enough may be deprived of anything on the same plea. But, if it is to be deemed to be a relevant question whether the brewery companies can afford, out of whatever sources of profit they may have, to accumulate in fourteen years sums equal in amount to the market value of their licences, then the figures that have been published leave no possible room for doubt that the answer is that, though there may be some that in a sense can, there are very many that certainly cannot.

A company cannot be said to be able to afford to create the necessary sinking fund if the annual sums which would have to be set aside would absorb all the funds available for paying dividends to its ordinary shareholders, even though it might be able to pay the preference shareholders as well as the interest on debentures. There is no fixed ratio between ordinary shares, preference shares, and debentures. The proportion of the ordinary share capital to the total capital in sound brewery companies varies from less than a quarter to more than a half. The average is of little value, as divergencies from the average are the rule. But, for purposes of illustration, it might be taken as a typical case that one-third of the total capital is represented by ordinary shares.

Another essential factor in the calculation to be made is the proportion of the capital assets that is represented by licence values. This, as a general rule, cannot be ascertained. Sir T. Whittaker's conjecture is that one-half of the capital of the brewery companies affected is represented by the 'monopoly values' of licences, which, whatever else it may represent, at all events represents what he estimates will have to be

replaced before the time-limit expires. This is probably an underestimate. But, assuming it to be correct, it is certain that all brewery companies do not own licences in the same proportion to their total capital. Some have very few, some none at all. In the majority of cases the licence values must represent considerably more than half the capital. But, for the purposes of illustration, let it be assumed that in the typical company they represent half. Under a 14 years' time-limit the yearly sum to be put into the sinking fund will be  $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the capital to be replaced, or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the total capital. This would represent a dividend on the ordinary shares of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.

Now, according to Sir Thomas Whittaker's analysis, there are 371 companies having an aggregate capital of 192,127,159*l.*, of which there are 209, with a capital of 30,659,583*l.*, whose accounts are not available. The remainder have an aggregate capital of 161,467,576*l.* Those among them which pay dividends of as much as 5 per cent. on their ordinary shares own 79,243,782*l.*, or less than half of the aggregate. Companies which pay as much as 10 per cent. on their ordinary shares own about 40,000,000*l.* of capital. It is quite clear, then, that in the great majority of cases the equivalent of a dividend of  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the ordinary shares could not annually be set aside; and that, in a large proportion of those in which it might be done, the hardship of having to do it would be excessive.

If the time-limit were extended to 21 years the annual sum to be set aside would be  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of the amount to be replaced. In the typical instance assumed, this would mean the equivalent of a dividend of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on the ordinary shares. Companies paying less than 5 per cent. on their ordinary shares could not afford this. In the practically impossible case of the time-limit being extended to 28 years, the annual sum to be set aside would be 2 per cent. of the amount to be replaced. On the previous assumptions this would be equivalent to a dividend of 3 per cent. on the ordinary shares. The companies which pay no more than this have an aggregate capital of over 67,000,000*l.*

But the distribution of capital assumed is not the

common one. Most companies that pay large dividends are enabled to do so because their ordinary shares represent only a small proportion of their total capital. Where licence values enter into the capital at all, they generally form much more than half of it. The proportion of brewery companies that could maintain the necessary sinking fund under a 14 years' time-limit is very small. Under a 21 years' time-limit, though it would be larger, it would certainly fall far short of one-half. It is little to the purpose to say that some of those which could not afford it are over-capitalised or badly financed. Many of them, at all events, do not deserve that reproach, and those that do have not thereby forfeited all title to consideration.

The answer that may be given is that, even supposing it be conceded that the 14 years' time-limit is insufficient, still it ought to be admitted that it is perfectly legitimate to impose a reasonable tax on those who derive profit from the liquor trade for the purpose of effecting a real improvement in the methods by which that trade is regulated; and an arrangement by which the owner of a licence is compelled to put by annually a certain percentage of its value amounts practically to a tax on licence values, which is not an unreasonable form for a tax on the trade to take, especially as the contemplated reforms are mainly concerned with the class of licences to be affected. Certainly this is plausible enough, and, if it were true that the effect of the time-limit as proposed in the Bill were no more than the imposition of a reasonable tax on licence values for a period of years, it would be difficult to contend that it involved robbery, spoliation, or any of those other iniquities which have been lavishly imputed to it. But, in considering whether a particular tax on licence values is or is not a reasonable one, it has to be remembered that the tax (as it is called) is to be an annual one, and that the licence values to be taxed are capital values. All the annual taxes, local or imperial, in this country are taxes on annual values, not on capital values. The income tax, for instance, is (so far as it affects property) a tax of a shilling in the pound; that is to say, it may be described as a 5 per cent. tax. But the tax is 5 per cent. of the annual value of the property, not of its capital value. As it is, the tax is a very burden-

some one, and is only tolerable because it has gradually reached the point at which it stands. To impose a shilling income tax at one stroke would be universally recognised as most oppressive, and would inevitably give rise to the greatest confusion and hardship. Yet this is only a 5 per cent. tax on annual values.

An annual tax of 5 per cent. on the capital value of property would be a thing unheard of, supposing the existing method of computing capital values to be maintained. There is comparatively little capital that produces a clear net annual income of 5 per cent. To exact an annual tax of 5 per cent. on capital would therefore be to confiscate annually some portion of the capital itself. The tax, if it should be levied at all, should be levied on the annual value of the licences. What would be a reasonable rate at which to levy it? A shilling in the pound? Two shillings, three, or should it go up to ten? Surely a shilling in the pound is enough at one time. There are not sufficient data accessible for calculating the average annual values of licences in proportion to their capital values, that is to say, the average number of years' purchase that they are calculated to be worth. All that is possible is to suggest hypothetically a conjectural figure based on the examination of accessible data, which, for the purpose of illustration, may be supposed to represent the average ratio of the annual value of a licence to its capital value. The figure suggested is 8 per cent. If that is assumed, then a tax of a shilling in the pound on the annual value of licences would be equivalent to a tax of two-fifths per cent. on their capital value. It would require a tax of 2s. 6d. in the pound on the annual value to be equivalent to a tax of 1 per cent. on the capital value. A 28 years' time-limit (looked at from the present point of view) involves a tax of 2 per cent. on the capital value of the licences affected. That would mean a tax of five shillings in the pound on their annual values. In the same proportion a time-limit of 21 years involves a tax upon the annual values of licences of 7s. 9½d. in the pound, and a time-limit of 14 years a tax of 13s. 4d. in the pound. The effect of the time-limit proposed by the Bill upon the owners of licences would, so far as that portion of their property is concerned, be exactly the same as the effect upon other

property owners of a sudden raising of the income tax to 14s. 4d. in the pound.

But it has already been suggested that to regard the time-limit merely as giving a period of grace during which those affected may prepare themselves for a contemplated change, is fallacious in so far as it omits to take into account the immediate effect upon licence values of setting a fixed term to their duration. So far as market value of licences is concerned, the effect of the third clause of the Licensing Bill is that the holders and owners of the licences affected shall cease to enjoy them at the end of a period of fourteen years. Under existing conditions a licence carries with it an expectation of renewal for an indefinite period, which, for the purpose of calculating its value in the market, is regarded as a perpetuity, subject of course to certain risks of defeasance which apply to different licences in different degrees, and which affect the value to be ascertained to an extent which, in each particular case, is capable of reasonably exact calculation. If the Bill became law as it stands, the licences would carry with them an expectation of renewal (subject to precisely the same risks of defeasance) for a period of fourteen years and no more. It is a necessary consequence that the market value of every licence to which the time-limit applies must be greatly diminished immediately on the passing of the Act. The question is, to what extent it will be diminished.

The market value of a licence is not usually calculated as a thing in itself. What is calculated is the value of licensed premises, since there can be no interest in a licence apart from an interest in the premises to which it is attached. As a matter of practice, the value of any interest in licensed premises is calculated on the footing that the licence will endure as long as the interest itself. Interests in licensed premises are of course exactly the same in duration and in character as interests in any other kind of realty. A man may own the fee simple of licensed premises; he may have an estate in them for life; he may hold them under a lease for any number of years; he may be the tenant of them on a yearly agreement. If it is the value of the fee simple that has to be calculated, it is assumed that the licence will continue in perpetuity; if the value of a sixty years' lease is in question,

it is assumed that the licence will continue for sixty years, and so on; and this method of calculation is accepted and adopted by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue in assessing licensed properties to the estate and succession duties. Now, when the value of a licence is spoken of in an abstract way, what is meant is the value that it would have for the owner of the fee simple of the premises to which it is attached, supposing he had retained in his own hands the power of using those premises on his own behalf in any manner he might think fit. This was the principle which was adopted by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue in ascertaining the value of licences for the purposes of compensation under the Act of 1904; and it was approved by Mr Justice Kennedy in the case already referred to. The value of a licence under the time-limit would be the value that it would have to a person who had the use (rent free) of the premises to which it was attached for a term of fourteen years and no more. The difference is precisely analogous to the difference between the present value of an annuity payable in perpetuity and an equal annuity payable for fourteen years only.

What this precisely amounts to depends upon the annual rate of interest according to which the calculation is made. It is perhaps impossible to ascertain an average rate of interest which ought to be employed in calculating the values of limited interests in licences. It has been suggested that it might be hypothetically assumed, for the purposes of argument, that in an average case a licence would be regarded as an 8 per cent. investment. Perhaps this assumption may be accepted. It may be that it does not necessarily follow that the value of a limited interest ought to be calculated according to the 8 per cent. table. The practice of valuers does not seem to be quite uniform, or to be based on any well-ascertained principle in this particular. But, assuming a case in which the licence is regarded as an 8 per cent. investment, and in which the 8 per cent. table may appropriately be used, the first result obtained is that, supposing the value of the licence under existing conditions to be 1250*l.*, its present value would immediately on the enactment of the fourteen years' time-limit drop to 824*l.* This is the utmost that could be obtained for the licence if it were realised at

once; that is to say, that in the most advantageous circumstances imaginable there would be an immediate and irreparable loss of a little more than one-third of the value of the licence. But it is impossible that all existing on-licences should be realised at once; and if that does not happen, the matter becomes very much worse. Supposing the circumstances to remain unaltered, a licence held under existing conditions will be worth just as many years' purchase in fourteen years' time, twenty-one years' time, or a hundred years' time, as it is to-day. But when the duration of a licence is limited to a definite term it becomes year by year less valuable. Under the operation of a fourteen years' time-limit the value of a licence which, regarded as an 8 per cent. investment, is worth 1250*l.* to-day would dwindle in value from 824*l.* at the beginning of the period to nothing at the end of it. Its average value in any one year of the fourteen would be 514*l.*, which is not much more than two-fifths of the value it would have maintained under existing conditions through all these years. If the time-limit were twenty-one years instead of fourteen, the immediate effect would be to reduce the present value of the licence from 1250*l.* to 1001*l.*, a drop of 20 per cent. But the mean value of the licence through the whole period of twenty-one years would be only 654*l.*, which represents a fall of nearly 50 per cent.

Though an 8 per cent. rate of interest has been assumed, it is probably much too high for average cases. But, if any lower rate be taken, the difference of value produced by the time-limit is proportionately increased. According to the 5 per cent. table, for instance, the present value of a licence limited to fourteen years is only half of what it would be worth if capable of being renewed indefinitely. It is theoretically possible that there should be set up a time-limit of sufficient duration to enable any change, intended to take effect only when the time-limit expired, to be made without causing undue hardship to those affected by it. But, as an instrument of practical politics, a time-limit must necessarily be of comparatively short duration; and no time-limit which would satisfy the aspirations of a reformer could for a moment be accepted as a substitute for that compensation which is recognised as the due of those innocent individuals whose proprietary

interests are injuriously affected in the pursuit of objects supposed to be of public benefit.

The hardships incidental to the extinction of a large number of public-house licences were ingeniously minimised by the scheme of compensation set up by the Licensing Act of 1904. The general outline of that scheme is preserved in the present Bill; but some of its details have been largely modified. The fund provided for the payment of compensation was made up from contributions levied upon the whole of that class of licensed houses the numbers of which it was desired to reduce. In order to avoid the creation of a new set of hardships in the place of those which it was intended to mitigate, it was necessary that this levy should be moderate. The compensation fund was consequently limited in amount; and, as it was part of the scheme that licences should not be extinguished until the compensation could be paid, the rate of reduction was restricted. As a matter of fact, the arrangements made by the Act of 1904 have permitted the extinction of public-house licences with compensation at the rate of over 1300 a year. But to the promoters of the present Bill that rate has seemed too slow, and they propose to accelerate it. The Bill prescribes a rate of reduction which is to be obligatory and makes provision for further reduction beyond it. The obligatory or statutory reduction is to result in the extinction of from 30,000 to 32,000 licences in a period of fourteen years. This is at the rate of about 2250 a year. As reduction proceeds, the average value of the remaining licences grows higher; and it may be taken as certain that, if the Act of 1904 were left in undisturbed operation, the available funds would not be sufficient for maintaining an average rate of reduction which would approach the half of this. Therefore, if the statutory reduction was to be carried out, and still more, if there were to be any opportunities for further or 'optional' reduction, some changes had to be made.

It was necessary that either the compensation fund should be largely increased, or the compensation paid in respect of the extinction of any licence should be largely reduced. A large increase of the compensation fund was scarcely practicable. The Bill reorganises the compensation fund, making one national fund of it

instead of a number of independent local funds. The compensation charge is to be levied uniformly, and not as local requirements dictate; and the result will be that more money, though not a great deal more, will be available. Power is also taken to increase the compensation levy in certain circumstances. But it is extremely unlikely that there will be any need to resort to this. Almost certainly there will be plenty of money. For, without any modification of the scheme itself, the other provisions of the Bill must necessarily result in a great reduction of the amounts that will have to be paid. As things stand, the measure of compensation is the value of the licence extinguished. The necessary effect of the time-limit is very greatly to reduce the value of all on-licences. If the time-limit remains at fourteen years, the average value of a licence through the period will, at the very most, be two-fifths of what it is now. But, though the capital value of the licences is thus reduced, the annual value of the licensed premises will remain the same; and as this determines the amount of the compensation levy, the compensation fund will not be affected. Therefore, even if the measure of compensation remained the same as under the Act of 1904, there would probably be enough money to pay all claims.

But it is not to remain the same. By the tenth clause of the Bill it is provided that in any particular case the compensation is to be

'such sum as will purchase (with interest reckoned at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum) an immediate annuity for the unexpired years of the reduction period equal in amount to the annual value of the licence as ascertained under this section.'

If the annual value here spoken of were the true annual value of the licence viewed in relation to its market value there would be in this nothing to quarrel with. It would simply be the corollary of the time-limit. But the annual value, as defined later in the section, is not one from which it is possible to deduce the market value of a licence. The definition is as follows:

'The annual value of the licence shall be taken to be a sum by which the actual annual value of the licensed premises, as adopted for the purpose of income tax under Schedule A at

the time when the renewal of the licence is refused, exceeds the amount which the Commissioners of Inland Revenue determine, for the purposes of this section, would be the annual value of the premises for that purpose if the premises were not licensed.'

In the metropolis the gross annual value of any premises, as ascertained by the assessment authorities, is the annual value adopted for the purpose of income tax under Schedule A; and it may, therefore, be permissible to refer to it generally as the gross annual value. It comes to this, then, that what is meant by the annual value of the licence for the purpose of compensation is the difference between the gross annual value of the licensed premises and the gross annual value of the premises without the licence. It should hardly need pointing out at this time of day that the gross annual value of licensed premises stands in no constant relation to the market value of the licence. When first the Act of 1904 came into operation, the Commissioners of Inland Revenue issued a memorandum stating that they proposed to ascertain the amount of compensation payable under that Act by capitalising the gross annual value of the licensed premises at a suitable number of years' purchase (which they decided to be twenty-five in normal cases), and deducting from it the capital value of the premises without a licence. Practically this is the method prescribed in the Bill, except that the Commissioners regarded the licence as a perpetuity, whereas the Bill regards it as enduring only for the period of the time-limit; but the application of it yielded such unsatisfactory results that the matter was taken into court, and resulted in the judgment of Mr Justice Kennedy, which has before been referred to. The law officers of the Crown, who appeared on behalf of the Commissioners, did not contend that the method of the memorandum was correct. It was practically admitted that the market value of a licence could not be ascertained from the gross annual value of the licensed premises. A recent parliamentary return shows the amounts paid this year in the county of London as compensation for licences which had been extinguished under the Act of 1904, and the gross annual value of the licensed premises. The compensation amounts represent, of course, the market values of the

licences. They vary from 8 times the gross annual value of the licensed premises to 107 times; and between these extremes almost every possible variety of proportion is to be found.

The parliamentary return has often been referred to as showing that the assessments of licensed premises are wrong. But it by no means supports any such conclusion. It is matter of common knowledge that in the county of London the assessment authorities are vigilant and exacting and have made great efforts to discharge their difficult duties with even-handed justice and strict adherence to sound principles. That they have always succeeded perfectly need not be asserted, but that they have in the main been right is the only tolerable presumption. The want of correspondence between the gross annual value of licensed premises and their capital value in the market is capable of a very simple explanation. The gross annual value of the premises is only concerned with their value as rent-producing hereditaments. Their market value is mainly concerned with the value of the business associated with them. Theoretically, perhaps, there should be a closer correspondence between them than there is. But what has to be dealt with is fact, not theory. If the assessments are wrong, it is idle and foolish to make them the test of the values of licences. If they are right, they vary too much to be used as a test, and, if so used, would be misleading.

The only plausible ground upon which it is possible to defend a scheme by which a levy is made on all on-licence holders for the purpose of providing compensation for those among them whose licences are extinguished, is that it equalises the certain losses and possible gains necessarily incident to the extinction of large numbers of licences among the whole class of those on whom they fall. But this ground altogether fails unless the scheme is so worked that the man who loses his licence is nevertheless left in as good a position as those who have kept theirs. The only way in which this can be done is by letting him have the equivalent of what he has lost, that is to say, the fair market value of his licence at the time the renewal was refused. This is what is given under the Act of 1904. Under this Bill it will not be given. Instead there will be given something which may by chance

prove to be the equivalent of what has been lost, which may even, in very rare cases, be worth more, but on the average and as a general rule, will be worth far less. So more money is saved to the compensation fund.

But we have not yet reached the end of the description of the compensation that is to be paid under the Bill. In addition to what has just been considered, and to compensation for depreciation of trade fixtures, there are to be given

'such sums (if any) as the Commissioners of Inland Revenue think just to add as compensation for the licence-holder's loss of business, having regard to his conduct and the length of time during which he has been the holder of the licence.'

This is worded differently from the corresponding provision in the Act of 1904; and it has been claimed for it that it will result in the licence-holder getting far more compensation than he can under that Act. It is difficult to see how this is to be so unless he is to be compensated for the loss of a business which does not belong to him. But it certainly seems that, under this provision, if the licence-holder were really the owner of the business, in the sense of being the person who had power to sell it, he might obtain compensation which would equal the value of the business. If this is the intention, it seems to explain why the other part of the compensation, that depending on the annual value of the licence, should have been so described as to exclude as far as is possible the value of the business. But the result is curious. If the business is owned by the licence-holder, he will receive full compensation in respect of it; but, if it belongs to any one else, the owner of it will get no compensation in respect of it, and the licence-holder will presumably get very little. There will thus be another saving to the compensation fund whenever the owner of the business associated with a licence extinguished under the scheme happens to be some person other than the licence-holder. That will be so in the great majority of cases. The new scheme of reduction seems to be well financed; but, unless the Bill is drastically amended, the reduction period will be marked by constantly recurring instances of the most cruel injustice as between one owner of a licence and another.





Art. XIII.—THE GERMAN PERIL: A REJOINDER TO PRINCE BÜLOW.

1. *Prince Bülow's Reply to the 'Quarterly Review.'* 'The Standard,' September 14, 1908.
2. *Fürst Bülow's Reden. Mit Erlaubniss des Reichskanzlers gesammelt und herausgegeben von Johannes Penzler.* Two vols. Berlin: Reimer, 1907.
3. *Kaiserreden.* Leipzig: Weber, 1902.
4. *The Works of Heinrich von Treitschke:* (a) *Deutsche Geschichte im 19ten Jahrhundert.* Five vols. Fourth edition, 1886-1899; (b) *Politik.* Second edition. Two vols, 1899; (c) *Deutsche Kämpfe.* Neue Folge, 1896. Leipzig: Hirzel.

THE article on the 'German Peril' in the last number of this Review has served, even beyond expectation, a very serious purpose. Written in no spirit of abstract animosity, but rather with a full appreciation of the great qualities of the German people; based upon continuous and minute study extending over the last ten years; representing beyond all doubt in the main the convictions gradually forced upon the vast majority of Englishmen best acquainted with the Germany of to-day—that article was meant to awaken moderate opinion in this country to the reality of a great danger. The success of the intention was, however, followed by an extraordinary effort to efface the effect; and the effort was made by no less a person than the German Imperial Chancellor himself. Prince Bülow's reply took the form of an interview with the well-known apologist for the Wilhelmstrasse, Mr Sidney Whitman. We are very sensible of the honour done to us when a statesman of so much eminence thinks it necessary, in the midst of his seaside holiday in Norderney, to reply to a 'Quarterly' article. Prince Bülow is, however, capable of asserting, as we shall see, the flat reverse of what is notoriously true; doubtless because the long habit of verbal conjuring with realities has ended in making him forget the facts, and has imposed even upon his inner mind his own repeated sophistries.

This weakness has been to no small extent responsible, as we shall presently show, for the present state

of Anglo-German relations; and Prince Bülow's well-known dialectical methods are seen to perfection in the 'Standard' interview. Even in allowing himself an unprecedented license of abuse he displays characteristic levity. According to Mr Sidney Whitman, the Imperial Chancellor read the 'Quarterly Review' article most carefully page by page. He then described it as a tissue of 'ignorance' and 'insanity'; as 'a web of lies' and 'a chaos of nonsense' (*Lügendewebe und Chaos von Blödsinn*). When any man resorts in domestic debate to methods like these, he shows how nearly he has been touched, and we know what to think. The same rule may well guide our judgment in international controversy. In the immediate sequel, European comment outside Germany, whether in this country or abroad, showed that the German Chancellor, not for the first time, had protested too much. To contend with Prince Bülow in mere epithet would not be difficult. We shall however, pay more regard to the dignity of his position than he himself has shown. We shall content ourselves with answering point by point every single definite assertion he directs against the article he attacks.

Prince Bülow, in interviews in the 'Figaro' and elsewhere, has made similar and equally unsuccessful attempts to substitute smooth words for reassuring acts, and to hypnotise French public opinion into a disbelief of all the solid evidence presented to its waking senses. In this case he rates now, as he has always done, the intelligence of the English people far too low. He would have done much better not to assume that everybody who has been alienated by the past history, and distrusts the present tendencies, of German policy, must be both bad and stupid, utterly inept and at the same time dangerously wicked. This tone will not do. It is never adopted by any man of ability who has also a good conscience. 'My lord,' said the Irish barrister to his old friend upon the bench, 'you have risen by your gravity, and I have sunk by my levity.' The latter part of that paradox might well be taken to heart by Prince Bülow. He has never shown an adequate sense of the seriousness of Anglo-German relations; he will hardly succeed by his present methods in influencing British opinion, which he does not in the least understand.

Mr Whitman, to begin with, pens the following interesting confession :

‘It would lead too far were I to quote separately on to the end each passage of the “Quarterly” article marked by Prince Bülow in blue pencil with notes of exclamation or of interrogation ; for there are exactly 125 of them.’

It is a pity that we are deprived of the greater number of these apparently explosive comments ; but Mr Whitman believes that he has left out no really important point. Let us now take the Chancellor’s statements in detail.

1. *‘To begin with,’ said Prince Bülow, ‘I do not admit the weight or validity of the books cited as authorities by the ‘Quarterly Review.’*

Of the English works cited, the German Chancellor does not appear to have read one. Had he done so, he would surely have justified his opinion of those works by some specific reference to their contents. It is plain that he condemns books he does not know. Those who do know ‘German Ambitions’ by ‘Vigilans sed Æquus’ (the late W. T. Arnold) are aware that it was the measured work of a masterly mind. Pages more strictly to the point, more devoid of vague verbiage or of irresponsible assertion, could hardly be imagined. The larger part of Mr Arnold’s little book first appeared in the columns of the ‘Spectator’ ; and it is chiefly remarkable for the fullness of its references and for the calmness as well as the care with which a mass of material has been sifted. The ‘Pan-Germanic Doctrine,’ which gives chapter and verse throughout, is an equally definite analysis of an important and aggressive movement. M. André Chéradame’s books, as every one knows, are documented with more than Teutonic thoroughness ; and his ‘Colonies Allemandes’ is no less exhaustive in this respect than his better-known ‘L’Europe et la Question d’Autriche,’ which was indeed an epoch-making effort in this kind of literature. It is quite futile for Prince Bülow to affect to wave away works which derive their whole strength, not from the theories held by their authors, but from the exhaustive research they display. Mr Austin Harrison’s ‘England and Germany’ has just been reviewed in the ‘Preussische Jahrbücher,’ and, though much denounced,

is recognised even by the leading German review to be, alike in temper and in substance, a serious study, and even a masterpiece of intense and impressionist journalism. 'Modern Germany,' by Mr Ellis Barker, is a compilation bringing together a prodigious quantity of particulars; and here again the value of the facts accumulated and classified by the author is quite independent of the conclusions he himself draws with a far too systematic extremism, but upon the whole with justice. It need hardly be said that Mr Hislam's volume, 'The Admiralty of the Atlantic: an Enquiry into the Development of German Sea-power,' though it neither has nor pretends to have any original value with reference to German historical, economic, and political principles, is, so far as concerns the purely naval question, not merely a sound and good work, but the only one dealing fully with this special aspect of Anglo-German relations. For the rest, Prince Bülow must be aware that the 'Quarterly Review' does not identify itself with all the books quoted at the head of its articles, and never depends solely upon them. The pages upon 'The German Peril' were based, as was clear, upon a great deal of independent research and some amount of very recent information.

But what of the works in Prince Bülow's own language? 'Die Finanzen der Grossmächte,' by Dr Zahn, is so far from being a partisan study that it is as useful and unimpeachable as the multiplication table. Professor Schieman's 'Deutschland und die Grosse Politik, 1907,' is the latest issue of a well-known annual, now in its seventh year of publication. It actually embodies the articles appearing week by week in the 'Kreuz Zeitung,' which have more influence than all other articles put together in forming the opinions of the German governing classes upon foreign affairs. To imply that no significance attaches to Dr Schieman's pages—we shall presently have to deal with him more particularly—is as ingenuous as would be an attempt on Prince Bülow's part to minimise the existence of that great organ, the 'Kreuz Zeitung' itself.

One 'authority' remains. We quoted the latest of the political yellow-backs by that adept in sensational chauvinism, Herr Rudolf Martin, lately of the German

Government service. This gentleman is convinced that his country's future lies not on the water but in the air. He has been the enthusiast of aeromania, and no ridicule has been able to kill him. His exalted pamphlets are, of course, worthless in themselves. But are they the less significant? On the contrary, events have shown them to be typical to a high degree. Words cannot convey to the insular mind even a faint sense of the extravagance of the demonstration provoked in Germany by the destruction of Count Zeppelin's airship. Money has poured in from all sides. In the shops, in the streets, at every second step, signs of the mania swarmed on all sides. In connexion with this amazing outbreak of national emotion the warlike value of airships and aeroplanes was almost exclusively dwelt upon; and, when a 'two-power standard' for German air-fleets is urged, the demand may be absurd but is none the less symptomatic. The whole Zeppelin movement is a strange proof of the power of chauvinistic feeling in the Germany of to-day.

2. *'Germany, as you well know, is the only one of the Great Powers which has waged no war during the last thirty-seven years.'*

Answering a plausible quibble of this kind is like attempting to break a butterfly on the wheel. The assertion is, to begin with, quite irrelevant. Germany has been engaged, like other Powers, in hostilities overseas. She has burned powder in South-west Africa, in China, in Samoa. As for European wars in the last thirty years, neither France nor England nor Austria-Hungary nor Italy has waged them. Germany alone has threatened them. In 1875 and in 1905 she rattled the sabre in the face of France. The Kruger telegram; the seizure of Kiao-chow; the Imperial descent upon Tangier; the recent effort to steal a march upon the other Powers by recognising Mulai Hafid in advance; the ostentatious patronage of the late Hamidian régime; the refusal to allow the participation of other nations upon equal terms in the Bagdad railway, though it is an enterprise of British origin and touches English and Russian interests alike far more vitally than German—are we to regard these as the evidences of a quiet and tranquillising policy?

Is the rapid creation of a great navy by the mightiest of military Powers a fact essentially reassuring? Did

the German Emperor mean nothing when he declared at Wilhelmshaven in 1900, upon the occasion of the launch of a warship, that 'upon the ocean and beyond it, without Germany and without the German Emperor no great decision shall ever again be taken'? ('Reden,' p. 272.) Did Prince Bülow mean nothing when, in the greatest of his speeches, announcing the second Navy Bill—and we shall have to refer at more length to that remarkable utterance—he made the strange declaration: 'We cannot tolerate, and we shall not tolerate, any attempt to pass to the order of the day over the heads of the German people'? ('Wir können nicht dulden und wollen nicht dulden das man zur Tagesordnung übergeht über das deutsche Volk'). Words like these meant nothing if they were not the proclamation of a right of universal interference—actually asserted at Algeciras—in questions with which Germany had no direct concern.\* Are we seriously asked to be grateful because Germany has repeatedly pushed matters as far as possible short of war?

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\* Prof. Hans Delbrück, one of the most able and learned of German historians, and editor of the 'Preussische Jahrbücher,' has recently published in his own Review (Band 134, Heft 1, pp. 185–193) a reply to our previous article, dealing more particularly with our remarks on the position and opinions of the German professoriate. We hasten to add that the tone and manner of Dr Delbrück's article leave nothing to be desired, and that we fully appreciate the courtesy and moderation with which he carries on the discussion. Nevertheless, we confess we are not convinced. We shall have occasion to notice several of his statements. At this point we will only refer to a remark of his *à propos* of the Morocco difficulty. Speaking of certain German professors to whom we had referred, he says that they demand nothing more than the execution of 'the natural German programme,' which is 'the refusal to recognise the English claim to sole supremacy (*Alleinherrschaft*), and the demand for equality of rights (*Gleichberechtigung*) on behalf of Germany.' And he continues: 'We will not allow that, as in the treaty about Morocco, England and France shall take upon themselves to divide the world between them, without any regard for Germany and her interests.' Unless Dr Delbrück can show that Germany had, or has, in Morocco and Egypt (the other side of the bargain, it must be remembered) interests comparable to those which France and England possess in those two countries respectively, he will hardly be able to prove that Germany, in the position she took up at Algeciras, did not go far beyond the demand for *Gleichberechtigung*. It was a claim based on the principles laid down above by the Emperor and Prince Bülow, and amounts, if not to a claim to *Alleinherrschaft*, at least to a claim for supremacy or hegemony among the Great Powers, for no other Power since the days of Napoleon has asserted such a claim. Yet, to enforce its recognition (Dr Delbrück says), Germany, however peaceably disposed, is ready 'to grasp the sword.' Does not this bear out our contention?

If she refrained from war she did not refrain on principle, but because peace best served her immediate interests.

In spite of her pacific tendencies, this Power continues to accumulate double armaments by land and sea, such as in fact no other nation possesses, and to add to its military supremacy a naval force which increases by leaps and bounds. Even Mr Whitman is instructed to tell us that Germany is not for peace at any price, and that other Powers must always be careful not to infringe her interests or to test her patience. Remarks of this sort leave German policy all the margin necessary for any emergency; and Prince Bismarck might have given utterance to similar sentiments at any moment of his career. Then, again, if Germany has waged no European war for thirty-seven years, the fact has no bearing whatever upon the discussion of present forces and future possibilities. For a similar period after Waterloo there was an almost universal peace. It was followed by the cycle of wars which involved in turn every one of the great Powers, and changed the face of the world. Since Prince Bülow's words, in this connexion, must mean disarmament or nothing, clearly they mean nothing.

3. *'For us Germans there is far more tangible reason for apprehension through our exposed geographical position, let alone our dark historical background. . . . Our people have still a vivid historical consciousness of national disaster and disgrace against a recurrence of which our army is our only safeguard.'*

Is Germany then to have a monopoly of historical consciousness? And, if other nations are to share it, what must they conclude? Frederick the Great wrote the 'Anti-Machiavel' before seizing Silesia. Prussia attempted to compound with Napoleon by seizing Hanover. It is just a hundred years since the modern German military system was founded. Men now living have seen it brought into tremendous play. They have seen Denmark crushed and dismembered. They have seen Austria deceived and overthrown. They have seen France outwitted and destroyed. These events have been part of one great expansive process carried through from generation to generation at the expense of surrounding Powers. Now Germany is creating naval armaments on the same methodical plan by which Prussia has always prepared

for land campaigns. Her whole record is the story of successful preparation for war. We are now the only Power whose fleet forms a real obstacle to German maritime purposes. If we ourselves failed to apply 'a vivid historical consciousness' to this situation, we should be mad. We are fully forewarned; and not all Prince Bülow's desperate denial of what Bishop Butler called 'the plain and obvious meaning of things' can induce us to forget what has happened and may happen again. The enlarged Prussian State, as it now exists, is so situated and so inspired that, in dealing with Germany, past history is our only sure guide through present politics.

4. Prince Bülow is particularly contemptuous about the quotation from the Hohenlohe Memoirs of letters written in 1849, and ardently expressing the aspirations towards sea-power and colonial empire which mastered the imagination of the German people at that time. These particular quotations were given for the very purpose of showing that German naval ambition is deeply rooted in national sentiment and is no artificial growth planted by the Kaiser's caprice. Nothing could be more legitimate than to give the Hohenlohe extracts in that connexion. But observe the perverse superficiality with which Prince Bülow deals with this matter also, and observe to what simple and fatal retorts his method once more exposes him. He says:

'To quote political views expressed by the late German Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe, nearly sixty years ago, when he was thirty years of age, is tantamount to citing passages from the speeches of Palmerston or Mr Gladstone at the same date and applying them to conditions prevailing to-day.'

Let us see. As a matter of fact some of Lord Palmerston's utterances at that time and earlier are still very interesting indeed; they show that such a thing as decisive prevision in politics is possible, and they might have prevented Sadowa if Austrian statesmen had known or heeded them. Here is a verdict recorded by Lord Palmerston in a letter from Dresden during his German tour of 1844:

'Prussia is taking the lead in German civilisation; and, as Austria has gone to sleep and will be long before she awakes,

Prussia has a fine career open to her for many years to come.' (Ashley's 'Life of Palmerston,' vol. iii, p. 160.)

There spoke that which every politician ought to be—an unprejudiced observer of real forces, attaching no importance whatever to verbiage, reassuring or otherwise, and none to temporary diplomatic conditions, but looking to the future in the knowledge that things are what they are, and their consequences will be what they will be. But, if the allusion to the present value of Palmerston's opinions of sixty years ago is rather unhappy, the attempt to maintain that Prince Hohenlohe's opinions in 1849 have no bearing upon present politics is far more unfortunate still, for, as it happens, Prince Bülow is flatly contradicted upon this very point by one of the last speeches of Prince Hohenlohe himself. The German Chancellor has forgotten nothing less than the speech in which his aged predecessor proposed the third reading of the Navy Bill of 1900. We make no apology for quoting this memorable utterance at some length. Unfortunately for Prince Bülow, Prince Hohenlohe cited the opinions of sixty years ago as a reason why the Reichstag should initiate a great policy of naval expansion.

'Herr Liebknecht maintained that the enthusiasm for the fleet only broke out last autumn; that it did not previously exist among the German people. This view is, in my opinion, an entirely erroneous view of the history of the last century. For this reason it is necessary once more to recall the genesis of the Navy Bill to the recollection of the German people. When I look back upon the enthusiasm for a German fleet in the forties, I have to remind myself of the fact that this idea was rejected by all the German Governments with the exception of the Prussian. The insistence upon a German fleet came precisely from the German people themselves. The history of the past century shows that the cry for a fleet has always made itself heard when effort towards the unification of Germany seemed effective, or when these endeavours seemed moving towards realisation. . . . The old dream of unity, especially cherished by studious youth, spread into wider and wider circles and formed the ferment of the revolutionary movement of 1848; but not until twenty years later was the German Empire founded by the united German armies and their victories. Since then, our industrial develop-

ment has brought us to such a point that the cry for a strengthened fleet is once more raised. It is not a question of a few ships more or less, but is a question of our existence as a commercial people.' (Prince Hohenlohe in the Reichstag, June 12, 1900, as recorded in 'Schulthess' Europäischer Geschichts-Kalender for 1900,' p. 87.)

That, we imagine, is conclusive enough even for Prince Bülow. When pointing out the remarkable connexion between Prince Hohenlohe's opinions of 1849 and German naval enthusiasm of to-day, we merely emphasised by a specific and interesting illustration the same line of thought as that explained before the Reichstag by Prince Hohenlohe himself (probably in Prince Bülow's hearing) more than half a century later. If this does not persuade the present German Chancellor of the defects of the *feuilleton* method, and of the advisability of verifying his references when dealing with critics who are prepared to give chapter and verse for every sentence they advance, we may hope that the point next to be taken may finally convince him.

5. By the most staggering assertion in the whole of this daring attempt at dialectical bluff, Prince Bülow denies that Treitschke, the great apostle of German Anglophobia, was ever, at any time, an enemy of England. On this point he heaps up epithet and assertion. He describes the statements regarding Treitschke as 'sheer rubbish,' and then he commits himself to the following astounding remark :

'Far from Treitschke having been imbued with hatred of England, the very reverse is the case. Nor is there a single passage extant in his writings which would lend colour to such a view.'

We are compelled to assume that Prince Bülow says this in good faith. It is, however, easy to prove that his statement is the reverse of the truth. First let it be said that, when Treitschke was beyond all question the greatest academic orator in Germany, his anti-English bias was obvious to all who attended his lectures. Among his hearers were Englishmen, now in middle life, who know what we are saying to be true. But Treitschke never concealed his animus, and his published writings leave no doubt whatever upon the matter. We need

only remark for the rest that he was a friend of Moritz Busch and a fellow-Saxon. If Bismarck's familiar was a well-wisher towards England, then so was Treitschke; but if not, not.

In our previous article we referred to the 'Deutsche Geschichte,' where, in a manner calculated to fill every German reader with present bitterness, the view is suggested that Prussian services were minimised by a coldly selfish Wellington, and that Prussian interests were betrayed by a contemptible Castlereagh. But let us now take the other and even more popular writings to prove the futility of Prince Bülow's denials upon this issue. Take the two volumes of the 'Politik.' It expounds the whole theory of the German State. The work is a reprint of the most popular of all Treitschke's lectures. 'Thousands listened to them,' says the preface; 'they were his darling theme; he delivered no other course so often.' The series was given first in Freiburg in the winter term of 1863-64; once in Heidelberg, immediately before his removal to Berlin; and in the last-named city regularly every winter until his death. Since then they have had a great circulation in their printed form; and it would be hard to overestimate the share those lectures have had in forming the German political imagination of to-day. And what, then, is the tone towards England of these utterances repeated year by year through a whole generation? Not a single Anglophobe passage in them, says Prince Bülow. Take this:

'When we take the non-European world into view, there is opened up an infinitely grave outlook for us. In the partition of this non-European world among the European Powers, Germany has always hitherto come short; and whether we can become a Power overseas is a question of existence for us as a nation. Otherwise there opens up before us the detestable prospect (*grässliche Aussicht*) that England and Russia will divide the world between them; and it would be hard indeed to say which would be more demoralising and hateful—the Russian knout or the English moneybags.' ('Politik,' i, 42.)

This amiable keynote occurs very early in the course. In many other passages there breathes an incredible bitterness. Germany's attitude at the Hague Conference becomes intelligible to those acquainted with Treitschke's denunciations of England's 'robber-rule' at sea:

'In an access of false humanity we proposed to the French that private property at sea should be exempt from capture. That was a humane and noble thought. We had not reflected, however, that among the other nations there was one, England, which is thoroughly impervious to noble thoughts' (ii, 569).

Again (p. 549):

'Through England's fault alone, the law of nations upon the sea in time of war remains a condition of privileged piracy.'

We are repeatedly represented, in short, as the most sordid, cunning, and egoistic of peoples. The following passage throws a brilliant light upon the connexion between Anglophobia and German naval expansion:

'In the laws of war, unfortunately, we must draw a sharp distinction between land and sea. Here shows itself clearly to every man who has eyes to see the sinister significance of British power for the civilisation and justice of the world. Because no equilibrium of maritime strength exists between the Powers, Schiller's depressing words are still true:

"Upon the waves all is as water,  
And no man has a right to his own."

That is a situation which shames the pride of our civilisation. And upon England alone lies the blame. For England upon the sea is so immeasurably supreme that she can do what she likes. Whoever cares for humane motives, whoever desires to achieve the ideal of a law of nations at sea, must work henceforth for a maritime equilibrium between the Powers. At present the blindness of public opinion is astounding; and still it is the countries adopting a false course which are eulogised. The sentimentality of Belgian jurists is admired and the barbarous English conception of maritime law. . . . The freedom of private property during hostilities can never be so complete upon sea as upon land, but it does not follow that for ever and for ever sea-war shall remain synonymous with sea-robbery' (ii, 573).

These were the sentiments impressed year by year upon a generation of university students in Germany; and these were the sentiments of the man whom Prince Bülow describes as 'a fervent admirer of England's history and of the great qualities of the English nation.'\*

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\* With respect to this point, Prof. Delbrück observes ('Jahrbücher,' p. 187), quite truly, that it is possible to admire one's enemies as well as to hate them. As to Treitschke's general attitude, he says: 'It is correct that

Clearly we must assume that the Chancellor does not know his Treitschke; and, when he speaks again and again of 'ignorance,' he shows that 'they, sweet souls who most impute the fault Are pronest to it and impute themselves.' To clinch this part of the case, however, let us return to the celebrated lecture of 1884 upon 'The first efforts of German Colonial Policy.' In our previous article we gave the sentence about 'the last reckoning with England,' but the whole passage is worth quoting. It goes far to explain the Kruger telegram and the fury of German Anglophobia during the Boer war.

'In South Africa the conditions for us are decidedly favourable. At the Cape fortune has turned against English colonial policy, elsewhere so fortunate. The thriving civilisation there is Teutonic; it is Dutch. The attitude of England, vacillating between feebleness and violence, has filled the Dutch Boers with a deadly ineradicable hostility; and, since the Netherlands already enjoy a more than sufficient sphere in their East Indian islands, matters would simply take a natural turn if Germany, in view of the racial tie, should one day take over in some form the protectorate over the Teutonic population of South Africa, and should acquire the British heritage in a mismanaged Colony which has no value for England since the opening of the Suez Canal. If our Empire dares to persevere resolutely in the new path of our independent Colonial policy, a conflict of interests with England will be inevitable. It lies in the nature of things that the new great Power in the centre of Europe must square with every other great Power in turn. With Austria, with France, with Russia we have already settled accounts; the last settle-

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T., not only in this essay [that on German Colonial Policy] but elsewhere, uses expressions and phrases which appear to be symptomatic of a passionate hatred against England.' But (he continues) Treitschke spoke in a friendly way of Russians and Italians only, and attacked all the rest with equal vehemence, his own countrymen—outside Prussia—faring at his hands worst of all. Treitschke was doubtless a good hater; and his all-round ferocity may perhaps be taken as somewhat mitigating the venom of his attacks on this country. But this is not Prince Bülow's line of defence; nor do our quotations bear out Prof. Delbrück's contention that there is in Treitschke 'no national hatred, no urging of war, but the simple claim to be recognised as a Great Power among other Great Powers, by sea as well as by land, a claim which no intelligent Englishman now disputes.' Has any intelligent Englishman disputed this since Waterloo? The essence of Treitschke's teaching with regard to England lies in his vehement advocacy of a 'naval equilibrium'—i.e. the neutralisation of British sea-power by a European coalition.

ment with England will in all probability be the longest and hardest.\* ('Deutsche Kämpfe,' neue Folge, p. 849.)

Having forced us to give the full context of this passage, Prince Bülow may see reason to regret his assertion that no evidence of hostility to England exists in Treitschke's writings. These words, first uttered on November 25, 1884, during the colonial controversy of that time, and never forgotten, were used by the most powerful and influential writer and lecturer upon politics that any country has possessed during the last generation. They have found again and again in recent years a passionate echo in Germany and cannot be too often or too sternly remembered here.

But there is still worse to come; and, when we have quoted this, we shall be done with a distasteful part of the controversy. Prince Bülow describes as 'sheer rubbish' the statement in our last article that, in the view of Treitschke and his school, 'the British Empire has been created largely at German expense.' Our assertion was correct; and the German Chancellor's denial is so inaccurate as to be almost unintelligible. Let him open the second volume of the 'Politik' at page 532. There he will find that, while it was chiefly Prussia which brought

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\* On this passage Prof. Delbrück remarks (*op. cit.* p. 188): 'Have we then waged war with Russia? We have simply freed our policy from its former—at least partial—dependence on Russia, and, in spite of Russia's hostility, made the alliance with Austria in 1878. That is the sort of "settlement" (*Abrechnung*) that Treitschke meant.' But why should the 'settlement' with Russia be taken alone to indicate Treitschke's meaning? The settlement with Russia was a peaceable one, though, as Prof. Delbrück's words imply, it might not have been so; and, as a matter of fact, 'force in reserve' was so employed by Bismarck that it inflicted on Russia results as damaging as military defeat. The settlements with Austria and France—we might add, with Denmark—were of a very different kind. Treitschke's attitude towards this country can hardly leave us in doubt as to which of these two kinds of settlements he contemplated in our case. At any rate, the odds are against Prof. Delbrück's interpretation.

One Dr Karl Eisenhart wrote, in 1900, a book entitled 'Die Abrechnung mit England,' adopting the very word used by Treitschke. This book ran through four editions in its first year. The nature of Dr Eisenhart's *Abrechnung* may be gathered from the passage in which, after blaming his own Government for its 'invertebrate submissiveness' to Great Britain in the matter of Samoa, he declares that 'by their treatment of that question the Anglo-Saxon brethren have made an irreconcilable enemy of the strongest military Power in the world,' and looks forward to a 'revenge for the outrage of Samoa' which shall resemble the vengeance already taken for 'the robbery of Strassburg.'

about the results of the Seven Years' War, it was chiefly England that profited by them.

'England conquered so completely that her supremacy at sea remains to this day. But every new victory over the French was an opportunity for the English to tread international law under foot. Under the pretence of equity and justice, maltreatments crying to heaven were perpetrated upon the interests of neutrals.'

And finally we commend to Prince Bülow one last quotation, the bitter cry of pure Anglophobia :

'English statecraft since the days of William the Third has never been anything else but an amazingly shrewd and an amazingly unscrupulous commercial policy. The extraordinary successes of this statecraft have been purchased at a high price through a multitude of sins and cruelties. The history of the English East India Company is beyond all comparison the foulest page in the modern annals of European peoples, for the unspeakable blood-sucking rule of these traders sprang merely from greed of gold. Unlike the deeds of Philip II or Robespierre, it cannot be excused as the fanaticism of political conviction. . . . The worst result of British commercial policy, however, is the immense and fully justified hatred on the part of all other nations which has gradually accumulated against England. England is to-day the seat of barbarism in international law; England alone makes sea-war nothing but an organised piracy. . . . England's mercantile supremacy was created by continental dissensions; and, in the course of those brilliant but facile successes, won almost without a struggle, British arrogance has reached a pitch which can no longer be adequately described by the name of chauvinism. . . .

'Against such pretensions all the nations of Europe are bound together by a common interest.\* Since the rising industry of Europe has escaped from British exploitation,

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\* Prof. Delbrück observes (*op. cit.* p. 189) that what T. described as 'the immense and justifiable hatred which has slowly gathered among all nations against England,' is no longer apparent, and he points especially to the change of feeling in France and the United States. 'The most hated people, I fear' (he adds), 'are now no longer the English but the Germans'; and he attributes this to various causes—German mistakes, a more conciliatory policy on our part, 'the uncommonly astute management of the press of all countries by the English' (!), and the fact that 'the fear of British maritime supremacy has given place to the dread, one might almost say the superstitious dread, of the growing power of Germany.'

since the understanding between the three Emperors has secured the peace of the Continent, since even France begins to accustom herself to the new and more stable division of power, the foundations of English sea-power have been shaken.' ('Deutsche Kämpfe,' neue Folge, p. 351.)

We could fill more pages with such proofs than our space allows or the patience of our readers would tolerate. But we have probably quoted enough to prove our contention. We can now turn with fuller understanding to a point perhaps still more important.

6. The technical side of the naval question is dealt with elsewhere; but of the political side something must here be said. According to Mr Whitman,

'the assertion on page 277 of the 'Quarterly Review,' that Germany "chose the blackest moment of England's disasters at the beginning of the South African war to introduce the Bill which laid the foundations of the modern German navy," was met by *Prince Bülow's rejoinder that the naval programme in question dates from the year 1897.*'

Here, fortunately, it is as easy as it is important to establish the truth. The Bill of 1897 disturbed no one, involved no sensational increase in the German estimates, and inaugurated no new principle. It was unquestionably a measure of coast defence, and provided for a total of only seventeen battleships. Prince Bülow is well aware that this enactment was no epoch-making measure. The Reichstag was induced to adopt it by the assurance that for a reasonable period—that is for at least six years—no further naval programme would be proposed. Admiral Tirpitz declared that he pledged himself in this sense, and that the Federal governments were equally pledged. In January 1899 Admiral Tirpitz again declared that 'an intention to bring forward a new naval scheme existed in no sense and in no quarter; there was a firm intention to adhere to the prescribed limitations.' Yet, in less than twelve months, the second Navy Bill was brought in, providing not for seventeen battleships, as in the former measure, but for thirty-eight, and doubling the strength of the German navy at one stroke.\* This Bill was

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\* Since this date, the Navy Act of 1906 added some cruisers dropped on a previous occasion; while the life of a battleship has been shortened by

announced in the Reichstag on December 11, 1899, by Prince Bülow himself, in a speech which was by far the most important, if it has not proved to be the most fortunate, of all his utterances. Stormberg and Magerfontein had just taken place; Colenso was impending. So much for Prince Bülow's effort to deny that the Bill which really laid the foundations of the modern German navy was introduced in the blackest moment of the South African war.

The dates in this matter are very well worth studying. Before the Boer war was seen to be inevitable, the German Emperor's speeches were not sensational. The ringing phrase, 'Unsere Zukunft liegt auf dem Wasser,' was used at Stettin on September 23, 1898, in connexion with a peaceful commercial ceremony. This motto did not become a catchword for chauvinism until hostilities had broken out at the Cape. The war opened on October 12, 1899. Up to that moment there had been no whisper of a Bill for doubling the navy. It is idle to say that the measure was introduced through considerations respecting France or Russia or the United States. A measure directed against English interests, precisely in the spirit of the passages we have quoted from Treitschke, was conceived, prepared, and introduced as soon as England's hands were tied, and at a moment when a passionate hatred of England possessed the German people as a whole. On October 18, before the South African war was a week old, the Kaiser, speaking at the launch of a warship at Hamburg, inaugurated the whole naval agitation upon a national scale by the celebrated words, 'Bitter is our need of a strong German fleet' ('bitter Noth ist uns eine starke Deutsche Flotte'). The suggestion worked. A few days later the resolution to double the navy was taken, regardless of the assurances given to the Reichstag that the Bill of 1897 would be adhered to, and that no great addition to the fleet would be proposed for at least six years.

It now rained telegrams. The whole influence of the reigning German dynasties, whose power Bismarck

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five years, in order to hasten the construction of new or 'substitute (*ersatz*) ships. So much for Prince Bülow's denial that the German navy 'is being increased with ever accelerated rapidity.' But see the article on 'Our Endangered Sea Supremacy' (in the present number) throughout.

always held to be the strongest force in the Fatherland, was brought to bear for the purpose of founding new branches of the 'Flottenverein.' Hitherto that organisation had been obscure. It had counted, a short time before, less than a thousand members. Its fortune was made by Anglophobia. In five months the German Navy League received a prodigious extension and became the most powerful patriotic association in the world. By April 3, 1900—we follow the dry record of facts in Schulthess' 'Kalender'—the 'Flottenverein' had no less than 600,000 members. For instance, it was joined in one body by the members of the Evangelical Labour Union, 60,000 strong. But in the meantime, as we have said, the great Navy Bill had been introduced; and the anti-English character of the whole extraordinary agitation in its favour had been countenanced by Prince Bülow himself. He will hardly object to our citation of authorities in this connexion, for chief among them is the authorised edition of his own speeches. He hinted at nothing less than a new transfer of sea-power and a possible partition of the British dominions.

'No one can predict the consequences of the war which, in the last few weeks, has set South Africa aflame. The English Premier had already said, some considerable time ago, that strong States must become ever stronger and weak States ever weaker. All that has happened since has proved that maxim to be right. Do we stand again before a new division of the earth? I do not think that; or rather I am not yet willing to think it. But in any case we cannot tolerate that any foreign Power whatever, that any foreign Jupiter should say to us, "What help? The world is allotted." We will not jostle any foreign Power, but we shall allow no foreign Power to tread on our feet, and we shall not allow ourselves to be pushed aside by any Power whether in commerce or politics.'

Prince Bülow meant this language to be parliamentary; but, in all the circumstances of that moment, its meaning was unmistakable, and every member of the Reichstag understood. His references to England were cool, to every other Power cordial; and nothing could be more plainly directed against this country than the following:

'The last decades have brought to Germany much happiness and power and welfare. The happiness and prosperity of the

one are not always a cause of pure satisfaction to another. Envy may be aroused. Envy plays a great rôle in the lives of peoples as well as of private persons. We are the objects of much envy in the world—political envy, commercial envy. There are individuals, there are groups of interests, there are tendencies, and there are perhaps even nations, who are finding out that Germans were more convenient and more agreeable to their neighbours in those earlier days when, in spite of our culture and our civilisation, 'foreigners in political and commercial relations looked down upon us like high-nosed cavaliers upon humble tutors.' ('Fürst Bülow's Reden,' i, 96.)

Dexterous as this was intended to be, it was not discreet enough. It was a deliberate attempt to pander to the Anglophobia prevailing at that time. The repeated reference to commercial considerations rubricated the whole. Prince Bülow's speech was in the very spirit of Anglophobia as understood by Treitschke himself, by Lothar Bucher, by Moritz Busch. Bebel openly declared, during the naval debate of 1900, that the obvious aim was to create a fleet capable of measuring itself in the end even against the British navy. He was never answered. He could not be answered. More unmistakable even than the peculiar tone and turn of Prince Bülow's opening speech was the preamble of the Bill:

'Germany must have a fleet of such strength that even for the mightiest naval Power a war with her would involve such risks as to jeopardise its own supremacy. For this purpose it is not absolutely necessary that the German fleet should be as strong as that of the greatest sea-power, because generally the greatest sea-power will not be in a position to concentrate all its forces against us.'

England could not have been more distinctly indicated if she had been named; and no efforts of diplomatic verbiage, however dexterous, can undo the effect of the first saving revelation. The German Chancellor is employing changed tactics because his former tactics have so disastrously failed; but the new manœuvres, if we were once thrown off our guard, would soon work round towards the old purposes.

7. It would be profitless to extend this refutation unduly; and other points must be very briefly dismissed. Prince Bülow denies that the cartoons in the German

newspapers during the Boer war were exceptionally virulent. This is of no more avail than the other denials. Nothing published in Paris was so scandalous as the Munich pamphlet 'Der Burenkrieg,' written by well-known men of letters, and illustrated by distinguished artists, which contained the caricature of Queen Victoria and the rest of the royal family presenting the Victoria Cross to a drummer-boy for having ravished eight Boer women.\*

We are reminded of the German support of our position in Egypt. That support was given for no other purpose but to embroil us with France. The contrary pretension used to be a fable for simpletons, and we are surprised that Prince Bülow revives it. Of Germany's action at the recent Hague Conference, an attack upon our maritime position from first to last, there is no mention whatever.

Finally, we come to a question which, as the Chancellor handles it, is perhaps more amusing, but not less instructive—the question of the professors.† It was shown that they play a decisive part in forming the national opinions of the German people, that their teachings prepare the crises of the future, and that they are now so

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\* Dr Delbrück himself, while defending the support given in Germany to the Boer cause—of which, so long as it was conscientious, we have, of course, no right to complain—told his countrymen that 'the insults with which the English army and the English national character were at that time [during the Boer war] bespattered, not in the German press only, but in the Reichstag, were so excessively gross that one could scarcely take it amiss if the English bore a grudge against us on their account.' ('German Ambitions,' p. 86.)

† Prof. Delbrück devotes, as has been already said, the greater part of his paper in the 'Jahrbücher' to refuting the charges of subserviency to the Government and hostility to England made against the German professors. He rejects the former outright, and declares that the latter is true only so far that the professors—he mentions by name Professors Brentano, Schmoller, Schulze-Gävernitz, von Halle, and Schiemann—are at one with Treitschke in attacking the overweening pretensions of this country to *Alleinherrschaft*. He excepts Hasse, who (he says) was not, strictly speaking, a 'professor' at all, and whose preaching of 'hatred of England *quand même*, does not therefore count. He points out that several professors—the late Prof. Paulsen, Erich Marcks, and himself—have on several occasions braved the hostility of their countrymen by refuting slanders against this country and endeavouring to allay popular animosity; and he complains that he himself has been misrepresented in England, and that corrections of statements wrongly attributed to him have been refused insertion in the English paper which published them. We can only regret that Prof. Delbrück has been unfairly treated in a manner which departs from the best traditions of English journalism, and express our gratitude

much under government influence as to have become for the most part the official fuglemen of Potsdam politics. Prince Bülow does not attempt to contradict these facts, though they are notorious, but he attempts to deal with the case of Prof. Schiemann. This academic favourite, as we know, is one of the German Emperor's intellectual *aides de camp*. He has accompanied the Kaiser on voyages. His weekly article in the 'Kreuz-Zeitung' is, as we have said, one of the most conspicuous and important features of the German press. These articles are still saturated with Anglophobia, less overt than before, but not less insidious and malevolent.

Prince Bülow, whose majority is small, has a wholesome dread of offending the 'Kreuz-Zeitung.' He refrains from naming it or its chief contributor, and takes refuge in hints. The comments of the journalistic professors are regarded by the German Government, we are told, as irresponsible outpourings. As for Prof. Schiemann, 'Prince Bülow assured me (says Mr Whitman) that he did not see anything he writes once in six months.' Why should he? The business of the Wilhemstrasse is not to 'see' Dr Schiemann's writings, but to furnish the material for them.

In this particular case, Prince Bülow's curious attempt to suggest that he is disparaging the importance of a writer whom he does not dare to repudiate by name, is neither courageous nor effective. The Potsdam professor

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to him and his two colleagues for their efforts on our behalf; though it is difficult to forget that even Prof. Delbrück himself for some time gave credence to the story—which he subsequently rejected as unfounded—that the British troops had placed Boer women in front of them at Graspan, solely on the ground that it had not been formally denied!

We must point out again that Prof. Delbrück allows that the professors named above, not to speak of others (for further examples, see the work 'German Ambitions,' cited above), are at one with Treitschke in his general attitude towards England; and of that attitude we have said enough. The first four of these professors—two of them free-traders, two protectionists—are among the most impassioned and influential advocates of unlimited naval development. As to the explanation given—that of their dependence upon the State—it is of course impossible, in most cases, to draw a clear line between conscientious conviction and self-interest, or to demonstrate scientifically that the latter predominates; but it is at least a hypothesis based on the actual position of dependence in which the professoriate is situated, and the general tendency of public servants in Germany (to which the professors can hardly be exceptions) to march according to the orders of Government.

in question is in some sense Treitschke's successor.\* He is a historical lecturer at the 'Kriegsakademie.' This chosen intimate of the Emperor and familiar of the Wilhelmstrasse is delivering in the University of Berlin at this moment a series of lectures of a strongly anti-British tendency. A Leipzig newspaper, generally favourable to the Chancellor, declares—that there is no reason to disbelieve—that Prof. Schiemann is a constant guest at those small dinner-parties given by Prince Bülow, to which only members of the inner circle are invited.

Until the acts of the German Government show some better correspondence with its words, its representatives cannot complain if their protestations with regard to the future are as unconvincing as their denials of what has been said in the past. Prince Bülow will be better advised if he refrains on future occasions from the merely vituperative method of controversy. Let him take ordinary care to verify his references and refresh his memory before indulging in sheer assertion, equally confident and baseless, and thus avoid subjecting himself to easy and damaging refutation.

We can but regret that Prince Bülow was unable to make out a better case; for a reply, of which the weakness is so patent, can only increase the distrust which the previous words and actions of German statesmen (his own not least among them), the expressed opinions of German thinkers, and the general attitude of the German people, have aroused in this country. Had his message been a really persuasive one, had it convinced us of the pacific intentions of the Government which he represents, we should have been the first to welcome it, as we should be the first to welcome any alleviation of

\* It was Dr Schiemann who charged us (in 'Deutschland und die grosse Politik anno 1901') with endeavouring to involve Europe in war about Armenia and Crete, and with committing a 'robber-raid' on Venezuela; who urged Germany to join France and Russia in order to make our position in Egypt untenable; and who justified the 'profound ill-will of public opinion in Germany' aroused by our action in regard to Samoa. Another professorial pupil of Treitschke, Dr Moulin-Eckart of Munich (in 'Englands Politik und die Mächte'), speaks of 'the greedy but steady gaze of the beast of prey, turned by Great Britain upon Algeria'; while yet a third, and one no less distinguished than Dr Rathgen (in 'Die Kündigung des englischen Handelsvertrags'), reminds us that a redivision of the colonial world, such as happened in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, may very well happen again.

the state of tension which at present exists. But an attempt to throw dust in the eyes of a nation—and Prince Bülow's message was nothing less—is worse than useless if it fails. Intended to blind, it can only irritate; designed to allay inconvenient suspicions, it can only strengthen them. The British nation has nothing to gain by a continuance of the present state of things; and no one in his senses can desire that it should develope into an open breach between two countries so naturally allied. It is therefore absurd to attribute to this Review, or to other journals which have taken a similar line, any desire to stimulate ill-feeling; it is almost equally absurd to maintain that discussions of this kind tend to bring about a breach such as we should be the first to deplore. On the contrary, it is our conviction that, in a world constituted like the present, there can be no safeguard for public peace comparable with being prepared for war; it is equally obvious that there is no incentive to attack equal to the knowledge that a rival is *not* prepared. It is therefore our duty, in the interests of peace—nay more, of goodwill and friendship between ourselves and others—to point out the conclusion which facts, and not mere suspicions, have forced upon us, and to urge the people of these islands, while avoiding every cause of offence, every semblance of desiring a conflict, to prepare.





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